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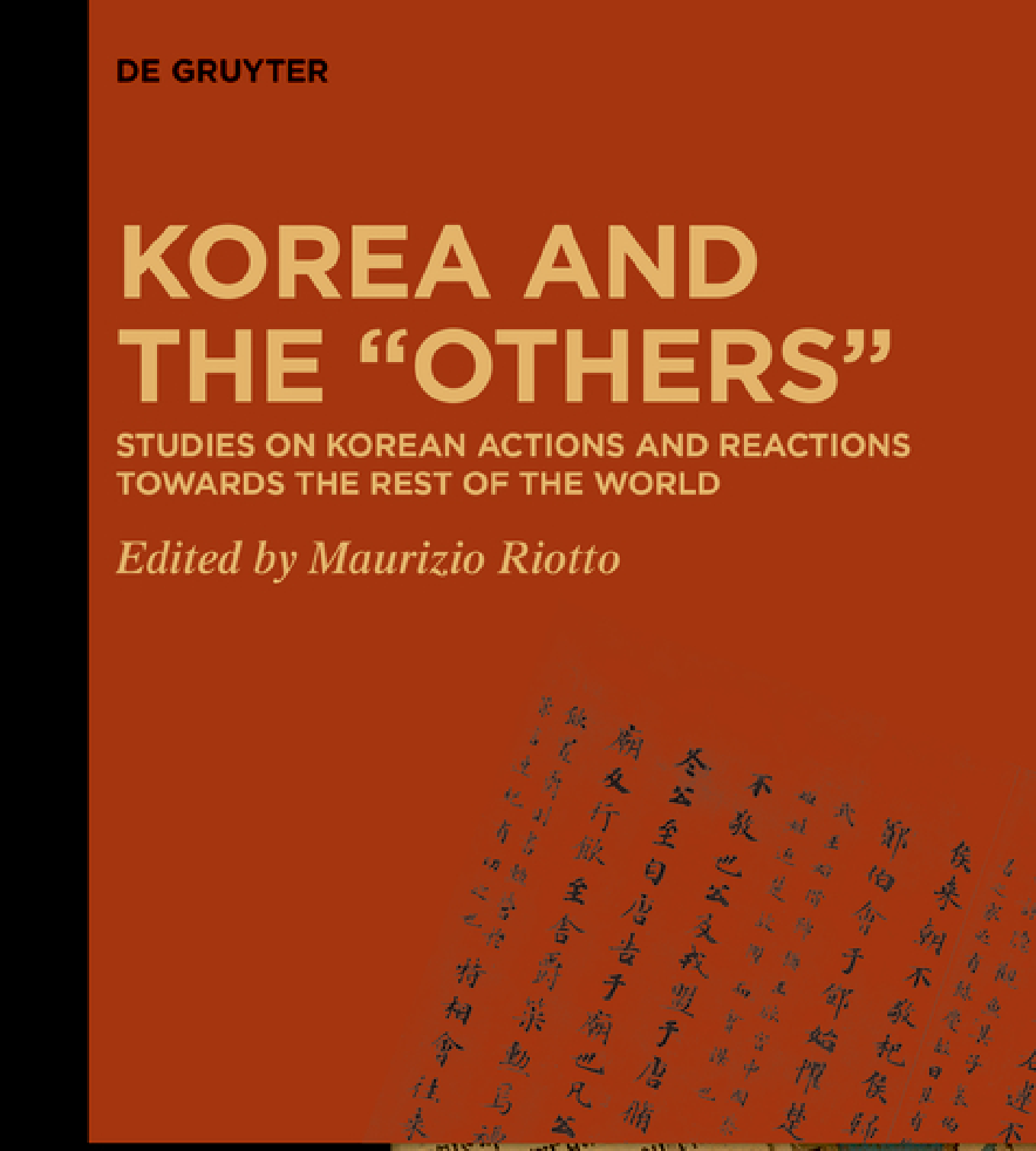
KOREA AND THE "OTHERS"

STUDIES ON KOREAN ACTIONS AND REACTIONS TOWARDS THE REST OF THE WORLD

Edited by Maurizio Riotto



ROMA SINICA

Korea and the “Others”

Roma Sinica

Mutual Interactions between Ancient Roman and Eastern Thought

Edited by
Andrea Balbo and Jaewon Ahn

Volume 4

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Preliminary Notes

The comparison of different civilizations has now become an essential research topic within so-called "global history." In the Roma Sinica series, the publishers have promoted various publications in which the conjunction "and" was intended to represent a bridge between different worlds, certainly distant in language and traditions, history, and cultural contexts, but very close and eager to communicate with each other. *Korea and the Others* does not escape this rule either, and wants to emphasize a world, the Korean world, that possesses a remarkable specificity and constitutes an ideal link to the other great cultural universes of China and Japan. From antiquity to the present day, the conceptual, philosophical, cultural, and religious links between the Western world and this focal point of the East have grown stronger and stronger and are the subject of ever more in-depth investigations. To speak of Korea to the West is to open a door to a world that communicated in Latin and modern languages, sought connections with the various empires in history, built trade links with the West, and was an extreme offshoot of the long and wonderful journey that was the Silk Road, a theme that our SERICA project, the funder of this volume, is continuing to explore. I am therefore happy to add this further piece to our series and I thank Maurizio Riotto for proposing it to us.

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Maurizio Riotto

Introduction

This book was proposed and thus born as a reaction to a remarkable paradox within Korean studies, easily encountered even by non-experts. While many Korean studies journals strongly encourage the submission of "multicultural" and "transnational" articles, very few scholars in the world are truly receptive to this message and very many, on the other hand, are those incompetent/unjustifiably hostile reviewers who, despite lacking the intellectual means with which to accurately judge work of this nature, criticize and reject it without a second glance, even if they bear no proof for their dissent. Nescient people, in fact, fear and detest what they cannot understand and, above all, they abhor those who deviate from the common thought of the "flock." This is prompted not so much by the opinions *per se*, but rather by the audacity and skills demonstrated in advancing arguments and methods that buck conventions.

I have to say that the lack of propensity of Korean studies to take on a transnational character has heavily influenced the creation of this volume. It is therefore no coincidence that finding contributors was an extremely difficult task. Most of the contacted scholars did not declare themselves available, others spent a very long time preparing their texts and correcting them, while others accepted, sent their papers, and then gave up, after being invited several times to improve the quality of their contributions, a dramatic scenario that ultimately caused a strong delay in the publication of the volume and considerably reduced the budgeted number of its pages. This shows how far behind Korea studies are compared to other fields of East Asian studies and how utopian the possibility appears nowadays that Korea too could be worthy of publications such as *Sino-Platonic Papers* or *Roma-Sinica* (the latter is the series that has courageously agreed to include this volume in its repertoire).

That said, let us now review the academic context and the essays in this volume.

Long known to the West as the "Hermit Country," Korea actually possesses a rich history of interactions and international relations, both at a diplomatic and official level as well as at the informal level of individuals. This experimental volume analyzes episodes of confrontation, both "physical" and "cultural," between the people of Korea and "others" in various historical moments. In such a context, the present volume shows research cases conducted under the auspices of the Humanities Korea Plus (HK+) Project entitled *Collectio*, *collatio*, *connectio*, which is sponsored by the National Research Foundation (NRF) of Korea and is currently underway at Anyang University in Anyang, Republic of Korea. This project aims

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to explore documents on relations and exchanges between East and West, especially (but not only) in pre-modern times.

As the first of its kind in Korea, this project aspires to serve as a turning point in the history of comparative/structuralist and transnational studies on Korea itself. In doing so, it attempts to address deficiencies in existing scholarship, especially with regard to comparisons between the Far East (and Korea in particular) and the cultures of the Near/Middle East and the classic and medieval West. To be sure, effectively incorporating a comparative approach to recast today's Korean studies in a more transnational mold is hardly a trivial undertaking to be accomplished on short notice; in fact, comparative/structuralist and transnational studies assume a high level of intellectual resources from which to draw upon. Ideally, these would be cultivated and encouraged, starting at the primary and secondary school level, but this has yet to be realized in many countries (including Korea) due to school systems that privilege competition over cooperation, preparing students for work at the exclusion of sociality. Furthermore, humanistic studies tend to be penalized in favor of the sciences, while students' intellectual curiosity is buried under the boulder of a "major" outside of which exists only a desolate cognitive desert. Nevertheless, if in the past, other fields of oriental studies concerning, for example, China and Central Asia have produced such eclectic scholars as the likes of Pelliot, Chavannes, Gernet, Tucci, Stary, Needham, and Mair, why should this not be the case for Korean studies?

The hope, therefore, is that this volume can provide an incentive for the development, in a comparative/transnational key, of Korean studies, which currently tends to focus on a few topics obsessively revisited in scientific publications. The resulting arguments, then, are often beholden to a limiting modernism (cinema, K-POP, North Korea, etc.) that obscures studies on classical Korea, which represents another dark paradox in that too many people on the one hand make nationalist proclamations even as they deny and neglect their own past on the other.

Five of the eight chapters that make up this volume are thus the work of scholars originally affiliated with the aforementioned HK+ project. The other three essays present a range of work from both Korean and non-Korean scholars specializing in various disciplines, but united by their interest in comparative studies. Taken as a whole, the eight essays span a period of roughly 1,300 years and uncover hitherto unsuspected details and circumstances regarding Koreans' relations with "otherness," some of which have either been addressed by global scholarship only slightly or not at all.

The succession of the various chapters is roughly arranged in a chronological order, from the topic concerning the oldest period to the most modern one. First, Alberto Riotto's "Hyech'o's Description of the Byzantine Empire and its Historical Reliability" discusses the unusual circumstances that bring together, albeit in a

literary context, Korea and the Byzantine Empire. The Korean monk Hyech'o (ca. 700–780), active in Tang China, journeyed to the West over a period spanning from 723 to 727. Later, in 1908, the French sinologist Paul Pelliot (1878–1945) discovered a fragmented account of that journey known as *Wang o Ch'ŏnch'ukkukchŏn* (Diary of a pilgrimage to the five regions of India); among the foreign countries described by the monk is the Byzantine Empire, called Taebullim, which Hyech'o almost certainly did not visit in person, but whose products and some historical events are in any case described. The author painstakingly checks the latter against numerous Western sources, and from this process emerge both points of confirmation and discrepancy. It is precisely this diversity that offers a springboard for new investigations and historical hypotheses unfettered by sources more commonly consulted.

The second chapter, Sin Wŏnch'ŏl's "The Propagation to Korea and Reintroduction to China of Huilin's *Yiqiejing yinyi*" deals with the *Yiqiejing yinyi* (Pronunciations and meanings of terms in the [Buddhist Scriptures], a Chinese dictionary characterized by a complicated and fascinating history. Its first edition of 25 chapters, produced by the monk Xuanying, dates back to about 650, but the work was then expanded into 100 chapters by the monk Huilin in the year 807. Despite its value, however, the latter's work was dismissed by the Chinese for inaccuracies in the rendering of terms and poverty of language, Huilin not being Chinese but rather of Central Asian origins as a native of the country of Shule, which today corresponds more or less to the Kashgar area. However, the work was imported into Korea during the Koryŏ period (918–1392) and, from there, it was then re-exported to China where by then it had been considered lost. This eventful history of the text is analyzed by the author, who solidly fortifies his assertions with historical and philological annotations.

In the third chapter, titled "How Did a Defecting Samurai Become a Sinophile? The Case of Kim Ch'ungsŏn (Sayaka)," Ch'oe Chŏngsŏp considers a curious case of xenophilia in Korea during the war with Japan of 1592–1598. The protagonist is a Japanese military officer, a certain Sayaka, who upon arrival in Korea apparently sympathized with the invaded country and its people, which led to his desertion and subsequent devotion to the kingdom of Chosŏn. Once the hostilities ceased, after changing his name to Kim Ch'ungsŏn, he remained in Korea to pursue his studies, becoming the progenitor of the Kim clan of Urok, whose line extends to the present day. Kim Ch'ungsŏn's legacy has since been suspended between reality and legend (some even going so far as to doubt his existence), but Ch'oe ably reconstructs his life and oeuvre, pieced together as it was posthumously by his descendants. The story presents a fascinating case of philoxenia in the context of the very tense relationship that has long existed between Korea and Japan.

The fourth chapter, Ch'oe Chŏng'yŏn's "On the Publication of *True Origin of All Things* (*Wanwu Zhenyuan* 萬物眞源) and the Response of Eighteenth-century Chosŏn Scholars," takes as its subject the *Wanwu zhenyuan* (The true origin of all things), one of the greatest works of the Italian Jesuit Giulio Aleni (1582–1649), its success in China (it was in fact the most famous of the Catholic missionaries' works, apart from the *Tianzhu shiyi* [The true meaning of the Lord of Heaven by Matteo Ricci]), its diffusion in Korea, and the reaction it occasioned among Korean Confucian intellectuals. The author traces the philological trajectory of the work from its first printing onward, and then considers the evaluation of the work itself in a Confucian context, an evaluation that, given the insufficient intellectual tools at the disposal of Korean scholars (compounded by the lack of an appreciable *curiositas* regarding the rest of the world, arguably a problem that persists today), tended to be negative, its content deemed either a pale imitation of Taoism or Buddhism.

In the fifth chapter, in "Chosŏn People's Experiences of Foreign Lands in the Seventeenth Century: Focusing on the Stories of Prisoners of War," Cho Haeran considers the relationships between Koreans and "others" as portrayed in historical and literary sources from the second half of the Chosŏn period. At the time, the war between Korea and Japan spanning from 1592 to 1598 and the Manchu invasions of 1627 and 1636 inevitably led to the forced displacement of civilians and soldiers of Korean nationality as well as others. Drawing on these two calamitous events, the author examines an array of significant documents highlighting real or imaginary characters forced by wars and deportations to confront "others" and undergo dramatic transformations in their lives. The emphasis here falls on the difficulty of reconciling Confucian principles with the historical exigencies of the moment and the protagonists' consequent identity crises, albeit that such tend to be overwhelmed by their instinct for survival.

In the sixth chapter, "The Yun Ponggil Incident in Shanghai (1932) as Seen Through European Newspapers," Laurent Quisefit conducts a scrupulous review of contemporary major European newspapers. He thus confirms the shameful indifference (if not hostility) of Europe towards the Korean resistance movement on the occasion of the April 29 Shanghai bombing targeting senior Japanese officials, which was carried out by the Korean patriot Yun Ponggil (1908–1932). While China applauded and praised the Korean patriot, in European newspapers the news was generally compressed into a few lines, with no lack of unfounded embellishments intended to augment the reader's indignation and horror at Yun. This selective silence and distortion of the facts can be attributed to, among other things, the fear on the part of European colonial powers of potentially inflaming armed resistance in their colonies. However, Quisefit's essay also inspires reflection on the hypocrisy and hybris of the contemporary West which, while oppress-

ing, provoking, and destabilizing entire regions of the globe, then complains (through corrupted mass media) of any act of armed resistance, easily stigmatized and condemned as "terrorism."

Next, Cho Yongseuck's "The Americanization of the Korean Protestant Church in the Late Nineteenth and Early to Mid-twentieth Centuries" deals with the crucial period in which, taking advantage of historical and political circumstances, US Protestant missionaries managed to recruit many Koreans to their cause. On account of the centuries-old rivalry between Korea and Japan and the historical anomaly in Korea where the religious missionaries were not aligned with the ruling colonial power as was usually the case (the Japanese, in fact, promoted a local Buddhism dependent on its Japanese counterpart in Korea), the author argues that Protestant Christian missionaries, especially Presbyterians, came to be identified with the United States itself. Arriving at a geopolitically opportune moment with the promise of novel perspectives, they represented not only a religious point of reference but also a political and ideological alternative to the Korean people as they forged a path out of colonial oppression.

Finally, in his chapter titled "Changing the Face of Destiny: A Study on Korean Reinterpretations of Tarot" Maurizio Riotto presents an intriguing case of "cultural contamination" that began only a few decades ago and remains fully underway today. In a country like Korea, where divination has often played an important historical role, the importation of a Western divination model such as that of the Tarot has, on the one hand, muddled the motifs, symbols, and meanings of the original cards and, on the other, imbued it with an unusual social role after its adaptation to local tastes and customs. Starting from the origin of playing cards, the first part of the essay covers the invention of the Tarot (initially unrelated to divination) in Renaissance Italy and its reinvention as a divination instrument in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In the second part, the author takes the three most famous Western decks as a model and compares them with three decks of East Asian origin, demonstrating their distinct approach to symbolism and iconography. He then illustrates how the use of the Tarot in Korea has assumed to some extent the role of a kind of mass social-therapy.

In conclusion, with great pleasure, I thank my friend and colleague Professor Andrea Balbo for proposing the realization of this volume and encouraging me to articulate my ideas with regard to the need for a more transnational approach to Korean Studies, as well as how best to pursue an end that as of yet remains unfamiliar to much of the academic world.

Alberto Riotto

Hyech'o's Description of the Byzantine Empire and its Historical Reliability

Abstract: This chapter considers the only testimony about the Byzantine Empire related to us by Korean sources of the ancient period. The reference occurs in *Wang o ch'ŏnch'ukkukchŏn* 往五天竺國傳, the travel diary of the Korean monk Hyech'o (ca. 700–780), who from 723 to 727 embarked on a pilgrimage to the holy places of Buddhism in India and Central Asia. In this regard, Hyech'o's work is of enormous interest, not only because it is the sole testimony on eighth-century India that comes to us from the Far East, but also because he describes, in real time and as an eyewitness, the epochal historical changes that were then taking place in India and the Middle East. While Hyech'o himself did not personally go to the Byzantine Empire, he relayed news of it based on information received from third parties (perhaps in Persia). This chapter thus compares his assertions to the official historiography, pointing out from time to time the correspondences and the inconsistencies.

Prologue

Although less widely known than the famous travelogues of Faxian 法顯 (337–422) and Xuanzang 玄奘 (602–664), the account of his pilgrimage to the west by the Korean Buddhist monk Hyech'o 慧超 (ca. 700–780)[1] remains an outstanding document in travel literature from the Far East. In fact, not only does Hyech'o's account remain the only far-eastern description of India in the eighth century, but it even provides information on the extreme western reaches of Asia in a period crucial to the destiny of the Eurasian continent, characterized on the one hand by the recent collapse of the Sasanian Empire and the irresistible advance of Islam, and on the other by the inexorable decline of Buddhism in its own areas of origin.

At the time of Hyech'o, a real clash of civilizations was in progress, which would have recorded one of its most dramatic episodes shortly after Hyech'o's journey and within the Korean monk's lifetime. I am obviously referring to the battle of the Talaś River, in July 751, when in the only important historical episode involving both Chinese and Arab armies, the Tang troops (on that occasion led by

1 Also spelled 惠超. Chinese: Huichao. Sanskrit: Prajñāvikrama.

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General Gao Xianzhi 高仙芝 [?–756], of Korean origin)[2] were defeated, forcing China to abandon any hegemonic claim on Central Asia. It is precisely the Chinese prisoners of that battle, brought within the caliphate, who would have given a significant boost to the development of Western civilization, thanks to their knowledge of the manufacture of silk and, above all, of paper.

This work aims to check the historical reliability of the meager and generic description of the Byzantine Empire as related in his writing by Hyech'o who, for his part, never went there. This is neither a simple nor easy undertaking: the Korean monk relies on hearsay, and it is unclear from whom and where he got the information then reported in the text of his diary. Even so, however, the words of Hyech'o retain considerable importance in an era in which, along the so-called "Silk Roads" (especially the land routes), oriental products, starting with those from China, were sold in the West through Iranic or Central Asian intermediaries, and the few travelers coming directly from the Far East were mainly monks.[3]

1 The Author and the Work

The author of the work known as *Memoirs of a Pilgrimage to the Five Regions of India* (*Wang o ch'ŏnch'ukkukchŏn* 往五天竺國傳) is Hyech'o, a Buddhist monk from the kingdom of Silla 新羅, on the Korean Peninsula. The name "Hyech'o" is

2 The battle zone is located in today's Kazakhstan. Gao Xianzhi 高仙芝 (Korean: Ko Sŏnji), although backed by some Qarluq Turk troops, commanded an army numerically smaller than the Arab one, the latter strengthened by Central Asian and, above all, Tibetan soldiers. The defection of the Qarluqs, suddenly turned enemy, further aggravated the situation of the Chinese, who eventually were forced to retreat. Any desire for retaliation on the part of the Tang was frustrated by the outbreak of the tremendous rebellion of An Lushan 安禄山, in 755. On the battle and its consequences, see among others, Bai et al. (2003) 221 ff. See also Farale (2006). On the troops involved in the battle, see Barthold (1928) 195–196.

3 In fact, it should be remembered that the Chinese Empire began to enhance trade only from the Song dynasty 宋, in the tenth century, where the economy of previous periods had been mainly of a feudal type (Gernet [1983] 85 ff.). For the rest, it now seems certain that the Chinese had very little knowledge of the commercial mechanisms of the West, starting with the production of silk, of which the Chinese themselves did not realize they had the de facto monopoly (Liu/Shaffer [2009] 142). This invalidates the story of the Byzantine monk who returns to his homeland hiding silkworms in his stick (Procopius [1898] IV, 17), an unthinkable legend because, in addition to the food needs of the insects, the Chinese would have had no reason to oppose the export of the silkworms. It should also be noted that it was precisely the presence of numerous Central Asian intermediaries that caused the price of Eastern goods to soar to exorbitant heights, since the Chinese were not directly involved in international trade at the time. On the commercial and cultural exchanges along the silk routes in general, see Boulnois (2005).

a religious one, assumed after the pronouncement of vows; nothing is known apropos of his secular name.

Hyech'o's Korean origins can be deduced from the last will and testament of Amoghavajra (705–774), an Indian master teaching in China, recorded by the Chinese monk Yuanzhao 圓照 in his *Biaozhiji* 表制集 (Collection of writings).[4] But of the (few) sources on Hyech'o and his work, the main authority can be found in the last of the 100 books that make up the *Yiqiejing yinyi* 一切經音義 (Pronunciation and meaning of terms in the [Buddhist] Scriptures), completed by the Chinese monk Huilin 慧琳 (737–820) around 810. Huilin himself tells us about Hyech'o's journey to the west, the first phase of which took place partly by sea, while the return took place entirely by land.

Paradoxically, however, Hyech'o seems to be unknown in Korea, so much so that he is not even mentioned by Iryŏn 一然 (1206–1289) in his *Samguk yusa* 三國遺事 (Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms), in the fourth book of which he speaks of Korean monks who traveled to India in search of Buddhist Law.[5] Collecting the scarce testimonies on Hyech'o, we can reconstruct that he was born around the year 700[6] and (as was quite common at the time) he traveled at a very young age to Tang 唐 China to study Tantric Buddhism under Indian Masters such as Śubhakarasiṃha (637–735) and Vajrabodhi (671–741). A short time later, in all probability in 723, he left on his journey, which ended with his return to China in December 727. Once back in China, he worked on the translation of sacred texts as assistant to Master Vajrabodhi, his work interrupted perhaps when the latter died in 741. He thus remained in China, presumably in the western capital Chang'an 長安, where we find him in 773, already old and authoritative, in the Daxingshan 大興善 temple[7] as a disciple of Amoghavajra. When the latter died in 774, Hyech'o continued his religious

4 Hypochoristic form of *Daizong chiao zengsi kongda bazheng guangzhi sanzang heshang biaozhiji* 大宗朝贈司空大辦正廣智三藏和尙表制集 (Collection of the writings of monks renowned for wisdom in Tripiṭaka during the rule of Daizong). See Yuan apud T.

5 Iryŏn (2019) book 4. The chapter dedicated to the Korean monks who sought the Way in the West is entitled, in Sino-Korean, "Kwich'uk chesa 歸竺諸師" (On the various Masters who searched for the Way in India).

6 In his studies, the Japanese scholar Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎 (1866–1945) comes to the conclusion that Hyech'o was born in 704 and died in 787 (Takakusu [1915]). More prudently, we will hazard that he was born around 700 and died after 780. See in this regard Hyecho (2010) 68.

7 It still exists today. This temple dates back to 266, at the time of the Western Jin, and, at first, it was called Zunshan 遵善. Having gone through various renovations, it fell into disuse with the fall of the Tang, after it had become probably the greatest Chinese center of esoteric Buddhism. From the fifteenth century onwards, it began to regain importance, this time as a temple of Chan 禪 Buddhism, and despite various unfortunate vicissitudes (it suffered serious damage at the time of the Taiping 太平 revolt [1850–1864]), it remains with us to this day.

activities until 780, the year in which he retired to the Qianyuan puti 乾元菩提 temple, on Mount Wutai 五臺, where he spent the last part of his life.

The monk Huilin writes that Hyech'o reported his travel impressions in a text divided into three books. The *Pilgrimage*, however, remained unobtainable until 1908, when it was discovered among many other texts by the French sinologist Paul Pelliot (1878–1945) in a cave of Dunhuang 敦煌, in the contemporary Chinese province of Gansu 甘肅.

Hyech'o's text, which now resides in the National Library of Paris, consists of a handwritten paper document missing its initial and final sections and interspersed with gaps throughout. The *codex* is made up of nine sheets that show a total of 227 lines of writing, only 210 of which are complete since many characters are now illegible. There are 5,893 extant characters, compared to the estimated 6379. The document seems to originate in an epoch proximate to that in which Hyech'o lived and yet, despite its shortcomings, the work clearly comprises a single book,[8] in contrast to what Huilin writes. It therefore remains uncertain whether the work is presented in its original form or is only a summary penned by either Hyech'o himself or an unknown copyist. As a matter of fact, nothing is known about the author of the document.

The extant text of the *Pilgrimage*, written in less than perfect Chinese, begins shortly after Hyech'o lands in a region that seems to be the Ganges delta. Previously, after leaving Guangzhou 廣州 (that is, Canton), he had traveled by ship, stopping for a while in what would later become the Khmer kingdom; the actual pilgrimage starts from the landing area. From there, the Korean monk first visited some of the greatest Holy Places of Buddhism (Kuśinagara, Vārāṇasī, the temple of Mahābodhi, Sārnāth, Rajagṛha, and, perhaps, Kapilavastu). Later, he moved first to central India and then to southern India, where he may perhaps reached the kingdom of Chalukya. Hyech'o then traveled up the Indian peninsula in a north-western direction until he reached regions (Valabhī?) that had already been attacked by the Arabs and then went north to Jālandhara, from where he continued up to Kaśmir, Gandhāra, and Bāmiyān. The title of the work is thus fitting, given that Hyech'o visits all five directions of the Indian subcontinent (in the Far East, even the center is considered a direction).

Hyech'o, however, probably went even further west, as far as Persia, before returning to China by crossing the Tokharistān and climbing up the passes of the

8 Unless the author had excessively described the first part of the trip, a short stay in the South-east Asia. However, this is highly unlikely.

Pamir. Finally, he reached Tashkurgān (the Congling 葱嶺[9] of the Chinese texts and, perhaps, the "stone tower/λίθινος πύργος" of Marinus of Tyrus and Ptolemy[10]) and then Qashgar, at the entrance of the two caravan routes (northern and southern) that encircled the Taklamakan Desert. He chose the northern route and arrived first in Qucha and then in Qarashar, in the middle of the territories controlled by the Tangs. Here the text stops, but it is not difficult to imagine that from there he continued his travel to Dunhuang and then, presumably, to the western capital Chang'an.

Certainly, Hyech'o did not go in person to all the countries he speaks of, but today it is difficult to establish which ones, among those described, he really visited. According to the Korean philologist Chŏng Suil, the countries actually visited would be those whose description begins with a sentence structured as follows: ["So, from . . ." – place of departure – direction of travel – time taken – verb "to arrive"].[11] In reality, however, this structure is absent, for example in the descriptions of Kuśinagara and Vārāṇasī, both fundamental places of pilgrimage that the Korean monk cannot fail to have visited. Similarly, the verb "to arrive" *chi* 至[12] can be translated both as "I have arrived" and as "one arrives," thus hampering a precise understanding of the passage. In the case of the Byzantine Empire, we can say with relative confidence that Hyech'o never set foot there, whereas it is quite possible that he reached Persia. If so, then we must conclude that it was in Persia (or, more generally, in the territory formerly subject to the Sassanid Empire) that he received the information reported in his diary, even if those informants are not specified. In this regard, we have to consider that the situation in Persia (where Hyech'o arrived around 725/726) must have been quite complex, with the recently fallen Sassanids and a post-war process in the shadow of the Umayyad caliphate, certainly not without friction and rife with social and religious contrasts. But let us direct our attention to the passage central to this analysis.

9 The term "Congling" is used by extension, as it originally meant the entire Pamir area. The place, in Chinese, was called Hebantuo 喝槃陀 and today, transliterating the original name, also Tashikuergan 塔什库尔干.

10 In fact, in the Turkic languages "Tashkurgān" means "stone fortress/tower," but this is insufficient to confirm its identity as the place reported by the Greek geographers. On the identification of Tashkurgān see, among others, Riaz (2015), Bernard (2005) and Rapin (2001). See also P'iankov (2015).

11 See Hyech'o (2004).

12 Chinese: *zhi*.

2 The Description and its Possible Evidence

Hyech'o's work, as it was found, was not divided into chapters. The subdivision as it appears today in the main editions has been ongoing for some time and is almost unanimously accepted by all specialists; the *Pilgrimage* was thus divided into 40 chapters of various lengths, following the order of the countries visited by Hyech'o. The chapter dedicated to the Byzantine Empire thus appears to be numbered 28 and reports the following:

Chapter 28: Taebullim 大拂臨 (Byzantine Empire)

> 又小拂臨國傍海西北卽是大拂臨國。此王兵馬强多。不属餘國。大寔數廻討擊不得。突厥侵亦不得。土地足寶物。甚足駝騾羊馬疊布等物。衣着與波斯大寔相似。言音各別不同。
>
> From Sobullim 小拂臨, going by sea to the north-west, one arrives directly in the country of Taebullim. The king of this country has a formidable army and is not subject to anyone. On several occasions, the Taesik 大寔 have tried to conquer it, and the Tolgwŏl 突厥 have also tried, but always without success. This land possesses many riches and produces camels, mules, sheep, horses, wool fabrics and more. The abundance of goods is truly remarkable. The clothes of this country are similar to those of P'asa 波斯 and Taesik, but the language is completely different.

In spite of its brevity, the passage offers various hints and also raises considerable doubts, starting with the identification of the places and peoples reported. But let us proceed in order, starting with the antonymic dyad formed by the names "Sobullim" and "Taebullim."

"Sobullim" and "Taebullim" literally and respectively mean (Country of) "Little Pullim (Chinese: Fulin)" and "Great Pullim." The term "Sobullim" already figures in chapter 27 of Hyech'o's work, i.e., the chapter immediately preceding the one that describes the Byzantine Empire. Chapter 27 deals with the Taesik 大食 (a term that also occurs in chapter 28: we will return to it), who are the Arabs, in the context of the description of a geographical area that can only be Syria and the western area of the former Sassanid Empire. However, in Chinese sources the term "Pullim" (or Fulin, if you prefer)[13] unequivocally indicates the Roman/Byzantine Empire (or, more likely, its eastern part), and is not the only term to do so; I will recall, among others, Daqin 大秦, Liqian 驪靬, Lijian 犁鞬, and Lixuan 黎軒.[14] The origin of the term is uncertain, and various hypotheses exist in this re-

13 See, among many others, Liu (1975) book 198, Ouyang/Song et al. (1975) book 221, Du (1978) book 193.

14 See, among others, Chen (2006) 505 ff. "Fulin," in particular, is a term used relatively late, and therefore refers mainly to the Byzantine Empire. In *Yuan shi* 元史 (History of the Yuan), the term

gard; among the major examples, one hypothesis that it derives from is πόλιν, accusative of πόλις, that is, Constantinople, the "city" par excellence. Another contends that it is a distortion of the Arab/Persian term "Rūm," used to indicate the Romans/Byzantines. Later, Turks and Persians, finding the initial pronunciation of "R" difficult, would have placed the syllable "U" or "Hu" before it, giving rise to a phonetic result such as "Hrūm" or "Phrūm."[15]

Having established that Pullim/Fulin means "Rome" (and its possessions in full), it is necessary to understand why Hyech'o spoke of a "Little Rome" and a "Great Rome." To do so, it is essential to go back two chapters and re-read what the Korean monk said about P'asa (Persia) and the Arabs, or Taesik:

Chapter 26: P'asa (Persia)

> 又從吐火羅國西行一月, 至波斯國. 此王先管大寔, 大寔是波斯王放駝戶, 於後叛, 便煞彼王, 自立爲主. 然今此國, 却被大寔所吞. 衣舊着寬氈布衫, 剪鬚髮. 食唯餅肉, 縱然有米, 亦磨作餅喫也. 土地出駝騾羊馬, 出高大驢氈布寶物. 言音各別, 不同餘國. 土地人性, 愛興易, 常於西海, 汎舶入南海, 向師子國取諸寶物, 所以彼國云出寶物. 亦向崑崙國取金, 亦汎舶漢地, 直至廣州, 取綾絹絲綿之類. 土地出好細疊. 國人愛煞生, 事天, 不識佛法.

> Furthermore, proceeding from T'ohwara 吐呼羅 towards the west, I arrived after a month in the country of P'asa. The king of this country had once conquered the Taesik, but the latter, thanks to a camel driver who later became the leader of an insurrection and assassin of the same sovereign, not only obtained independence, but in turn subjugated the ancient master. For this reason, the situation is now reversed, and this country now belongs to the Taesik. Since ancient times, the people of this country have worn loose woolen tunics, shaved their beards and hair and almost exclusively ate bread and meat. This is despite the fact that they know of rice; in fact, they make it into flour and then eat it like bread. This land produces camels, mules, sheep, horses, donkeys of marvelous size, woolen fabrics and precious materials. The language is very peculiar and has no similarities with any other language.[16] The inhabitants of this country have a natural predisposition towards trade, and for this reason, they always depart from the West Sea to get to the Southern Sea: in this way they go as far as the country of Saja 師子[17] from where they bring back various types of precious materials to the point of calling it the land of treasures. Not only that, but they

Folang 佛郎 or Falang 法朗 is also used, probably through a Persian lexical loan originally referring to the Franks, which remains to this day as Farang (in the generic meaning of "Western") in many areas of Southeast Asia (see Zhang 2009). On the ancient western toponyms in China, cf. Feng/Lu (1980).

15 Hyech'o (2004) 361–362.

16 We do not know if this refers to Arabic or Pahlavi, more likely the former, since up to that moment Hyech'o had crossed various territories where Iranian languages were in use, however similar to Pahlavi.

17 Chinese: Shizi. It is Śrī Lankā/Ilaṅkai, formerly Ceylon and also the Serendib of the Arabs and the Taprobane of the classical sources.

venture as far as Kollyun 崑崙[18] and even China, to Kwangju,[19] where they buy raw silk, worked silk, light silk and cotton. This land, for its part, produces very refined woolen fabrics of excellent quality. The people of this country practice the butchering of animals, worship Heaven[20] and do not know Buddhist Law.

Chapter 27: Taesik (Arabs)

又從波斯國北行十日入山, 至大寔國. 彼王[不住]本國, 見向小拂臨國住也, 爲打得彼國. 彼國復居山島, 處所極窄, 爲此就彼. 土地出駝騾羊馬疊布毛毯, 亦有寶物. 衣着細疊寬衫, 衫上又披一疊布, 以爲上服. 王及百姓衣服, 一種無別, 女人亦着寬衫. 男人剪髮在鬚, [女人]在髮. 喫食無問貴賤, 共同一盆而食, 手把亦匙筯耶. 見極惡, 云自手煞而食, 得福無量, 國人愛煞. 事天, 不識佛法. 國法無有跪拜法也.

From P'asa, after ten days of walking north, crossing the mountains, one arrives in the country of Taesik. The king of Taesik does not reside in his homeland,[21] but in the country of Sobullim, and due to having recently conquered this land, he lives on a mountainous island, deeming it inviolable and safe. This country produces camels, mules, sheep, horses, woolen fabrics, carpets and precious materials. The inhabitants wear large fine wool tunics, over which they wear another piece of cloth, also wool, as an overcoat. The king and ordinary citizens all dress alike, and the women also wear loose tunics.[22] Men cut their hair but let their beards grow; women, on the other hand, wear their hair long.[23] When it comes to eating, nobles and commoners, without distinction, all draw from the same dish and do it with their hands more so than with a spoon or chopsticks, something extremely repugnant to see. On the other hand, the people of those regions believe that by grasping the food with their own hands, they will enjoy inexhaustible luck. The butchering of animals is largely practiced; for the rest, people worship Heaven and completely ignore Buddhist Law. In those parts, moreover, it is not customary to kneel or bow.[24]

18 Chinese: Kunlun. Generic term that indicates peoples close to the Chinese. In this case, given the geographical-literary context, it is perhaps the Malay peninsula, or Malacca if you prefer.

19 Guangzhou in Chinese, or Canton. It is precisely the place from which Hyech'o started his travels.

20 It can allude to Islām, but perhaps also to Christian residents, both being "revealed" religions.

21 It is difficult to say what Hyech'o here means by "homeland," indicated in the text as "ponguk 本國" or, literally, "Country of origin." Maybe the Arabian Peninsula?

22 The uniformity of the Arabs' clothing seems to surprise Hyech'o, who came from a country (China) where clothing varied according to the rigid social scale.

23 It is surprising that Hyech'o does not mention the Islamic veil of women, whose use the Arabs learnt from Byzantines, but, probably, at the time of Hyech'o and in the places he visited, the use of the veil had not yet been fully codified.

24 Hyech'o certainly does not speak in an absolute sense, since Muslims kneel and bow at the moment of prayer. In saying what he says, the Korean monk is certainly referring to the way of greeting typical of China and the Far East in general. Note also Hyech'o's insistence on emphasizing the use of animal butchering, which must have been horrifying in the eyes of a Buddhist religious man.

So Hyech'o arrived in P'asa (Persia) around 725/726, after having left a month earlier from T'ohwara, that is Tokharistān, which corresponds, more or less, to ancient Bactria and today's northern Afghanistān. He found the country already conquered by the Arabs (Taesik),[25] also providing details on the death of the last Sassanid ruler (who can only be Yazdegerd III) which, although confused, are not entirely at odds with history.[26] We do not know what Hyech'o meant by "Persia"; his narration certainly continued, relating that once he departed, always westward, he would arrive in the country of Taesik in about ten days. But what did this country correspond to? Certainly, it was not the "recently conquered" Sobullim (where the ruler of Taesik himself resided) and it was not even Persia, which the Korean monk had left ten days previously. At this point, since the king of the Taesik could only be the Caliph and the Caliph at that time was in Damascus, it follows that Sobullim had to be Syria. Consequently, the "Country of Taesik" had to be the territory where the border between the Roman Empire and the Parthian/Sassanid empire once ran or, *grosso modo*, today's Iraq with particular reference to the area crossed by the Tigris and the Euphrates rivers, a territory that had been recently conquered. On the other hand, Hyech'o did not dedicate a particular chapter to Sobullim, probably because Sobullim had already been included in the Arab territories.

A still unexplained detail remains: what was the "mountainous island" (*sando* 山島 in the original text) from which the Caliph would reign? Cyprus immediately comes to mind as a candidate, having at that time been subject to repeated raids by the Arabs, but no evidence regarding a caliphal seat in Cyprus exists to support such a hypothesis. More likely, Hyech'o could have misunderstood the words of his informant or, rather, meant "island" to simply be a peripheral, inaccessible, and remote locale (a mountain fortress?), as is still customary in the Far East today.[27]

If "Little Rome" constituted that part of Syria just lost by Byzantium, then, "Great Rome" (Taebullim) was Byzantium itself and its territories. Hyech'o stated that starting from Sobullim (Syria), to reach Taebullim you had to navigate in a northwest direction, and you could get there "soon," "directly" (卽), without pass-

25 In reality, Tokharistān was also under Arab influence, after the military campaign of Qutayba ibn Muslim (669–715) in 705. On the military activity of Qutayba see, among other things, Gibb (1923) 29 ff. and Hambly (1970) 66 ff.

26 Yazdegerd III was in fact killed in Merv by a commoner probably sent by Māhōē Sūrī (Mâhavaih in Arabic), of Parthian origin (the Parthians had been subjugated by the Sassanids at the time), who was the military commander of the region. Even ancient Arab historians do not know with certainty how the facts unfolded: see, for example, al-Bâladhuri in Hitti (1916) 491–493.

27 Sometimes, both in the East and in the West, the term "island" actually means simply a remote place or a peninsula, as in the case of the Peloponnese (literally: "island of Pelops").

ing through other countries. Here the passage is credible, even if it may seem strange that the modalities of transportation of which Hyech'o was informed only contemplated the sea route. This leads us to conclude that the monk's informants were mainly merchants, who found maritime routes advantageous (greater speed of movement and a more consistent transportable quantity of goods to be exchanged) compared to a journey by land. The following passage focuses on the military strength of Byzantium, which allowed it absolute political independence. Here, too, the findings are positive: it is true that the Byzantine Empire had lost many territories during the recent Islamic expansion, but it is also true that, at the time of Hyech'o's journey, Byzantium had emerged from a fresh and decisive victory against the Arabs (717–718) in the context of a more stable political-institutional situation (albeit in full iconoclastic crisis)[28] under the reign of Leo III Isauric (r. 717–741), which resolved the chaos that had arisen between the seventh and eighth centuries.[29]

Hyech'o did not stop at the mention of Byzantine military force, but also provided examples of it, namely the victories against the attacks of the Taesik and the Tolgwŏl 突厥, and it will therefore be necessary to try to identify the attackers and to which episodes the monk referred. We can find historical evidence on the Taesik: there is no doubt, in fact, that the Taesik (Chinese: Dashi) were the Arabs, even if the oriental sources sometimes seem to apply the term to Muslims in general. Rather, it is the word "Taesik" that may generate misunderstanding, since it is none other than the "Tajik" that today indicates a predominantly Iranic ethnicity as well as an Indo-European language. The etymology of the term itself is unclear, having variously been traced to the Arabic "taj" (crown), sometimes to an ancient Turkish term intended to designate the Persians, and other times to a Middle-Persian word possibly indicating the Arab invaders and their Iranic allies. However, it seems that the term initially had a cultural connotation before an ethnic connotation and that it then restricted its semantics first to Muslim Iranians and then to the current ethnic group.[30]

28 As a matter of fact, Leo III took an official position against iconodulism only in 726, almost simultaneously with the presence of Hyech'o in the West. See in this regard Treadgold (1997) 350 ff.; see also Ostrogorsky (1993) 148–149. On the thought and society of this period in general, see Mango (2014).

29 On the failure of the Arab campaign of 717–718 see, among others, Foord (1911) 160 ff. However, we must not forget the role played by the Bulgarians and the Khazars alongside the Byzantines. It is precisely the alliance with the Khazars that was cemented in 733 through the marriage between the heir to the throne of Byzantium Constantine and the daughter of the Qān of the Khazars. See in this regard Ostrogorsky (1993) 144–145. On the Khazars see, among others, Koestler (2003).

30 On this question see Curtis (1997).

As for the Arab attacks on Byzantium, Hyech'o did not specify a precise number, but simply used the indefinite iterative "su 數" to indicate "several times." Now, although minor expeditions against Byzantium by the Arabs took place almost annually,[31] there is no reason to doubt that Hyech'o alluded to the two great sieges suffered by the Byzantine capital in 674–678 and 717–718.[32] The echo of those victories which, by disrupting the invincibility of the Islamic armies also on a purely technological level thanks to Callinicus' "Greek fire," had in fact inaugurated the twilight of the Umayyad caliphate must have reached Hyech'o's ears despite his distance from the theater of operations.[33]

Hyech'o's second affirmation, that the Byzantine Empire (and we must believe at this point its capital) was attacked, albeit unsuccessfully, by the Tolgwŏl, instead poses other problems to historians. "Tolgwŏl" is the Korean pronunciation of the two characters that are read in Chinese as "Tujue," a name that frequently occurs in the ancient historical works of the "Middle Kingdom." It refers, in fact, to a group of people (or more likely, confederation of peoples)[34] that in the West is known by the name of "Western Turks" or "Celestial Turks" (Göktürk).

31 Especially in Asia Minor. See in this regard El-Cheik-Saliba (1992) 31.

32 Perhaps also the Arab campaign of 654–655, which although less epic than the other two had worried Emperor Constant II (r. 641–668) to such an extent that, according to the Armenian bishop Sebeos (1904) 140–141, he had dressed in sackcloth, probably thinking he was in one of the apocalyptic contexts proclaimed by various apocryphal writings of the time.

33 The defeat was obviously seen by many as a religious signal from Theophanes. In his *Chronographia*, relative to the Annus Mundi 6165, he writes: ἐκπορίζων δὲ ὁ αὐτός θεοβύθιστος στόλος, κατελήφθη ὑπὸ χειμερίου ζάλης καὶ πνεύματος καταιγίδος ἐπὶ τὰ μέρη τοῦ Συλαίου · καὶ συντριβεὶς ὁλοκλήρως ὤλετο. Σουφιᾶν δὲ ὁ υἱός, τοῦ Ἀὺφ ὁ δεύτερος ἀδελφός, συνέβαλεν πόλεμον μετὰ Φλώρον καὶ Πετρωνᾶ καὶ Κυπριανοῦ ἐχόντων Ῥωμαικὴν δύναμιν · καὶ κτείνονται Ἄραβες χιλιάδες λ'. Τότε Καλλίνικος ἀρχιτέκτων ἀπὸ Ἡλιουπόλεως Συρίας προσφυγὼν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις πῦρ θαλάσσιον κατασκευάσας τὰ τῶν Ἀράβων σκύφη ἐνέπρησεν, καὶ σύμψυχα κατέκαυσεν. καὶ οὕτως οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι μετὰ νίκης ὑπέστρεψαν, καὶ τὸ θαλάσσιον πῦρ εὗρον (Thus struck by divine anger, the expedition was surprised by a winter storm and ended up entirely destroyed near Syllaion. The other son of Sufyan, Ayph's younger brother, also fought a battle against the Romans, who were under the command of Florus, Petronas and Cyprian, in which 30,000 Arabs were killed. It was also at that time that Callinicus of Heliopolis fled Syria and asked the Romans for protection, and after discovering a fire to be used in naval battles, he destroyed the Arab vessels along with their crews. Thus, the Romans returned to victory and discovered the Greek naval fire [Theophanes 1883, 354]).

34 These were presumably various Turkish tribes with perhaps some presence of Iranian and Tungus groups. The result had to be a real melting-pot of physiognomies. After all, it is enough today to look at the variety and distribution of peoples speaking Turkic languages (Azeris, Uzbeks, Tatars, Bashkirs, Turkmens, Kyrgyz, Uighurs, etc.) to realize this. Despite his antiquity, the monographic work by Chavannes (1903) still remains authoritative on the Tujue.

The Celestial Turks played an important role in the political and military events of Central Asia from the middle of the sixth to the middle of the eighth century, gaining control of territory that, at the time of its maximum expansion, probably spanned from the Caspian Sea almost to Manchuria.[35] In the process, they often entered into conflict with China and such Central Asian peoples as the Ephthalites and perhaps also the Alans and the Avars. Especially to the detriment of the latter (if indeed the Avars are to be identified with the lords of the Rouran qaghanate), the Celestial Turks asserted themselves in the West under the leadership of Bumin (Chinese: Yili 伊利? –552). In 584, this first Turkic Qaghanate, torn by internal struggles, split into two, but both sides were eventually subjugated by the Chinese: the eastern part in 630, the western part in 657. The Celestial Turks resurrected in 679, rebelling against the Chinese and founding a second Qaghanate three years later, but it was only a flash in the pan. Exhausted by Chinese counter-offensives and the reaction of other peoples of the steppes, they would finally succumb to the Uighur in 744.

Thus far have been the main historical events. Now, it is a question of locating a link to the Byzantines: in particular, an act of hostility by the Göktürk towards New Rome of such magnitude so as to warrant its telling to a traveler hailing from afar, such as Hyech'o. However, at this point, the difficulties for historians are multiple. The Western Turks, in fact, had limited and generally cordial relations with the Byzantines; certainly, they never attacked the capital of the Empire, and probably the only episode of hostility of any significance to even merit consideration would be the attack on Bosporos (now Kerch) in 576.[36] Even so, it was a negligible episode that took place 150 years before Hyech'o's trip and thus unlikely to have been the one noted by the Korean monk. On the contrary, already at the time of Istemi Qaghān (?–576. The Σιζάβουλος of Byzantine sources) and Justin II, there had been an exchange of embassies between the two empires aimed at cooperation (especially of a commercial nature: in this case, the silk trade) from a shared anti-Sassanid perspective. It was the Turks who initiated the first step: Ὅτι ἀρχομένου τετάρτου ἔτους Ἰουστίνου τῆς βασιλείας πρεσβεία τῶν

35 The leader of the Tujue Qapaghan qaghān, known in Chinese sources as Mo Chuo 默啜 (?–716), had a role in building the kingdom of Parhae 渤海 (698–926) in Manchuria, which arose from the ashes of the Korean kingdom of Koguryŏ 高句麗 (trad. 37 BC–668). His friendship with the Koreans was sealed by the marriage of his daughter to Ko Mungan 高文簡, a noble exile from Koguryŏ ("Ko" was in fact the name of the royal house of that kingdom). See, in this regard, Riotto M. (2018) 594 n2.

36 On this occasion, the Celestial Turks allied themselves with the Οὐτρίγουροι (people of uncertain origin not necessarily to be identified with the Kutriguri) led by a certain Ανάγαιος. Shortly after, it seems that the Turks presented themselves in front of Cherson, but the episode would have had no sequel. See Menander the Protector apud FHG IV, 245 ff.

Τούρκων ἀφίκετο ἐν βυζαντίῳ (At the beginning of the fourth year of Justin's reign [568] a Turkish embassy arrived in Byzantium).[37] The Byzantines immediately reciprocated, sending in turn an embassy in 569, led by Zemarchus, who was accompanied upon his return by a Turkish official named Tagma. Transiting through the territory of the Alans, Zemarchus and his family were warned by their king, Saroes, of ambushes by the Persians,[38] and Zemarchus thus followed an alternative path, finally arriving in Byzantium in 572. Another embassy, led by a certain Valentine, was sent to the Göktürk in 576, no doubt to extend the anti-Sassanid alliance to the military sphere, but the successor to Istemi (who in the meantime had died) welcomed him with unusual arrogance and coldness.[39] The fact that this happened almost simultaneously with the aforementioned attack on Bosporos suggests that the Turkish leader wanted to keep a very high profile towards both the Byzantines and Persians, but above all towards the neighboring Alans and other populations, based on him expressly indicating them to be "under his rule."[40] We do not know for sure what triggered the hostility of Turxanthos: perhaps the willingness of Byzantium to welcome the fugitives of those Avars who then vied with Turks for supremacy in the region. However, it did not take long for the two empires to return to friendly terms, even going so far as to fight as allies against the Sassanids at the time of Heraclius.[41] This would confirm

37 Thus writes Menander the Protector. See FHG IV, 225.

38 Menander the Protector apud Constantine (1903) 225 ff. Tagma (Ταγμά) is defined as Ταρχάν by Menander, and it was a common title among the peoples of Central Asia that probably indicated a high military position. The word, however, does not seem Turkic or Iranic, since in the plural it makes "Tarkhat," a morphological characteristic that renders it closer to the Mongolian or Tungus languages (for example: Khitan – Khitat, Jurchen – Jurchet). On the role of the Alans in Central Asian affairs in this period, see, among others, Alemany (2003).

39 Ibid., 207–208. See also FGH IV, 245. On this occasion, the Turkish leader used very rude expressions: "Aren't you those Romans who use ten languages for a single deception? (. . . δέκα γλώσσαις μιᾷ δὲ χρώμενοι ἀπάτῃ?)." For the rest, Istemi's successor is unanimously recognized as Tardu, but on this occasion Valentine speaks with Τούρξανθος (perhaps from the Turkish Turkśad), whose role has never been clarified. It seems that he was a brother of the same Tardu, however with wide decision-making powers, where the term could actually indicate a position instead of a proper name. On the Byzantine embassies to the Turks see Haussig (1972) and Dobrovits (2011). On the relations between the Byzantines and the Turks also see Baumer (2014) and Sinor (1990).

40 This would strengthen the hypothesis that the Avars' migration was caused by the expansion of the Celestial Turks. On the Turkish empire, see also Sinor/Klyashtorny (1996).

41 The most famous moment of this alliance is the common expedition against the Sassanids of 627–628, during which, among other things, Tiflis was also conquered. Theophanes (1883) 315–317, however, informs us that the contingent of 40,000 soldiers was supplied to Heraclius by Ziebel, "general" of the Khazars (as the "Turks of the East" are called) and second in rank only to its ruler. Now, the qaghān of the Göktürk at that time was Tong Yabghu, known in Chinese as Tongyiehu 統

that the Bosporos episode should be considered a consequence of the personal initiative of Turxanthos, who for reasons unknown to us seems to have had in those years, even more than Tardu, full decisional powers in the international politics of his State, at least in its extreme western part.

We already know the rest; in the following years, the Celestial Turks would face a series of vicissitudes consisting of the division of the empire, internal and external conflicts, an ephemeral recovery, and the final disaster of 744. At the time of Hyech'o, therefore, the Celestial Turks were undergoing the last phase of their political affairs and, in any case, had had very little to do with the Byzantines for a very long time.

In that case, if the Tolgwŏl assailants of Byzantium are neither the Celestial Turks (for the historical reasons just enumerated) nor the Arabs (Hyech'o specified they had no part in the attacks), nor the Persians (in which case the monk would surely have known of a Persian siege considering that it was in those parts), who are they?

To try to answer this difficult question, it is necessary to pinpoint, among the numerous sieges suffered by Byzantium,[42] those that present one or more of the following three conditions:

1) People who by language, appearance or culture can somehow be mistaken for the Celestial Turks.
2) An event of particular importance, equal to seriously endangering the Byzantine capital short of bringing about its capitulation.
3) An event not too chronologically removed from the years in which Hyech'o heard the story, namely 725/726.

Satisfying the first condition with certainty is paramount. However, among the many peoples similar to the Celestial Turks active in this timeframe, tracking down the one mentioned by Hyech'o is an almost desperate task. The Turkic

葉護 and leader of his people since 618 (he died around 628–630). It is the subject of considerable dispute as to whether Yabghu and Ziebel were the same person but, in any case, it appears evident that on the identification of the allies of the Byzantines, Theophanes did not have clear ideas, given that immediately after he called the Khazars "Turks" (although the Khazars were actually "Turks"). Personally, I consider the existence of an autonomous Khazar political entity at that time anachronistic, and I believe that the Khazars themselves were one of the many satellite groups of the Göktürk in those years. It is therefore quite possible that they provided a military contingent, but this would have been difficult without the consent of the supreme qaghān. Ziebel himself, at this point, could very well have been a Göktürk commander (perhaps that Böri Śad nephew of the qaghān) at the head of a varied contingent of armed forces that perhaps also included the Khazars.

42 A detailed list of such military operations against the empire capital can be found in Dalbon (2016).

world was (and is) vast and extremely varied from a physiognomic point of view as well; as rightly pointed out by Roux, "A Turk is anyone speaking a Turkic language,"[43] and Turkic languages were and are spoken by peoples whose physical characteristics range from absolutely Mongolian to decidedly Caucasian. And because the various tribes often aggregated, individuals quite distinct in physical appearance could very well hide under a generic name. In addition, from the fourth century onward, the mass of people who from the steppes of Central Asia embarked on the path of the West shared, apart from languages, a whole series of cultural models, from shamanism to equestrian nomadism. To find, therefore, people similar in language, appearance, and culture to the Celestial Turks is a very easy thing — so easy that today it is virtually impossible to narrow down the choices to a specific candidate for Hyech'o's Tolgwŏl.

The Huns of Attila and Bleda who attacked Byzantium in 447 likely incorporated a strong Turkic component among their ranks; the first part of the name "Attila" could be connected with the Turkic terms "at" (horse) or "ata" (father). In addition, the great Hun leader must have possessed decidedly Mongolian traits, if we are to believe what Iordanes reported.[44] As for the rest, the term "Hun" (like "Scythian") must be considered a highly generic name, extended to heterogeneous peoples united by the same nomadic culture, but not necessarily related to each other.[45] Moreover, it likely corresponds to the Chinese Xiongnu 匈奴, a term that is attested in historical texts of the "Celestial Empire" for centuries, starting at least from the third century BC.[46] As for the Xiongnu, they were presumably a tribal confederation, within which different languages and ethnic groups had to coexist. Some Xiongnu words such as *tängri* (sky), reported by Chinese texts and now present in every lexicon of the Turkic languages, have long led some to think that the Xiongnu were Turks, only to generate serious doubts among the Turcologists[47] themselves to the point of suggesting that *tängri* is originally a Xiongnu term that later functioned as a lexical loan for the Turkic peoples. After all, the

43 Roux (1988) 17.

44 Iordanes (1999) XXXV, 180: "(Attila was) *forma brevis, pectore side, capite grandiore, minutis oculis, rarus barba, canis aspersus, semo nasu, teter color* (short in stature, broad in chest, with a large head and small eyes, sparse beard, graying hair, short nose and dark skin)."

45 Bussagli (1970) 110–149.

46 In Sima/Sima's (1959) *Shiji* 史記, (book 110 and passim), one of the oldest Chinese sources, already discusses this (extensively). Also, the *Shiji*, in book 123, reports a significant episode of the war waged by the Chinese against the kingdom of Dayuan 大宛 (Ferghana), from 104 to 101 BC, in order to procure good horses to use against the Xiongnu, whose fighting techniques as mounted archers had posed serious difficulties for the Chinese armies.

47 Deny et al. (1959) 685 ff.

mythical founder of the Korean nation is Tan'gun, descended from the god of the sky, and Korean is a Tungusic (and not a Turkic) language.

While we do not know how closely Attila's Huns were related to the Celestial Turks, we can reasonably conclude that cultural models of the two tribal confederations must have been similar. Theoretically, therefore, they could be the Tolgwŏl mentioned by Hyech'o, even if their attack had occurred three centuries earlier.

Other possible candidates could be the Kutrigurs (also sometimes called "Huns"), who attacked Byzantium in 559. On that occasion, a band of 7,000 Kutrigur knights led by Ζαβεργάν, after crossing the frozen Danube, attacked the capital, only to be eventually defeated by Belisarius.[48] However, we know very little about these people, apart from the nomadic characteristics that can be deduced from the type of troops they used for the attack (mounted warriors). There are also strong doubts about the "turkness" of the Kutrigurs, starting with the name of their leader, Zabergan, who seems rather to be of Iranic origin.[49] On a related note, it bears mentioning that nomadism was also the prerogative of various Iranic peoples in addition to Turk-Mongols. That being the case, the Kutrigurs hardly settle with any certainty identification with the Tolgwŏl.

The attack on Byzantium in 626 was probably the largest carried out by non-Arab troops before Hyech'o's arrival in the west. The authors of this massive offensive were above all Avars, Slavs, Bulgars, and Gepids,[50] but it was certainly the Avars who constituted the backbone of the besieging forces; this can be attributed to the fact that they were at the height of their territorial expansion, whereas the others were either at the beginning (Slavs and Bulgarians) or at the end (Gepids) of their historical adventures. Besides, Slavs and Gepids were not even "Turks." However, rivers of ink have been spilled on the origins of the Avars without reaching any conclusions, and this is certainly not the space to do justice to this very delicate question. But it is worth remembering that the Avars are often called "Huns"[51] and that their customs—for instance, their fighting techniques—are described in a

48 The decisive confrontation, preceded by a passionate speech by Belisarius to the troops, is found almost epically narrated in Agathias (1828) V, 19–20.

49 Maenchen-Helfen (1973) 392. In particular, the name would already be traceable in the Parthian *Zbrkn* and Zaberganes, minister of Khosrow I Anushirvān, was certainly Persian.

50 Riotto A. (2017) 182 n.163. Despite the disastrous defeat against the Langobards in 567, in fact, the Gepids remained strong and active, so much so that the Byzantine general Priscus is said to have killed or captured more than 30,000 Gepids in the campaign against the Avars of 599 (Simocatta [1887] VIII, 4). Again, they are reported among the besiegers of Byzantium in 626 (Theophanes [1883] 315).

51 Paul the Deacon (1988) I, 27: *Alboin vero cum Avaribus, qui primum Hunni, postea de regis proprii nomine Avares appellati sunt, foedus perpetuum iniit* (Alboin, for his part, made a perpetual pact with the Avars who at first called themselves Huns, and who were then called "Avari"

way that recalls reports on the Xiongnu in Chinese texts as well as that, in any case, they were those typical of the nomads of the steppes,[52] and therefore also of the Tolgwŏl. Accordingly, it is quite possible that the attack mentioned by Hyech'o is precisely that of 626; indeed, this undoubtedly emerges as the primary suspect.

Moreover, one could also consider the much more recent episode of 705, in the course of which Justinian II Rhinotmetos was backed by Bulgarians and Slavs in his bid to recover the throne. But despite its proximity in timing, this hypothesis fails to pass muster; it is true that the Bulgarians were of Turkic origin, but it is also true that, in a certain sense, the siege (if it can be defined as such) was crowned with success (contrary to Hyech'o's statement), thanks to the deposed emperor's ingenious trick of infiltrating the city through its water pipes (κατὰ τὸν τῆς πόλεως ἀγωγὸν).[53]

The identification of Hyech'o's "Turks" therefore remains hypothetical. For the rest, the description of what the Byzantine Empire produced seems rather stereotypical and inspired by the monk's impressions during his travels among the western lands. Above all, he was amazed by the production of camels, and in indicating their "production" he did not exclude the possibility that farms of these animals existed on the peripheries of the Empire. This detail prompts another consideration, namely the fact that if Hyech'o had really met subjects of the Byzantine Empire they were most likely natives of the Middle East who, due to their habits and customs, would not have distinguished themselves too much from subjects of the Caliphate. Hence follows the other statement that the Byzantines' clothes were similar to those of Persia and the Arabs, although we must keep in mind that even the court of Byzantium was not immune to the charms of Eastern fashion. Thus, oriental decorative motifs such as the Persian Sīmurgh[54] were no doubt imported, but also turbans or ceremonial dresses such as σκαραμάγγιον, also most likely of Persian origin.[55]

Finally, there is little to say about the language, since Greek is in fact very different from both Arabic and Persian. This assumes that those who referred to Hyech'o alluded to Greek, but this will probably never be known for sure.

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after the name of their king). Einhard, XIII: *Maximum omnium quae ab illo gesta sunt bellorum praeterea Saxonicum huic bello successit illud videlicet quod contra Avares sive Hunos susceptum est or Huns*.

52 Maurice (2006) XI, 2.

53 Nikephoros (1880) 42.

54 Cirillo Mastrocinque (1960) 13 ff.

55 The term does not seem to predate the eighth century, when it appears in the work of Theophanes (1883) 319 as the garment of a Persian general. As a court dress it is also mentioned in Constantine (1751) I, 37. On the subject see Snodgrass (2014) 225 and Parani (2003) 61 n38.

Conclusions

After the description of the Byzantine Empire, Hyech'o began to discuss various Ho 胡 countries (Chinese: Hu). In Chinese, this character has the general meaning of "foreigner" and "barbarian" but, above all, in historiography its semantics narrowed to the point of often indicating Central Asians and Indo/Iranians in particular among foreigners. Among the countries mentioned by Hyech'o, there are Kang 康 (Samarkand), An 安 (Bukhara), Cho 曹 (Kabūdhan?), and others. Evidently, after the narration of the westernmost point, the monk returned to describing the East, hand in hand with his journey back to China.

Nobody knows whether Hyech'o ever returned, albeit temporarily, to Silla, after being ordained as a monk and concluding his travels to the West. What is certain is that his diary would not have circulated much even in China, nor can it be confirmed (as we have already mentioned) that the text found in Dunhuang is the original version rather than an epitome, in which case much information of value may have been lost. Even so, his description of the Byzantine Empire, brief and vague though it is, acquires notable historical value because it precedes in time great historical texts of the Chinese dynasties, such as the Old History of Tang (*Jiu Tang shu*), which offer more precise and detailed information. One of the first Western testimonies on Korea is probably the so-called *Book of Sulaiman*,[56] a text in Arabic dating back to 851, which in its very last lines speaks of a still unknown land, facing China, called "Syla," plausibly identifiable as "Silla." Indeed, in the time of Hyech'o, very few in the Byzantine Empire would have had knowledge of the Korean kingdoms, which even then had existed for centuries; for this reason, the *Memoirs of a Pilgrimage to the Five Regions of India* assumes today, in the context of so-called "travel literature," a historical value that goes beyond the simple content of its text.[57]

56 *Book of Sulaiman* (1922) 72–73.

57 On the literary value of Hyech'o's work see, among others, Pak (2006).

Sin Wŏnch'ŏl

The Propagation to Korea and Reintroduction to China of Huilin's *Yiqiejing yinyi*

Abstract: This chapter considers in its entirety the process by which the *Yiqiejing yinyi* 一切經音義 (Pronunciation and Meaning of Terms in the [Buddhist] Scriptures: also called *Huilin yinyi* 慧琳音義) was propagated in Korea, preserved, and then reintroduced to China.[1] Completed in 807 by Huilin 慧琳, a monk originally from the Land of Shule 疏勒, the *Yiqiejing yinyi* enriched the work of the same name by Xuanying 玄應, completed in 649, and was in turn revised by many other scholars. The peculiarity of Huilin's work, however, lies in the fact that the author, as a foreigner, greatly favored the linguistic aspect in his investigation of the various terms. It can be assumed, therefore, that this work was pursued in the interest of foreigners understanding Chinese and in order to satisfy the resulting intellectual curiosity about that language.

Prologue

The title *Yiqiejing yinyi*一切經音義 is given to a series of dictionaries explicating the pronunciation and meaning of vocabulary compiled from the entire body of the Chinese Buddhist Canon. As they include many citations from Yishishu 佚失書 (lost books), Chinese traditional philologists regard them as an important resource. Among this series, the most detailed edition of *Yiqiejing yinyi* was completed by Huilin[2] but, in spite of this, philologists of the Qing dynasty refer to Xuanying 玄應's *Yiqiejing yinyi* (abbr. *Xuanying yinyi* 玄應音義) rather than Huilin's edition in their work. This implies that Qing philologists either had no access to the latter or they were unaware even of its existence. Existing research[3] demonstrates that *Huilin yinyi* was lost in China until the late Qing dynasty, when it was reintroduced through the *Koryŏ Chaejo Taejanggyŏng* 高麗再雕 大藏經.

1 This chapter was included in the one hundred and eighth volume of *Chungguk munhak* (Journal of Chinese Literature) with Korean on August 31, 2021, and some modifications were made in the process of translating it into English.

2 Contents are introduced in Chapter 2.

3 For a rough outline of this, refer to Xu (1989.2).

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Previous research on the *Huilin yinyi* has been extensive,[4] and Xu Shiyi 徐時儀's series of studies in particular make progress on the questions I pose, however, his research would benefit from further clarification that my own approach offers. This chapter will examine the philological story of Huilin's work as a whole, by discussing its ambiguities. In particular, the chapter will focus on three main points: first, how Huilin, as a foreigner, wrote commentary on Chinese translations of Buddhist scriptures; second, the reason why the Chinese neglected the *Huilin yinyi*, omitting it from reissues and compilations of Buddhist scriptures; and, finally, how the work was propagated to Korea, and then reintroduced into China.

1 Establishment of the *Yiqiejing yinyi* and its Background

1.1 Evolution of the *Yiqiejing yinyi* – *Yiqiejing yinyi* Before Huilin's Edition

The realization of *Yiqiejing yinyi* was accelerated by the continuous translations of Buddhist scriptures.[5] Translations of the Buddhist canon in China started in the Eastern Han 東漢 period, with most of such translation work at the time performed by foreign monks well versed in foreign languages, who came to China and translated the texts into Chinese. However, rather than come up with new concepts, their methods tended, on one hand, to either employ "concepts uniquely native to China"[6] to explain by way of analogy or, on the other, to "rely heavily on Huyin 胡音 (the pronunciation of foreign languages)," that is, gravitate towards literal translation, resulting in a preponderance of phonetic translation.[7] In other words, while

4 A series of studies on this in China are summarized and presented in Wang (2019). It is mentioned in detail in a number of fields, especially linguistics and philology.

5 Regarding this, Chapter 1 of Maeng et al. (2008) describes the overall contents of the translation of Buddhist classics, and this section was written with reference to the contents of the relevant section of it.

6 Maeng (2008) 539–540. During the Huandi 桓帝 era of Eastern Han, An Qing 安清 (as known as An Shigao 安世高) translated 34 volumes (40 books) of Buddhist classics, by analogy with the concept of them "with a concept unique to China." In the quotation, it is called Hengdi 恒帝, but it is considered a misspelling because there was no such emperor during the Eastern Han period.

7 Around the same time as An Qing, Zhilou Jiachen 支婁迦讖, born in the country of Yuezhi月支, translated 14 volumes (27 books) at Luoyang 洛陽. This is another example of how Buddhist classics were translated by foreigners.

the former privileges the communication of meaning above all, the latter focuses instead on trying to convey the respective local pronunciation of the words as is. By the time Kumārajīva鳩摩羅什 (344–413) of Kucha 龜茲 had translated 74 volumes (384 books) of scriptures, he had incorporated the use of paraphrase to supplement this tendency of literal translation. Later, Xuanzang玄奘 (602–664) of the Tang 唐 dynasty translated 75 volumes, (1,335 books) of Buddhist scriptures. Xuanzang marked a turning point, as translation before Xuanzang was thus designated Old translation (Jiuyi 舊譯), while Xuanzang's translation was dubbed New translation (Xinyi 新譯).[8] Whereas translations predating Xuanzang explained important concepts and content from the Buddhist canon to a Chinese audience from the perspective of a foreigner, Xuanzang, who was Chinese himself, absorbed and explicated those concepts through the Chinese language. Xuanying 玄應 (?–663?)'s *Yiqiejing yinyi*, that is, the *Xuanying yinyi* 玄應音義, was published in conjunction with Xuanzang's translation of the Buddhist canon. No direct evidence has survived regarding the life of Xuanying, but the preface of *Xuanyingyinyi* or *Datang Zhongjing yinyixu* 大唐衆經音義序 relates that "There is the monk Xuanying at Daciensi 大慈恩寺 temple who has a wide range of learning and a retentive memory. 有大慈恩寺玄應法師, 博聞強記."

In this work, I hypothesize that the manuscript that became the basis for the *Yiqiejing yinyi* emerged from the annotations that Xuanying made as he took part in Xuanzang's project of translating the Buddhist scriptures[9]; later, it would seem that *Xuanying yinyi* was published separately for the sake of convenience.[10] The birth of *Xuanying yinyi* can be viewed as an extension of the study of Yinyi 音義 (sound and meaning combination)[11] that developed to a great extent in the Wei-Jin-Nanbeichao 魏晉南北朝 (220–589) dynasties. The *Yiqiejing yinyi* thus applied Yinyi research methods to the newly translated Chinese Buddhist canon and, as

8 Maeng (2008) 545–547.

9 Huili 慧立's *Cien Fashizhuan* 慈恩法師傳, vol. 6, says that in the nineteenth year of Zhenguan 貞觀 era (645), Xuanzang established Yichang 譯場 (Translation Field) and was willing to translate Buddhist classics: "In the Summer, in the Wushu 戊戌 day of the sixth month, came 12 brilliant monks who are well aware of *Daxiaoshengjinglun* 大小乘經論, recommended by famous people at that time." "And came a philological competent scholar, or monk Xuanying 玄應 at Dazongchisi 大總持寺 temple in the Capital." According to the previous passage, when Xuanzang came back to China holding Buddhist classics and established Yichang, Xuanying also participated in translating Buddhist classics (據慧立 《慈恩法师传》卷六说贞观十九年 (645), 玄奘设译场翻译佛经, "夏六月戊戌, 证义大德谙解大小乘经论为时辈所推者一十二人至." "又有字学大德一人至, 即京大总持寺沙门玄应." 可知玄奘取经回来设立译场, 玄应也参與译经). Xu (2005) 2.

10 About publication and the edition on *Xuanying yinyi*, refer to Xu (2005).

11 A representative example of such study remaining to this day is *Jingdianshiwen* 經典釋文 by Lu Yuanlang 陸元朗 at the time of the Tang dynasty.

the first Yinyilei study dealing with the Chinese Buddhist canon, *Xuanying yinyi* contributed to the contemporary understanding of Buddhist scriptures. But the added utility of these notations become evident in yet another way, namely, Qing 清 dynasty scholars of evidential learning made ample use of the evidence of Xungu 訓詁 (explanations of words in ancient books) or Yishishu. For example, there are citations in the *Xuanying yinyi* that prove the use of Xuci 虛詞 (words just aimed to help structure sentences) in *Jingzhuanshici* 經傳釋詞.[12]

In sum, the *Xuanying yinyi*'s significance lies in its use of Xungu or Yishishu. In addition, *Huilin yinyi* continues to employ the same methodology of explication methods laid out in the *Xuanying yinyi*.

1.2 Genesis of *Huilin yinyi*

The previous section examined the genesis and significance of the *Yiqiejing yinyi* before Huilin's edition, mainly in terms of the *Xuanying yinyi*. From here on, this chapter will describe the background of *Huilin yinyi*'s emergence in connection to the figure of Huilin and contemporary demand for such a text.

The *Huilin yinyi* was completed in 807[13] by Huilin 慧琳 (737–820), born in the country of Shule 疏勒. The fact that before Huilin, Xuanying produced his edition of *Yiqiejing yinyi* in the Longshuo 龍朔 periods (661–663) has already been established. One of the motivations of this thesis is to gauge Huilin's proficiency in Chinese as a foreigner.

First, let us consider the place of Huilin's birth and the background of his becoming a monk. Today, Shule is known as Shulexian 疏勒縣 in the vicinity of Kashishi 喀什市 (Kashgar) of the Xinjiang 新疆 Uyghurs autonomous region, China. This territory was under the influence of China in the Western Han 西漢 dynasty and in the Eastern Han東漢 dynasty. Shule and China communicated by means of tributes, and of particular note is the fact that Shule was attacked by the country of Kucha 龜茲 in the Eastern Han dynasty period, resulting in the death of the

12 For example, Wang Yinzhi 王引之's *Jingzhuanshici* 經傳釋詞 "chi 啻" article referred to Xuanying's annotation as follows: "Yong 用, its meaning is same as Yi 以. 用, 以也."

13 As for the time of completion, there is an opinion that it was completed in Yuanhe 元和 second year (807) according to the preface to *Huilin yinyi* by Jing Shen 景審, and another opinion that it was completed in Yuanhe fifth year (810) in *Song Gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳. According to Xu (1989.1), it is said that the book was completed before the third year of the Yuanhe era (808) in accordance with the opinions of *Cefuyuangui* 册府元龜 and *Fozutongji* 佛祖統紀. Wen (2000) also asserted the same opinion. Therefore, it is more reasonable to fix it as the second year of the Yuanhe era (807).

king of Shule. Consequently, Eastern Han intervened in the two countries' affairs and effected a resolution.[14] Later, in the Tang dynasty, during Huilin's lifetime, Shule continued its tributes to China and was attacked by the Tubo 吐蕃 (Tibet). According to these historical facts, Shule and China appear to have had an ongoing relationship, and it has been speculated that Huilin may have been a member of royalty in Shule on the grounds that the royal surname, Pei 裴 in Chinese, coincides with Huilin's surname.[15] Whether he was a royal personality or not, Huilin commanded an extensive knowledge of the Chinese language and philology; furthermore, royalty who had no claim to the throne often became monks, as Huilin did. Thus, Huilin might possibly have become a Buddhist monk after being educated in an excellent educational environment.

The reason for the publication of *Huilin yinyi* in spite of the fact that the *Xuanying yinyi* already existed is as follows: the *Xuanying yinyi* covers 458 texts of the Buddhist canon. Of those, 430 texts whose translation predates Xuanzang are included in 20 volumes, while 26 texts of Xuanzang's translations are included in five volumes. This indicates that while Huilin participated in Xuanzang's translation work, his Yinyi work appears to have covered not only Xuanzang's work but also included Buddhist scriptures that predated Xuanzang's translated Buddhist canon.[16] As a result, many translations of Buddhist scriptures that postdate the *Xuanying yinyi* cannot be sufficiently elucidated through the Yinyi work. The *Huilin yinyi* seems to have been intended to supplement these gaps, and the fact that it includes the *Xuanying yinyi* in its entirety serves as further evidence of this point. Because the *Xuanying yinyi* and *Huilin yinyi* are separated by 150 years in time, many publications published in the interim, for instance, a variety of translated Buddhist scriptures as well as *Xiyuji* 西域記, *Hongmingji* 弘明集, and *Guanghongmingji* 廣弘明集, are also explicated by way of Yinyi as a Xungu method. This suggests that the *Huilin yinyi* was a further development of the *Xuanying yinyi*.

14 See *Hou Han shu*後漢書 *Xiyuzhuan*西域傳, Northern Asian History Network (http://contents.nahf.or.kr/item/item.do?levelId=jo.d_0003_0118_0200_0010 seen 06.15.2021).

15 Zanning (1997) 108. "Monk Huilin, at Ximingsi 西明寺 Temple in Capital, Tang dynasty, his secular surname is Pei 裴 as Chinese, was born in Shule country. 唐京師西明寺釋慧琳, 姓裴氏, 疏勒國人也."

16 The preface in Kim (2000) says as follows: "The contents of Xuanying yinyi are described in a sequence that is almost similar to the order of *Zhongjingmulu* 衆經目錄 by Fajing 法經 in Sui 隋 dynasty. The classics of Mahayana and Hinayana Buddhism, Collection of Buddhist sages and the translations of Buddhist classics by Xuanzang are explained in it. 이러한 『현응음의』의 내용은 수 (隋) 나라 때 법경 (法經) 등이 편찬한 『중경목록 (衆經目錄, K.1054)』의 순서와 거의 유사한 차례로 서술하고 있으며, 대소승의 경율과 현성집전 (賢聖集典), 이어서 현장이 번역한 대소승 경론에 대해서 설명하고 있다."

Next, the significance of the evolution from the *Xuanying yinyi* to *Huilin yinyi* bears mentioning. The fact that the *Huilin yinyi* includes *Xuanying yinyi* has previously been noted and, as laid out in the preceding chapter, the process of exegesis through the Yinyi method signifies the application of traditional Chinese methods to translated Buddhist scriptures imported from the West. In other words, it can be said that a foreign Buddhist civilization was embodied as Chinese thought through the process of translation and that the foundation for analysis and comprehension by way of traditional Chinese academic research methods was thus laid.

The next section will examine how the *Huilin yinyi* came to be included in the *Koryŏ Taejanggyŏng* 高麗大藏經.

2 Propagation to Korea

The *Huilin yinyi* was recorded thereafter to the *Koryŏ Taejanggyŏng* in Koryŏ 高麗, located on the Korean Peninsula. What is currently available is the *Koryŏ Chaejo Taejanggyŏng* 高麗再雕大藏經 (abbr. *Chaejo Taejanggyŏng* 再雕大藏經), i.e. the *Korean Tripiṭaka* of Haeinsa Temple 海印寺 that survives today, a complete edition of the translated Chinese Buddhist canon in whose vocabulary section the *Huilin yinyi* is included. Chinese editions, however, omitted the *Huilinyinyi* across a range of various editions subsequently produced. Conversely, the *Chaejo Taejanggyŏng* included valuable Yinyi studies, for instance *Huilin yinyi* and *Xuyiqiejing yinyi* 續一切經音義 by Xilin 希林 of the Liao 遼 dynasty.[17]

Next, I will discuss the process by which the *Huilin yinyi* was incorporated into the *Chaejo Taejanggyŏng* and the aspect of it in the process. Koryŏ was a Buddhist country, especially focused on engraving the Buddhist canon. The *Korean Tripiṭaka* of Haeinsa Temple is called the "Chaejo 再雕" Taejanggyŏng, as previously mentioned, with "Chaejo" signifying a second engraving. This name gestures to the existence of another *Taejanggyŏng* engraved before the *Chaejo Taejanggyŏng*, called the *Ch'ojo Taejanggyŏng* 初雕大藏經. Starting in the second year of Hyŏnjong 顯宗 (1011), it was completed and published in the fourth year of Sŏnjong 宣宗 (1087).[18] Earlier in China, the *Kaibao Dazangjing* 開寶大藏經 was carved from the fourth year of the Kaibao 開寶 era (971) to the eighth year of the Taiping xingguo 太平興國

17 "And *Fayuan zhulin* 法苑珠林, *Yiqiejing yinyi* 一切經音義, *Xuyiqiejing yinyi* 續一切經音義, *Neidiansuihanyinshu* 內典隨函音疏 which are not included in other *Tripiṭaka* are only included in *Korean Tripiṭaka*." Encyclopedia of Korea folk culture *Taejanggyŏng* (http://encykorea.aks.ac.kr/Contents/Index? contents_id=E0014681) (accessed September 6, 2021).

18 Nam (2007) 87.

era (983) in the Northern Song 北宋 dynasty;[19] eight years later, it was transmitted to Koryŏ in the tenth year of Sŏngjong 成宗's reign (991).[20] It would seem that the *Ch'ojo Taejanggyŏng* was based on the *Kaibao Dazangjing*. Meanwhile, the 5,048 volumes of the *Qidan* 契丹 *Tripiṭaka* were engraved in the Liao 遼 dynasty from the Chongxi 重熙 era (1032–1054) to the fifth year of Qingning 清寧 era (1059), and 579 sets of printing blocks were completed in the Xianyong 咸雍 era (1065–1074). *Koryŏsa* 高麗史 documents that this *Qidan Tripiṭaka* was transmitted to Koryŏ many times[21]; for a mutual comparison, consider the following passage in *Liaoshi* 遼史: "12th month of the 8th year of the Xianyong era (1072), on *Gengyin* 庚寅 day, one set of the *Tripiṭaka* given to Korea. 庚寅, 賜高麗佛經一藏."[22] Considering the timing of its transmission, the possibility that the *Qidan Tripiṭaka* was consulted over the course of producing the *Ch'ojo Taejanggyŏng* cannot be ruled out. Given the many occasions of transmission, the opportunity for comparison at least was a distinct possibility, and it is therefore plausible that there might have been attempts to include lost books such as the *Huilin yinyi*. Conclusive evidence for this, however, is difficult to come by. Yu (2007) thus assumes that the *Huilin yinyi* was first included in the *Chaejo Taejanggyŏng*.[23]

The *Ch'ojo Taejanggyŏng* was first stored at Hŭngwangsa 興王寺 temple in Kaegyŏng 開京 (today's Kaesŏng 開城, North Korea) and then moved to Puinsa[24] temple, where it was lost to fire when the latter was burned down by Mongol troops.[25] It would seem that the *Chaejo Taejanggyŏng*, based primarily on the *Ch'ojo Taejanggyŏng*, was an attempt to bring together all extant Buddhist scriptures in one place through comparison with the *Qidan Tripiṭaka* and other texts. In other words, *Chaejo Taejanggyŏng* is a compilation of the entire translated Buddhist canon.

In this process, a special episode stands out in the acquisition of the *Huilin yinyi*. Huilin's story is included in *Song Gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳 Vol 5[26]:

> 近以海中高麗國, 雖三韓夷族, 偏尚釋門, 周顯德中, 遣使齎金, 入浙中, 求慧琳經音義, 時無此本, 故有闕如.

19 Yu (2007) 71.

20 Nam (2007) 87.

21 Yu (2007) 72. There are records in *Koryŏsa* that in Munjong 文宗 seventeenth year (1063), twenty-sixth year (1072), Sukchong 肅宗 fourth year (1099), Yejong 睿宗 second year (1107) Qidan sent *Tripiṭaka* each time.

22 Requoted in Xu (1989 2).

23 Yu (2007) 79–80.

24 Whether 符仁寺 or 夫人寺, it is not sure.

25 Nam (2007) 88.

26 Zanning (1997) 108–109.

> At the time being, the country of Koryŏ 高麗 across the sea, although a vulgar people of Sanhan 三韓, demonstrates the utmost respect for Buddhism. In the Xiande 顯德 era of the Zhou 周 dynasty (954–960), Koryŏ sent an envoy with gold to Zhezhong 浙中 to request the Huilin yinyi. But the print did not exist, so it was left out.

According to this story, the *Huilin yinyi* was requested on the part of Koryŏ before the *Ch'ojo Taejanggyŏng* was carved, predating even the completion of the *Kaibao Dazangjing*. While this sentence may have served as a device to highlight Huilin's renown abroad in *Song Gaoseng zhuan*, it is noteworthy that the *Huilin yinyi* was already known to Koryŏ to the extent that attempts were made to acquire it. Considering the fact that this predates the Qidan *Tripiṭaka*'s introduction to Koryŏ by 100 years, one can infer the level of recognition that the *Huilin yinyi* commanded, at least amongst the intellectuals of Silla 新羅 and Koryŏ.

These requests were not limited to the Northern Song dynasty, but Koryŏ went on to procure the *Kaibao Dazangjing* and *Qidan Tripiṭaka* during the Liao dynasty. Because *Huilin yinyi* was part of the *Qidan Tripiṭaka*, it was thus included in the *Chaejo Taejanggyŏng*. Through this series of processes, it becomes evident how the *Huilin yinyi* was preserved in Koryŏ. Now that the *Kaibao Dazangjing*, *Qidan Tripiṭaka* and *Ch'ojo Taejanggyŏng* have all been scattered into fragments and lost, it can be said that the *Chaejo Taejanggyŏng* stored in Haeinsa temple is a complete collection of the *Tripiṭaka* that includes the *Huilin yinyi*.

The next section will trace how the *Huilin yinyi* included in the *Chaejo Taejanggyŏng* was reintroduced to China.

3 Reintroduction to China

As noted in the passage from *Song Gaoseng zhuan*, prints of the *Huilin yinyi* in the *Tripiṭaka* were already hard to find by the Wudaishiguo 五代十國 (Five Dynasty and ten Kingdoms) period in China. And because there was no interchange of Buddhist culture with the Kitai, the *Kaibao Dazangjing* and subsequent Tripitaka no longer included the *Huilin yinyi*.

On the other hand, the *Xuanying yinyi* was included in editions of the *Tripiṭaka* from the Bei Song to Ming 明 dynasty but was excluded from the Longzang 龍藏 in the Qing 清 dynasty.[27] Individual prints of the *Xuanying yinyi* can be dated to the Shunzhi 順治 era, while a popular edition was re-engraved by Zhuang Xin 莊炘 in the Qianlong 乾隆 era, based on of the Mingnanzang 明南藏

27 Xu (2005) 3.

edition housed in the Daxingshansi 大興善寺 temple of Chang'an長安 (Xi'an 西安). Its annotations include the comments of such famous scholars as Zhuang Xin, Qian Dian 錢坫, and Sun Xingyan 孫星衍, while its preface states as follows: "*Shijiaolu* 釋教錄 also relates that the Qi 齊 monk Shidaohui 釋道惠 compiled an edition of the *Yiqiejingyin* 一切經音, and *Song Gaoseng zhuan* notes that the Tang 唐 monk Huilin of Ximingsi wrote the *Dazangyinyi* 大藏音義, comprising one hundred volumes. However, none of these books are currently available. (釋教錄) 又稱, 齊沙門釋道惠爲 (一切經音), 有 (宋高僧傳) 稱, 唐西明寺慧琳撰 (大藏音義) 一百卷, 其書皆不傳." In other words, scholars in the Qing dynasty considered the *Xuanying yinyi* to be the only extant *Yiqiejing yinyi*, and other editions, especially the *Huilin yinyi*, were judged to be non-existent at that time. Thus, when they referred to the *Yiqiejing yinyi*, they did so exclusively through the *Xuanying yinyi*, making no distinction between the latter and the *Huilin yinyi*,[28] and, consequently, this led to the confusion of the *Xuanying yinyi* and *Huilin yinyi* as the same book.[29] In light of how common this process by which books were lost was in China, the *Huilin yinyi* was merely considered yet another lost book.

Meanwhile, the *Chaejo Taejanggyŏng* was delivered to Japan in response to its continued requests. Japanese records show that *Zenrin kokuhōki* 善鄰國寶記 includes a letter written by Zuikei Shūhō 瑞溪周鳳 (1392–1473) to Chosŏn 朝鮮 in the sixteenth year (1409) of Ouei 應永, which states as follows:

> 伏聞貴朝一大藏教、鏤板流布, 倘憐陋邦之乏少, 賜以七千軸全備之藏, 則其恩其德, 何日而忘之.
>
> I have heard that your noble country is in possession of the Tripiṭaka and its printing plates. If you take pity on the shortcomings of my humble country and provide us with a Tripiṭaka fully equipped with seven thousand volumes, we will never forget this kindness.

At the time, the source of real political power in Japan was the Shōgun 將軍 Ashikaga Yoshimochi 足利義持. Of these requests, there is a case from the same period documented in the ninth year of T'aejong 太宗 (1409) in *Chosŏn wangjo sillok* 朝鮮王朝實錄.[30] This case, however, was not that of Shōgun Yoshimochi,

28 For example, refer to note 12 in this article.

29 See Xu (2003) 3.

30 The article of *Chosŏn wangjo sillok* twenty-sixth day, April of leap year, T'aejong ninth year: "The envoy of the lord of Ouchi 大內 enter the palace and say farewell. The King called to him and console, and especially give *Tripiṭaka* one set, *Porisuyŏpkyŏng* 普提樹葉經 (one of Buddhist classics) 1 yŏp, nabal 螺鉢 (a kind of musical instrument) and chonggyŏng 鍾磬 (bell) each one, and the portraits of Chosa 祖師 (monk) and Naong Hwasang 화상 懶翁和尙 (1320–1376), by the request of Dokuo 德雄. 日本大內殿使者周鼎等, 詣闕辭, 上御正殿, 召見而勞之. 且別賜 (大藏經) 一部、(普提樹葉經) 一葉、螺鉢鍾磬各一事、 祖師眞、 懶翁和尙影子, 從德雄之求也."

but Ouchi Moriharu 大内盛見 (1377–1431); the case of Yoshimoto, whose Buddhist name was Dokuo 德雄, seems to correspond to an article in *Chosŏn wangjo sillok* from October 21 of the eleventh year of T'aejong (1411):

> 日本國王遣使來獻土物, 求 (大藏經) 也. 大內殿多多良德雄遣使來獻輿及兵器, 亦以求 (藏經) 也.
>
> The king of Japan sent an envoy and local products in order to request the Tripiṭaka. The lord of Ouchi Tatara Dokuo 多多良德雄 also sent an envoy with carts and weapons in order to request the Tripiṭaka as well.

At the time, Chosŏn considered the Shōgun the king of Japan.[31] According to *Chosŏn wangjo sillok*, the various regions of Japan respectively requested the *Tripiṭaka* from Chosŏn; because the *Tripiṭaka* was recognized as an item of great value by the Japanese, local noblemen also sent envoys to request it. For its part, Chosŏn attempted to make use of the *Tripiṭaka* to promote friendly diplomatic relations with Japan, leveraging it to deter Japanese raiders and procure the freedom of detainees, etc.[32] Thus out of the 27 times the king of Japan, that is, Shōgun, requested the *Tripiṭaka*, Chosŏn acceded 22 times.[33] Additionally, many local noblemen made such requests, which Chosŏn granted or declined depending on the circumstances. It was through such processes that the *Chaejo Taejanggyŏng* was transmitted to Japan, with the *Huilin yinyi* included therein.

Afterward the *Chaejo Taejanggyŏng* was housed in the Kenninji 建仁寺 temple in Kyōto京都[34] and the Zōjōji 增上寺 temple in Tōkyō 東京[35] and then served as the original manuscript on the occasion of the engraving of the *Dainihon koteisyukukaku daizousou* 大日本校訂縮刻大藏經 from the thirteenth year of the Meiji 明治 (1880) era until its completion in the eighteenth year of Meiji (1885).[36] Prior to this, the *Huilin yinyi* was extracted from the Tripitaka kept at Kenninji to complete the Shishigatani 獅谷 Byakurensha 白蓮社 edition of the *Yiqiejingyinyi*

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31 There is an article in Han (2002), 10: "From July 1404, after receiving the installation by Ming 明 dynasty, Chosŏn changed Muromachi 室町 Bakufu 幕府 Shōgun 將軍 from the General of Japan 日本國大將軍 to the Souverain of Japan 日本國王, and his envoy also called to the envoy of the King of Japan日本國王使."

32 Han (2002) 12.

33 Han (2002) 17.

34 This temple was built in Kennin 建仁 second year (1202). Details are in https://www.kenninji.jp/about/ (accessed June 14, 2021).

35 This temple was built in Meidoku 明德 fourth year (1393). Afterward it became the Bodaiji 菩提寺, the tomb of the Tokugawa 德川 Shōgun 將軍 family. And it keeps Tripitaka of Song 宋, Yuan 元, and Koryŏ. https://www.zojoji.or.jp/ (seen June 14, 2021).

36 Yun (2008) 28–29.

in the second year of the Genbun 元文 (1737) era.[37] This edition is currently stored in the National Palace Museum in Taiwan,[38] having been obtained and reintroduced to China by a man named Yang Shoujing 楊守敬 (1839–1915). Volume 4 of his *Ribenfangshuzhi* 日本訪書志 includes the following passage; because it relates this process in detail, the text is reproduced here in full in lieu of explanation[39]:

> 唐沙門慧琳《一切經音義》百卷, 余初至日本, 有島田蕃根者持以來贈, 展閱之, 知非元應書, 驚喜無似. 據《宋高僧傳》稱, 周顯德中, 中國已無此本. 又《行瑫傳》亦稱慧琳《音義》不傳. 此本從《高麗藏》本翻出, 原本為胡蝶裝, 余曾於日本東京三緣山寺見之, 字大如錢, 然亦多訛字. 按唐人景審原序, 稱此書「取音於《韻英》、《考聲切韻》, 而以《說文》、《玉篇》、《字林》、《字統》、《古今正字》、《文字典說》、《開元文字音義》七家字書釋誼. 七書不該, 百氏咸討」. 今就此書覆審, 如張戩《考聲》、《集訓》、《古今正字》、《文字典說》、《文字釋要》等書, 並隋、唐《志》所不載. 又如武玄之《韻詮》、陳庭堅《韻英》、諸葛穎《桂苑叢珠》, 雖見於著錄家, 而他書亦罕征引. 又如引《說文》則聲義並載, 引《玉篇》則多野王按語, 引《左氏傳》則賈逵註, 引《國語》則唐固註, 引《孟子》則劉熙註. 此外, 佚文秘籍不可勝記. 誠小學之淵藪, 藝林之鴻寶. 此書出, 遂覺段茂堂、王懷祖、任子由、沈匏廬諸先生之撰述, 皆有不全不備之憾. 初得此書, 即勸黎純齋星使刻之, 以費繁而止. 厥後中江李眉生廉使欲刻之, 已措資矣, 會余差滿將歸, 遂輟議. 然此書訛謬奪誤觸目皆是, 其未佚者, 固當檢原書一一對勘;其已佚者, 亦必參合諸書審視裁擇;可兩存者, 仍之;顯然訛誤者, 直改之. 唯茲事體大, 非博極群書, 心有識別者, 不得妄下雌黃. 海內深識之士, 何能共聚一堂, 商榷從違? 所為撫卷太息, 恐年歲之不我與也.
>
> 此本初印多誤字, 厥後又有挖改, 然不盡當. 余既見此本, 凡書肆中所有皆購之, 以餉中土學者. 厥後又知其板尚存西京, 又屬書估印數十部, 故上海亦有此書出售, 皆自余披剔而出也.
>
> When I first came to Japan, a Japanese monk named Shimada Bangon 島田蕃根 (1827–1907) brought me as a gift the 100 volume Yiqiejing yinyi by the Tang dynasty monk Huilin. Upon review, I realized that the book was not that written by Xuanying, and I was very happy and amazed. According to Song Gaoseng zhuan, this book no longer existed in China by the Xiande 顯德 era of the Zhou周 dynasty (954–960). And Xingdaozhuan 行瑫傳[40] too relates that the book has been lost to history. This edition has been printed from the Koryŏ Tripiṭaka edition, and the original takes the form of butterfly-fold binding. I have seen this before at Sanenzanji 三緣山寺, or Zōjōji 增上寺, in Tōkyō, Japan. Its letters were the size of coins, and there were many errors. Jing Shen 景審 of the Tang dynasty observed: "This book procured information on pronunciation from Yunying 韻英 and Kaoshengqieyun 考聲切韻, while interpreting meaning via seven dictionaries, such as Shuowen 說文, Yupian 玉篇, Zilin 字林, Zitong 字統, Gujinzhengzi 古今正字, Wenzidianshuo 文字典說, and Kaiyuan-

37 About the various editions of *Huilin yinyi* in Japan, see Sun (2016) 37–39.

38 National Palace Museum 國立故宮博物院 http://npmhost.npm.gov.tw/ttscgi/ttsqueryxml?0:0:npmrbxml:000013062 (accessed June 11, 2021)

39 The original text is referred to Weijiwenku 維基文庫 (https://zh.wikisource.org/wiki/日本訪書志/卷四#《一切經音義》一百卷 (日本藏《高麗藏》本) (accessed June 14, 2021).

40 It was recorded in *Song Gaoseng zhuan* vol. 25 as "周會稽郡大善寺行瑫傳," annotation by translator.

> wenziyinyi 開元文字音義. In the case that the seven books proved insufficient to this end, discussion with several scholars followed." Now that I have read this book multiple times, I have discovered that books such as Kaosheng 考聲 by Zhang Jian 張戩, Jixun 集訓, Gujinzhengzi 古今正字, Wenzidianshuo 文字典說, and Wenzishiyao 文字釋要 were not included in Yiwenzhi 藝文志 (Treatise on Literature), a history book of the Sui 隋 and Tang 唐 dynasties. Furthermore, in the cases of Yunquan 韻詮 by Wu Xuanzhi 武玄之, Yunying 韻英 by Chen Tingjian 陳庭堅, and Guiyuancongzhu 桂苑叢珠 by Zhuge Ying 諸葛穎, the authors' names can be found in Yiwenzhi, but other books are hard to prove. When citing Shuowen, both pronunciation and meaning are included, and citing Yupian, there is much commentary from Gu Yewang 顧野王. It is Jia Kui 賈逵's annotations when citing Zuoshizhuan 左氏傳, those of Tang Gu 唐固 when citing Guoyu 國語 and Liu Xi 劉熙's when citing Mencius. Further instances of missing books cited in this book are so numerous that to list all of them is impossible. This book is truly a den of philology and a treasure of scholarship. Only upon the revelation of this book did I come to regret that all the writings of other scholars such as Duan Wutang 段茂堂 (Duan Yucai 段玉裁, 1735–1815), Wang Huaizu 王懷祖 (Wang Niansun 王念孫, 1744–1832), Ren Ziyou 任子由 (Ren Dachun 任大椿, 1738–1789), and Shen Paolu 沈匏廬 (Shen Tao 沈濤, 1792–1855) were incomplete. When I first came into possession of this book, I recommended having it engraved on wood blocks to minister Li Chunzhai 黎純齋 (Li Shuchang 黎庶昌, 1837–1897) but gave up due to the cost. Later, provincial judge Li Meisheng 李眉生 (Li Hongyi 李鴻裔, 1831–1885) of Zhongjiang 中江 (County in Sichuan 四川 province) wanted to engrave it, having already provided the necessary funds. My time there, however, had come to an end just then, and I had to go back, so the discussion ceased. And I have reviewed one by one all errors, parts of the book either missing or broken, and corrected them all. Books not yet lost were checked against the original, one by one. Books already lost were evaluated by consulting a multitude of other books to aid accurate selection. The coexistence of two options were left as is. What was deemed definitely erroneous was corrected. For such crucial work, were it not for one who has mastered many books and possesses such discernment of the heart, it would be impossible to judge. Why is it that those scholars of the world possessed of deep knowledge cannot gather in one place to discuss disputes? Folding the book and mourning is probably because the time has not been with me.
>
> The first edition of this book had many wrong letters, and a lot of parts that were fixed recklessly, so not appropriate. After I saw this book, I wanted to buy all the books in the bookstore and give them to scholars in China. Later, I found out that the printing plates of this book was still in Xijing 西京 (Kyōto京都 in Japan), I asked the book dealer to print dozens of copies. Therefore, it was also possible to sell this book in Shanghai 上海. That is all I found.

Through such articles, it is known that Yang Shoujing obtained a book, realized that it was *Huilin yinyi* by the fact that it was different from *Xuanying yinyi*, and he tried to correct these books by the philological method in order to publish them. As he had known every detail about the story of this book, it can be seen that *Huilin yinyi* had to be reintroduced by him to China.

Conclusion

Thus far, this thesis has examined the process by which the *Huilin yinyi*, authored by Huilin, a foreigner inhabiting the periphery of China, was propagated to Korea, preserved, and then reintroduced into China. A brief summary of this is as follows:

Huilin was born in Shule country during the Tang dynasty. He wrote the *Huilin yinyi* which succeeded Xuanying's *yinyi*, which functioned as a reference for the translations of Buddhist classics after *Xuanying yinyi*. After later Tang and Wudai 五代 (Five Dynasty), this book was distributed in Liao, included in *Qidan Tripiṭaka*, and propagated to Koryŏ (i.e Korea). Meanwhile *Huilin yinyi* was treated as a lost book by scholars after Beisong; in Koryo this book was engraved and included in *Chaejo Taejanggyŏng*, delivered to Japan at continuous request and kept in various places such as Kenninji at Kyōto and Zōjōji at Tōkyō. *Huilin yinyi* was selected from the *Tripiṭaka* kept at Kenninji and printed as a book, which the Chinese Yang Shoujing obtained and reintroduced to China. Through this, the following is known.

First, *Huilin yinyi* succeeded *Xuanying yinyi* as a book of reference for the translations of Buddhist classics, with this tradition continuing *Xuyiqiejing yinyi* by Xilin in the Liao dynasty. In addition, it is possible that the special circumstances of Huilin, an élite monk from Shule country, may had played a role in being able to have the knowledge and linguistic sense to write the book of Yinyi study, that is, the *Huilin yinyi*.

Second, when *Chaejo Taejanggyŏng* or *Korean Tripiṭaka* was engraved, it can be seen that the efforts of the Koryŏ people to have complete classics were included. They realized that *Ch'ojo Taejanggyŏng* based on *Kaibao Dazangjing* was incomplete, and they asked Qidan for a new edition. After comparison they created a complete edition of Buddhist classics including *Huilin yinyi*, *Fayuan zhulin* 法苑珠林, and *Xuyiqiejing yinyi* which is not included in other editions of Buddhist classics. Through this, it would be reasonable to say that these were the efforts of the Koryŏ people to pursue the perfection of *Chaejo Taejanggyŏng*.

Third, *Chaejo Taejanggyŏng* was delivered to Japan due to the global flow of Chosŏn, where Buddhism had declined with Ŏkpul sung'yu 抑佛崇儒 policy, as Buddhism was an important religion here. Because of this, *Huilin yinyi* was also transmitted to Japan and reintroduced to China in the flow.

In fact this phenomenon does not only apply for *Huilin yinyi*. There are many cases in which books from China, after going lost from their mother country, are found in neighboring countries and reintroduced to China through them. For example, *Longkan shoujing* 龍龕手鏡 was published in the Liao dynasty, but afterward all forms published in the Liao dynasty disappeared in China; the book was republished as *Longkan shoujian* 龍龕手鑒 in the Southern Song 南宋 dynasty,

and since then the original form in the Liao dynasty has not been found. However, the original form in the Liao dynasty was reprinted in Koryŏ, and designated as National Treasure No. 291 in Korea.[41] Elsewhere, *Lunyuyishu* 論語義疏, edited by Huang Kan皇侃 in the Liang 梁 dynasty, disappeared after *Lunyuzhengyi* 論語正義 by Jing Bing 邢昺 was published in the Southern Song dynasty. However, in September 2020, some books of *Lunyuyishu* that may have been brought by Kendoushi 遣唐使 were released in Japan.[42]

In this way, it was not uncommon for precious books and materials to be shared and reintroduced. With this in mind, it is necessary to conduct a thorough investigation of each country's data and re-examine the data that are thought to have been lost.

41 National Heritage Portal in Cultural Heritage Administration, Korea http://www.heritage.go.kr/heri/cul/culSelectDetail.do?s_kdcd=&s_ctcd=&ccbaKdcd=11&ccbaAsno=02910000&ccbaCtcd=11&ccbaCpno=1111102910000&region=&searchCondition=&searchCondition2=&ccbaCndt=&stCcbaAsno=&endCcbaAsno=&stCcbaAsdt=&endCcbaAsdt=&ccbaPcd1=&ccbaLcto=&ccbaGcode=&ccbaBcode=&ccbaMcode=&culPageNo=1&returnUrl=&pageNo=1_1_1_1 (accessed June 15, 2021).

42 Keio University慶應義塾大學 https://www.keio.ac.jp/ja/press-releases/2020/9/10/28-74954/ (accessed June 14, 2021).

Ch'oe Chŏngsŏp

How Did a Defecting Samurai Become a Sinophile? The Case of Kim Ch'ungsŏn (Sayaka)

Abstract: Sayaka, or Kim Ch'ungsŏn (1571–1642) was a Japanese military commander who surrendered to Chosŏn in the early days of the Imjin War. In this chapter, I look at his life based on his collections, *Mohadang munjip* 慕夏堂文集 and *Mohadang silgi* 慕夏堂實記, and examine the formation process of those posthumous writings. He died in the middle of the seventeenth century, but his collection of works was only properly compiled in the middle of the eighteenth century. There are two things to think about when looking at his posthumous works, the first that he, a young samurai, left excellent writings in classical Chinese, just like Chosŏn's nobility. Given the general level of education in Japan at the time, it is highly questionable whether he could have received such a high level of education before coming to Korea. The second is the idea of Sino-centrism in his writings which are full of admiration for China; this is not the thought of the Japanese samurai of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but the thought of the Sino-centrist in Chosŏn. Thus, the study of the life and posthumous works of Kim Ch'ungsŏn has more implications for studying Sino-centrism in Chosŏn than the thought of a Japanese soldier who participated in the Japanese invasion of Korea in 1592.

Prologue

Kim Ch'ungsŏn 金忠善 (1571–1642), born Sayaka 沙也加, was a Japanese general who surrendered to Chosŏn Korea during the early period of the Imjin War, that is, the Japanese invasions of Korea in 1592. During this invasion of Korea launched by Toyotomi Hideyoshi, many Japanese soldiers surrendered to Korea, thus coming to be referred to as *hangwae*, which literally translates as surrendered Japanese. Of these, Kim Ch'ungsŏn is a particularly well-known figure, who in his lifetime rendered distinguished service in battles against Japan and the Manchus, settled down in Korea, and left offspring, who later organized and compiled his posthumous anthologies. A number of papers about him have been published in Korea, and the Japanese have also shown great interest. Episodes of his life have been introduced in Korean television series or documentaries several times, and many works of fiction mostly depicting his life in Japan have been published in Japan. However, aca-

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demic research on him was initiated in the early twentieth century by Japanese scholars during the Japanese occupation of Korea, with its primary focus to deny his existence entirely. Their argument was that the anthologies compiled by his descendants were fabricated,[1] however, since his existence is proven by a number of historical records including the *Annals of Chosŏn Dynasty*, the *Diaries of the Royal Secretariat*, and a few other personal anthologies, it is impossible to deny or dismiss his existence altogether, while some earlier research conducted by Japanese scholars also acknowledges his existence. In Urok-dong, Talsŏnggun of Taegu, where he settled, a private Confucian academy called *Noktong sŏwŏn* was established and Talsŏng Center of Korea-Japan Amity also exists today.

This chapter will examine the existing research and conduct an evaluation thereof based on this examination. First, through his anthologies *Mohadang munjip* (Anthology of Mohadang) and *Mohadang silgi* (True Records of Mohadang), Kim Ch'ungsŏn's life will be reviewed, as well as the process through which these posthumous manuscripts were created, after which his thoughts as reflected in surviving manuscripts will be examined. Kim came to Korea in the late sixteenth century and died in the mid-seventeenth century, yet his anthologies were not properly compiled until the mid-eighteenth century. With this in mind, there are two things to consider when reviewing his posthumous works, the first of which is that a young Samurai just 22 years of age left a manuscript that was written in excellent classical Chinese on par with the Confucian intellectuals of Chosŏn; taking into consideration the general level of education available in Japan at the time, it is highly doubtful that he received such advanced education before he came to Korea. The second is the Sinophilism (K. *Moha sasang*) that appears in his writings. His studio names were "Mohwadang" or "Mohadang," the latter of which was also included in the titles of his anthologies. His writings are filled with admiration for China and Chinese civilization, which is variously expressed through more or less interchangeable concepts of *Hua* (華; K. *hwa*), Xia (夏; K. *ha*), Ming (明; K. Myŏng), and Middle Kingdom or Central Kingdom (中國). This was less a representation of ideas held by the sixteenth and seventeenth-century Samurais of Japan and more typically that of a Sinophile of Chosŏn. Therefore, studying the life and manuscripts of Kim Ch'ungsŏn/Sayaka has more relevance and implications for the study of Sinophilism in Chosŏn than that of the thoughts of Japanese Samurai who fought in the Imjin War. In other words, the focus of this chapter is to explore how Kim is portrayed as the embodiment of late Chosŏn Sinophilism through the posthumous works compiled by his descendants.

1 Scholars who take this position include Naito Konan, Asami Rintarō, Yamamichi Joichi, Kawai Hirotami, Aoyagi Tsunatarō, etc. See Kim (2011) 48–55.

1 Life and Posthumous Works

1.1 Life

Not much can be verified about Kim Ch'ungsŏn's life in Japan before he came to Korea. While mostly Japanese scholars and literary writers present an array of theories and speculations based on the historical background of Japan at the time, nothing has actually been confirmed. The entirety of sources about his life in Japan amount to his poem, "Song of Reminiscence," which notes that he was the youngest of eight brothers, and an epitaph written by his grandson Kim Chinmyŏng: "His father was Ik, grandfather Okkuk, and great grandfather Ok. He was born on the third day of the first month in the fifth year of Emperor Longqing's reign in the year *sinmi* (1571), and passed away on the thirtieth day of the ninth month in the fifteenth year of Emperor Chongzhen's reign in the year of Imo (1624). He was 72 when he passed."[2]

His life in Korea can be verified through the manuscripts of his anthologies. During Japan's campaigns against Korea in 1592, he came to Korea as the general of the Second Corps of Kato Kiyomasa's troops, leading 3,000 subordinates, but surrendered to the Korean army without fighting even a single battle. Two pieces that he wrote to request defection are "Persuading and Awakening the People" and "Requesting Defection," with the former proceeding as follows:

> Ah, all the people of this country, please rest easy and keep doing your job, and never be alarmed or scatter away. Though I am a man and general from another country, I had already made a vow in my heart before departing Japan that I would not attack your country or cause you any torment. The reason is that I had heard from early on that Chosŏn is a country of propriety and thus admired its civilization for a long time, yearning to come even just once and see for myself. My steadfast admiration and constant longing to immerse myself in the edification of this country has never left me, even for the briefest moment.
>
> Though I happened upon this land as Katō Kiyomasa's chosen general, carrying [a] spear on my back and leading soldiers, I dare not invade this country of propriety or hurt the people who are the same as the people of China (C. Zhongxia). If I were to hurt even a single person, I would not only be abandoning my true intention, but also be suffering punishment from the heavens. How dare I do it? How dare I?
>
> Please think of me not as a foreigner who has come to invade, but rather to ease the minds of elders and protect the children. Those who need to plow the field, please go to the field; those who need to go to the market, please go your way. Please view me as one of you, and

2 For a person born in 1571 to be 72 years old in 1642 is based on the Korean way of counting age. Koreans are one year old the day they are born.

> do not hide from me or avoid me. Please do not cease your work, be assured and keep farming, be assured and keep reading, and serve your king and your parents above, and protect your wife and children below. And if there is even a single soldier [in my troops], who is despotic, plunders, or exhibits disorderly conduct, report him to me at once. If anyone were to behave thus, I would execute him in accordance with military discipline. Please be assured, do not be alarmed, and accept these as my true intentions.[3]

I will elaborate on this point further later, but this passage already implies that the reason he surrendered to Chosŏn was because it was "a country of propriety" and "the same as the people of China." This is described in more detail in "Requesting Defection":

> In the fourth month of the year of Imjin, I, Japanese general of the Second Corps, Sayaka, offer this piece of writing to His Excellency, the provincial military commander of Chosŏn, with my head bowed down after performing my ablutions.
>
> I prostrate myself and think of how I am just a lowly man from the island of barbarians, a worthless man of the sea. From a young age, I possessed a keen sense of righteousness that easily turned indignant, which led me to despise barbaric habits and customs. When I came of age, I heard tell that Chosŏn by repute was a country whose every institution resembled China, hence the attire and institutions are the same as those of the Three Dynasties [i.e. Xia, Shang, and Zhou], and rites, music, legal codes, and administrative policies are no different from those of Tang Yu, hence the Three Cardinal Guides and Five Constant Virtues,[4] and Eight Policies[5] and Nine Scriptures[6] do not violate the sages' scriptures, and the benevolence, righteousness, propriety, and wisdom and filial piety, brotherly respect, loyalty and fidelity are in line with the tradition of the benevolent. Overwhelmed by my feelings of righ-

3 Translation of the classical Chinese text is based on Yi Surak's Korean translation of *Mohadang munjip pu silgi* (The Collection and the True Records of Mohadang). See Kim (attributed to) 1996.

4 Three cardinal guides [i.e. ruler guides subject, father guides son, and husband guides wife] and five constant virtues [i.e. benevolence (仁), righteousness (義), propriety (禮), wisdom (智) and fidelity (信)].

5 書經, "洪範." "八政, 一曰食, 二曰貨, 三曰祀, 四曰司空, 五曰司徒, 六曰司寇, 七曰賓, 八曰師 ["Of the third eight objects of government: the first is called food; the second, commodities, the third, sacrifices; the fourth, the minister of works; the fifth, the minister of instruction; the sixth, the minister of crime; the seventh, the entertainment of guests; the eighth, the army]." See Legge (1960c) 327.

6 中庸, "凡爲天下國家 有九經 曰 修身也 尊賢也 親親也 敬大臣也 體群臣也 子庶民也 來百工也 柔遠人也 懷諸侯也" ("All who have the government of the kingdom with its States and families have nine standard rules to follow; vi. the cultivation of their own characters; the honouring of men of virtue and talents; affection towards their relatives; respect towards the great ministers; kind and considerate treatment of the whole body of officers; dealing with the mass of the people as children; encouraging the resort of all classes of artisans; indulgent treatment of men from a distance; and the kindly cherishing of the princes of the States"). See Legge (1960a) 408–409.

> teous indignation, I told myself that I was fortunate to be born at least as a man. Yet, such was my regret at not having been born in a civilized land but instead being unfortunately born in the land of barbarians to end up dying a barbarian that I would tear up at times, while other times, I would struggle, even forgetting to sleep and eat.
>
> When Katō Kiyomasa raised troops without good cause, choosing me as general for my exceptionally undaunted power and outstanding courage, I hated him for violating Heaven's will, and I would rather that I died than be his general, but because I had always wished to come to Chosŏn even just once, I assumed the position of general and led 3,000 soldiers here in spite of myself. Having a look around at people's spirits and the state of things here, despite it being amidst a war, just as I had heard, the attire and institutions of Chosŏn indeed retained the propriety of the Three Dynasties. I was thus suddenly overcome by the fervent wish to become a subject of the Central Kingdom of High Civilization (zhonghua), and could not bear to cause harm to this country of benevolence and righteousness, or dare commit cruelties to the people who carried on the legacy of the Three Dynasties, which led to the loss of my will to fight.
>
> Ah, what should I do? To face Katō Kiyomasa was to be subject to his command, and now that I have seen the civilization of this land, I wish to stay in this land of great person and virtuous man (daren junzi) and thus find myself in the conundrum of neither being able to leave nor stay. My reason for defecting now is neither because I lack wisdom, strength, or courage nor that my weapon is not sharp enough. The strength of my troops and weapons can stand up to one million soldiers, and my plans are meticulous enough to pull down a thousand gil [equivalent of approximately 3,000 meters] of fortress. I have not yet fought a single battle nor suffered any defeat. Hence, I am not asking for friendship out of weakness. I merely wish to be a subject of the sage in this land of propriety out of admiration for its decorum and institutions, and attire and customs.

After defecting, he fought on the Chosŏn side and distinguished himself in several battles. At the same time, to counter the matchlock guns of Japanese troops, he transmitted the technology of matchlock production to Korean troops and produced guns.[7] Based on this military distinction, he received the junior second rank title of *Kasŏn taebu* (嘉善大夫, Grand Master of Excellent Virtue) from King Sŏnjo, the king of Chosŏn at the time, and was put in charge of Chosŏn's southern defense, which can be verified by his petition declining the position (whether or not that petition was accepted is unclear). The following year, he was recognized for military distinction and given the name Kim Ch'ungsŏn and the senior second rank title of *Chahŏn taebu* (資憲大夫, Grand Master of Basic Law). His military exploits mostly having taken place in the southern part of Kyŏngsang province,

7 This is revealed in letters that were sent to a number of government officials at the time such as the following: 上節度使書,答閔評事有慶書,上謝副使漢陰李相國書,謝京畿觀察使柳公根書,答慶州府尹朴公毅長書,答忠州副使尹公承言書,答全羅觀察使李公廷馥書,答海州牧使李公泰亨書,答清安縣監金公有亨書.

he later married the daughter of Chinju Magistrate Chang Ch'unjŏm in 1600 upon the cessation of the Japanese invasions of Korea, respectively called the Imjin War and Chŏngyu War. He decided to build a house and settle in Uroktong, where he would detach himself from all worldly glory and fame; naming his house "*Mohadang*," he then composed the "Record of Mohadang" (*Mohadanggi*).

However, three years later in 1603, when the Manchu invasions from the North persisted, he petitioned the king to put him in charge of border defense and served in that capacity for the next ten years, during which he was stationed at a site referred to as *Ingbangso*. As a reward, the Chosŏn court granted him the senior second rank title of *Chŏnghŏn taebu* (正憲大夫, Grand Master of Right Law). In 1624, when Assistant Supreme Commander (副元帥, *puwŏnsu*) Yi Kwal raised a rebellion and invaded Seoul, King Injo took refuge in Kongju, and Supreme Commander (都元帥, *towŏnsu*) Chang Man caught and killed Yi Kwal. The latter's battalion commander Sŏ Aji, however, fled but was pursued by Sayaka/Kim Ch'ungsŏn to Miryang, where he was eventually captured.

Like Sayaka, Sŏ Aji was another Japanese defector. In appreciation of this service, the court bestowed upon Kim Ch'ungsŏn land granted by the king,[8] but he petitioned the king for it to be used as a garrison farm[9] for Capital Defense Command (*Suŏch'ŏng* 守禦廳) and accordingly returned the land.[10] In 1636, when the Pyŏngja War, an invasion of Chosŏn by Later Jin (後金), broke out and King Injo took refuge in the Namhansan Mountain Fortress, Kim immediately joined the army in Ssangnyŏng, Kwangju in the Kyŏnggi province and fought the Later Jin troops. However, when Chosŏn eventually surrendered, he returned to his home in Urok. He passed away in 1642 at the age of 72.

1.2 Posthumous Works

The preceding overview of Kim Ch'ungsŏn's life relies entirely on posthumous manuscripts that have been compiled, organized, and published by his descendants. His posthumous works still available in a number of editions can be largely divided into *Mohadang munjip* (Collection of writings of Mohadang) and *Mohadang silgi* (True Records of Mohadang). The anthology was first published by his sixth-generation descendant Kim Hanjo in 1789 once he organized the chronologi-

8 Land bestowed upon vassals who made distinguished contributions is called *sap'aeji* 賜牌地. One such parcel granted to Sayaka was in the Ch'ŏngdo region of the Kyŏngsang province.

9 Land that was assigned in border areas or strategic points to provide military provisions.

10 One of the Five Commands (*Ogunyŏng*, 五軍營) of the Chosŏn period.

cal history of Kim Ch'ungsŏn and collected his prose and poems. At the time, it seems to have been published under the title *Mohadang yŏnbo* (Chronological history of Mohadang) while 44 years later, in 1842, the anthology was reissued under the title *Mohadang munjip* (Anthology of Mohadang), with the content not significantly differing from the first edition.[11] Elsewhere, *Mohadang silgi* (True Records of Mohadang) is not composed of pieces written by Sayaka himself, but of the prose and poetry written by his offspring and others in his praise, accompanied by a brief family genealogy and discussions pertaining to his descendants' exemption from various labor duties enforced by the state; according to the epilogue included at the end of *Mohadang silgi* (True Records of Mohadang), it was published in 1893.[12] The most convenient edition for contemporary readers and scholars is *Mohadang munjip pu silgi* (Anthology and True Records of Mohadang), which combined *Mohadang munjip* and *Mohadang silgi* and translated them for publication in 1996.

2 From Samurai to Confucian Scholar: China and Japan Evaluated by a Japanese Defector

2.1 Why he Became Korean

As seen above, the reason for Kim's decision to defect to Chosŏn, as stated by himself and the descendants who compiled the *Collection* and *True Records*, can be summarized in two Chinese characters: "*Mo Ha*" (sinophilism, or more literally, admiration for Xia dynasty). He held strong "admiration" for "China" and equated Chosŏn with China; to him, China and Chosŏn were interchangeable. When the Imjin War was over, he wrote the *Mohadanggi* (Record of Mohadang), commemorating the construction of Mohadang in Urok:

> There are numerous countries in this world, but the customs of the Yi tribe in the East, the Rong in the West, the Man in the South and the Di in the North are different, hence they dress in strange attire, look like midgets, wear their hair in strange styles, or chatter in in-

11 For more detailed discussion on their specific differences, see Han (2006) 69–99.

12 The preface of the edition of *Mohadang silgi* (True accounts of Mohadang) housed in the Yonsei University main library notes that Chŏng Sŏkch'ae wrote the preface at the request of Sayaka's descendants Kim Sŏkhŭi and Kim Ch'angsun in Chunggwang taeyŏnhŏn 重光大淵獻, i.e. the year *sinhae*, which is 1911. One can see that the actual publication of the *Mohadang silgi* (True accounts of Mohadang) took quite a while after the manuscript was completed.

comprehensible languages. Knowing as they do nothing of the order of human relations or the customs of propriety, how are they any different from savage beasts?

Yet the Zhongxia (Middle Xia) from the time of Tang, Yu, and the Three Dynasties, and down to the Han, Tang, Song, and Ming, has been equipped with the brightness of three virtues[13] and five ways[14], three cardinal guides and five constant virtues, heavenly procedures and heavenly order. Ah, the attire and institutions and rites, music, legal codes, and administrative policies of Zhongxia are truly the best in the world, and cannot but be the suzerain of the Four Barbarians.

Yet, in these Green Hills (K. Ch'ŏnggu, an alternative name for Korea since the Three Kingdoms period) isolated on the Eastern peninsula is a state where the exterior and the interior are proper, propriety and education correspond to the Middle Way, hence, the ethics of human relations between father and son, king and subject, husband and wife, the elder and the younger, and among friends are maintained. And as people's actions are dictated by benevolence, righteousness, propriety, and wisdom, and filial piety, brotherly respect, loyalty and fidelity, it does not fall short of the world in the time of Tang, Yu, and is at least next in line to that of the Three Dynasties. Hence the attire and institutions are certainly sufficient to be those of Little China (Zhongxia), if not those of Great China. Born on an island and growing up amidst its barbaric culture, I have suffered from discontent with my own country and admired the rites, music, and institutions of Zhongxia from a young age, at times unable to eat or sleep properly over the course of two decades.

In the fourth month of the year of Imjin under the reign of King Sŏnjo, when Katō Kiyomasa raised troops to conquer Chosŏn, he chose me as the general. On the day I crossed the sea and landed here, I saw for the first time the people and state of things in this country, which, though amidst a war, retained an air of courtesy and humility, and the flourishing institutions indeed seemed to be equipped with the propriety of the Three Dynasties. How could I inflict harm on this land of benevolence and righteousness, or kill these people so properly attired? Even before I departed my home country I had no intention of fighting this war, and now that I have arrived, how could I invade or plunder this country? For this reason, I requested peace in this country, and granted Heavenly grace several times over, I was given a surname, first name, and an official post, the grace of three kings[15] that could not but overwhelm a lowly soldier of a barbaric nation. I have now borrowed a plot of land to become a subject under the reign of a sage and leave offspring, so I thus name my house the two characters of "Mo Ha." More than a mere name, it reflects my faithful admiration for Zhongxia, which stems from a lifelong indignation at impropriety. Concealed in this single character of "Mo" are infinite meanings, reflecting my admiration for the propriety of Xia, for its institutions, its attire, its customs, and three cardinal guides and five constant virtues, and filial piety, brotherly respect, loyalty, and fidelity. There are no words or actions on my part that do not arise from an admiration for China, and every part of my life is

13 Wisdom, benevolence, and courage (智·仁·勇).

14 Relations between the king and vassal, father and son, husband and wife, brothers and friends.

15 Sŏnjo, Kwanghaegun, and Injo.

> suffused with admiration for China. Furthermore, going beyond myself, I would also urge my descendants to take upon themselves this conviction for admiring China. Hence, the name of the house, "Moha," is an inscription of my mind, and hanging the plaque of "Moha" is to reveal my intentions. Hence, if only my descendants would emulate these intentions, uphold loyalty and filial piety as family strictures, and cultivate their bodies with propriety and humility, almost nothing would go against my intentions of "Moha."
>
> The two characters "Mo Ha" (admiration for China) have indeed been a desperate lifelong passion of mine, hence I name my house "Moha" and leave this record for posterity.

This piece of writing, like the aforementioned "Requesting Defection" and "Persuading and Awakening the People," conveys Kim's Sinophilism. All texts included in the *Collection* and the *True Records*, written by him and his descendants, are basically variations of the three pieces cited above. The posthumous works that have been published since the late eighteenth century thus constitute a self-portrait of late-Chosŏn ruling-class intellectuals and their internalized Sinophilism. The following section explores the ideology of the Middle Kingdom of High Civilization, or *Zhonghua* ideology, which comprises the backdrop of Sinophilism in the late Chosŏn period, and examines how it was projected onto Kim Ch'ungsŏn's life and writing.

2.2 The *Zhonghua* Ideology in Chosŏn

Since the late twentieth century, Korean academia has produced extensive scholarship on the Zhonghua ideology in Chosŏn, with the idea that the ideology of the Middle Kingdom was the main culprit holding Chosŏn back from stepping over the threshold into the modern era persisting until the late twentieth century.[16] Elsewhere, the Sinocentric ideology, which prevailed in Chosŏn from the seventeenth century in the wake of the Pyŏngja War, was named as the root of national ruin since the early twentieth century, while nationalist historians who maintained a critical perspective on the Korean situation, fallen as it had to the state of a Japanese colony, placed the blame of dynastic collapse on Confucian intellectuals. Sin Ch'aeho attributed Korea's historical fall from grace to *sadaejuŭi*, a tributary ideology that raises a dominant counterpart to idealized status, and Confucian ideology, a fundamentally conservative ideology, which he alleged crushed any independent and progressive thought unique to the Korean nation. Chŏng Inbo denounced Neo-Confucian scholars who upheld the Cheng-Zhu School either as only pursuing their own private interests or as merely a pro-Chinese faction attempting to transplant

16 Representative of this perspective is Kye (2019).

the roots of the Middle Kingdom's legitimacy to this land. As such, most nationalist historians defined the overall Sino-centric worldview based on Neo-Confucianism as a servile and stagnant ideology and harshly criticized it.[17]

However, scholars of Korean history have taken different approaches since the 1990s. The first scholar to step away from this critical perspective on the *Zhonghua* ideology of the late Chosŏn period and find positive meaning therein, thus presenting a new framework of perception, was Ch'oe Wansu. In the early 1980s, as he organized the history of calligraphy and paintings in Chosŏn period within the philosophical trajectories of the development of "Neo-Confucianism of Chosŏn," he designated the collective consciousness of the time as a "Chosŏn version of *Zhonghua* ideology," in which contemporary Koreans equated Chosŏn with *Zhonghua*, deeming itself the only country that carried on the legitimacy of Neo-Confucianism and maintained propriety and civilization after the Ming Dynasty collapsed; this served as a reflection of Korean people's collective self-esteem about the unique culture that emerged in the eighteenth century. In the 1990s, Chŏng Okja placed historical value on the "Chosŏn version of *Zhonghua* ideology" as the central ideology and throughline of the late Chosŏn period, thus defining and systematizing the concrete mode of ideological development in late Chosŏn from the viewpoint of the philosophical history of political thought.[18] Since then, scholarship has moved away from the existing wholly negative view of late-Chosŏn *Zhonghua* ideology, and studies seeking significance and meaning therein have continued to emerge; this chapter owes a great deal to the research conducted by the likes of Chŏng Okja, U Kyŏngsŏp, Kim Yŏngsik, Hŏ T'aeyŏng [Huh Taeyong], and Cho Sŏngsan [Cho Sung San].[19]

On an ideological level, *Zhonghua* ideology is based on the *Hua-Yi* discourse, or the divide between civilized and barbarian – the former symbolizing the center and agent of the world while the latter is treated as the periphery and subordinate.[20] At the heart of *Zhonghua* ideology lies a disapproval of any challenge to China (*Hua*) and its absolute superiority over barbarians (*Yi*), who accept the legitimacy of its rule.[21]

Admiration and aspiration for *Zhonghua* is a defining characteristic of the ideological realm of late Chosŏn; "When the Ming Dynasty, the legitimate dynasty of the Han Chinese, was subverted by the Qing 淸 Dynasty founded by the barbaric Manchus, the cultural legitimacy of Chinese civilization was carried on by

17 U (2017) 17.

18 U (2017) 18.

19 See Chŏng (1998); U (2017); Kim (2019); Hŏ (2006); Hŏ (2007); Cho (2009a); Cho (2009b).

20 Kim (2019) 30.

21 Yi (1992) 32.

Chosŏn." This is the Sinocentric worldview that served as the pivotal ideology that defined the acts and thoughts of Confucian intellectuals over a period spanning almost 300 years from the mid-seventeenth century to the early twentieth century in Korea,[22] with it possible to divide the Sinocentric ideology of Chosŏn into two stages: "Consciousness as Little China (*zhonghua*)" and a "Chosŏn version of *Zhonghua* ideology." Assuming a consciousness as Little China was a phenomenon common in countries around China including Korea, Japan, and Vietnam, and not something peculiar to Korea. This perception of Chosŏn as Little China existed from the early Chosŏn period,[23] while the "Chosŏn version of *Zhonghua* ideology" is an ideology that was established and developed against the backdrop of *Chonjuron* (revering the Zhou Dynasty) and *Taemyŏng ŭiriron* (loyalty towards the Ming Dynasty).

Sinocentrism is an idea predicated on *Hua-Yi* discourse and dichotomously divides all states under Heaven (*Tianxia*) into the world of the civilized and that of the barbarians, in which the former refers to the world that possesses Confucian culture and relies on the logic of culture while the latter lacks Confucian culture and relies on the logic of power. *Hua-Yi* discourse was established when the Song Dynasty, faced with the crisis of being forced to migrate southward as the ethnic groups of the north pushed their way south, defined the identity of the Han Chinese as a civilized people. Combined with the Confucian idea of li-qi dualism (principle and material force), it emerged as a form of medieval nationalism.[24]

Then what is *Zhonghua,* or the Central Kingdom of High Civilization? The substance of *Zhonghua* is largely articulated from the following three perspectives. First, as a geographical concept, it considers the *Huabei* region around the Yellow River, the birthplace of ancient Chinese civilization, as the center of the world. Second, as an ethnic and genealogical term, it is a concept that demonstrates and underscores the superiority of the Han Chinese as distinct from foreigners – i.e. *Yi* in the east, *Rong* in the west, *Man* in the south, and *Di* in the north. Third, as a cultural concept, it considers the Zhou Dynasty, as a group bearing a Confucian culture epitomized by such elements as governance through benevolence, propriety, music, and institutions, to be the universal standard and source of civilization.[25]

What is demonstrated in Kim Ch'ungsŏn's posthumous manuscript is connected to the third—a cultural concept. The geographical conception does not apply to the case of Chosŏn, located as it was in the Far East, and neither is the ethnic or genealogical conception suitable for Koreans, who were affiliated with

22 U (2017) 15.
23 Kim (2019) 132.
24 Chŏng (1998) 16–17.
25 U (2017) 43.

the *Yi* in the East. The only variation of *Zhonghua* ideology befitting Chosŏn was the cultural concept that defined it as "possessing a Confucian culture epitomized by governance through benevolence, propriety, music, and institutions."

2.3 *Zhonghua* Ideology in Kim Ch'ungsŏn's Posthumous Works

As mentioned above, concrete aspects of the *Zhonghua* ideology that can be found in Kim Ch'ungsŏn's posthumous manuscript are an admiration for propriety, music, and the institutions of China, as well as the Neo-Confucian *Chonjuron* (revering the Zhou Dynasty) and *hyangyak* (community compact). Admiration for propriety, music, and the institutions of China comes from the basis of *Hua-Yi* discourse of ancient China, which is notable for even as the distinction between Hua and Yi is drawn and Hua's superiority over Yi is discussed, it does not dismiss the possibility of the barbarians transforming into the civilized. This is the most distinct characteristic of *Hua-Yi* discourse, which sets it apart from the racism or nationalism of the modern era.[26]

This is evinced by Mencius deriving the logic of "changing *Yi* (the barbarians) through *Xia*" from his discussion of how Chen Liang 陳良 strove to imbibe the teachings of the Duke of Zhou and Confucius despite his Chu 楚 origins in the land of barbarians.[27] By stressing the teachings of the Duke of Zhou and Confucius, i.e. propriety and music, as the essence of Chinese civilization, the civilized and the barbarians came to signify concepts that are not immutable but changeable depending on whether or not one upholds Confucian culture. This explains the logic established that China could well fall to the status of barbarians if divested of propriety and music, while barbarians could transform into China if equipped with propriety and music.[28]

The fundamental ideas of *Hua-Yi* discourse that have existed from ancient China to the Song 宋 Dynasty can be summarized as follows: first, the distinction between *Hua* and *Yi*, the civilized and the barbarians, can be variously articulated on the basis of geographical, genealogical, and cultural perspectives, yet the essential criterion is cultural. Second, a *Hua-Yi* discourse predicated on the cultural perspective implies changeability in that the civilized and barbarians can cross boundaries and transform into the other depending on who is the bearer of civilization. Third, the substance of culture that serves as the standard distin-

26 U (2017) 47.
27 Legge (1960b) 253.
28 U (2017) 47.

guishing between the civilized and barbarians lies in Confucian teachings, which uphold propriety as a core value. Moreover, since the Song period, the ethics and order that include the duty and loyalty between father and son, king and vassals are perceived as its essential content. This *Hua-Yi* discourse based on cultural distinctions was inherited by such Confucian intellectuals of Chosŏn as Song Siyŏl, who set the institutions of the Song Dynasty as the model for state institutions and Zhu Xi's philosophy as their ideological reference.[29]

(1) *Zhonghua* as Civilization: Propriety, Attire, and Institutions

In the aforementioned "Persuading and Awakening the People," Kim Ch'ungsŏn wrote that "I have heard from early on that Chosŏn is a country of propriety, admired its civilization for a long time, and longed to come here at least once." In "Requesting Defection," he stated that "though it was amidst a war, the attire and institutions of Chosŏn indeed retain the propriety of the Three Dynasties just as I have heard." As follows, establishing propriety or attire and institutions as the standard of civilization (*Hua*) is a common feature of Little China ideology. For instance, Chang Hyŏngwang, a Korean contemporary of Kim Ch'ungsŏn, wrote:

> People born here are decent in appearance, harmonious and mild in temper, equipped with dispositions both sturdy and gentle, and possess virtue befitting that of Zhonghua. There are many virtuous men (junzi), whom the petty men (xiaoren) follow. When the husband leads, the wife responds, their customs valuing propriety and humility, and the Confucian scholars study devoutly. They wear hats on their heads, shoes on their feet, and dress in jackets above and skirts below. Fabrics with which these garments are made include hemp, silk, and cotton, and the food they eat are beans, grains, fish, and meat. If I could not be born in China, I was fortunate to be born in this Eastern kingdom (Chosŏn). Though we are not born in China, we have received the principle of Heaven and Earth [like the Chinese], and though the country is not as large as China, we have the Way of transportation [like China], and though our land is beyond its borders, we are under the same Heaven [as China].[30]

Hence, "*Zhonghua* as propriety, music, and institutions" is a common assumption that characterizes the *Zhonghua* ideology of Chosŏn as a whole and not something limited to Kim Ch'ungsŏn.

(2) *Chonjuron*, Discourse of Revering Zhou

Another axis constituting the *Zhonghua* ideology of Chosŏn Korea is *Chonjuron*, a discourse revering the ancient Chinese dynasty of Zhou, which is expressed as loyalty towards the Ming dynasty. The idea that Chosŏn should repay a debt to Ming China, which saved it from the crisis of collapse during the Imjin War when

29 U (2017) 51.

30 Recited from Kim (2019) 133–134.

the Japanese invaded Korea, presented itself as *Chonjuron*, the discourse of revering the ancient Chinese dynasty of Zhou, or loyalty to Ming after it was overthrown by the Qing Dynasty.

According to Chŏng Okcha, Neo-Confucian fundamentalists established the value of Ming loyalism as a basic political ideology of the Chosŏn dynasty when they orchestrated the outbreak of Injo restauration (Injo panjŏng) in 1623, a coup through which King Kwanghae was overthrown and King Injo was enthroned. This became the philosophical background against which the idea of rejecting peace with the Qing and the discourse of Northern Conquest exacting revenge on the Qing were raised, a response born of the view that the Qing Dynasty had violated the Chinese world order through the use of force.

When the possibility of restoring Ming evaporated after its fall, Chosŏn assumed a self-proclaimed duty to defend Chinese civilization, which was predicated on the *Chonjuron* (the discourse of revering Zhou) formulation that Chosŏn as the bearer of Confucian civilization had become the rightful heir of Ming. Then Korea's long-standing consciousness as Little China evolved into the Chosŏn version of *Zhonghua* ideology, promoting cultural pride and contributing to the development of a uniquely Korean culture.[31] Kim Ch'ungsŏn distinguished himself not only in the Imjin War, but also in the Pyŏngja War, that is, the Manchu invasions of Korea. In "Haengnok" (Account of Conducts), his son, Kim Kyŏngwŏn, interpreted this in terms of loyalism towards Ming in reverence of ancient Chinese civilization, citing the following passage from his father's manuscript: "The *Beilu* (literally, northern slaves and referring to the Qing) is the enemy of the Ming, and we are a country indebted to Ming. If we think of the debt we owe Ming, even if all the subjects of this country were to be killed by the swords of barbaric troops, how could we surrender to the *Beilu* while upholding the great cause of the *Spring and Autumn Annals*?" His subsequent exposition of the passage posits this as "loyalty towards the state and loyalism revering the Zhou."

(3) *Hyangyak* (Community Compact)

In relation to *Hua-Yi* discourse, aspects of Kim Ch'ungsŏn's life show how Neo-Confucian ideology was realized in real life, one of which are the place names he took into account when he built his house, Mohadang, and settled in Urok, and another his implementation of the community compact, *hyangyak*. He left a record of Nokchon, or Urok-dong, the village where he settled, under the title "*Nokchonji*" (Record of Nokchon) and, in descriptions of his life, demonstrated that his Neo-Confucian ideology is related to place names in the village:

31 U (2017) 19; Chŏng (1998) 14–17.

> Thus, I have settled here in Urok-dong beneath the Samsŏng-san Mountain south of Talsŏng, which is a village that is not Pangok (C. Pangu),[32] but like Pangok, which is not Yulli (C. Lili),[33] but like Yulli. As for the site, the mountain is not high, but beautiful, and the water not deep, but clear. Pongam-san Mountain stands to its East, and Hwanghakpong Peak towers in the West, and Chayang (C. Ziyang) to its South and Paengnok (C. Bailu) to its North. A cold spring wells up from its right side, and Sŏnyu-dong (literally, the village where the hermits reside) is located deep on its left side. (. . .) Ziyang and Bailu are the names of places where Master Zhu (Zhu Xi) used to lecture on the Learning of the Way [, i.e. Neo-Confucianism]. Will one of my descendants perchance become someone who lectures on the Learning of the Way?

Likening his own residence to the homes of such prominent figures in Chinese intellectual history as Li Yuan and Tao Yuanming, Kim goes so far as to bring up the names Ziyang and Bailu, which are the places where Zhu Xi, the great architect of Neo-Confucianism, used to hold forth on Neo-Confucian teachings. It is unclear whether they were originally named as such or thus designated by Kim Ch'ungsŏn himself, but they certainly fit his Neo-Confucian ideology.

The community compact (*hyangyak*) that he left also reflects the Neo-Confucian ideology connected to the *Hua-Yi* discourse. The Lu brothers[34] who lived in Lantian County in the Shaanxi Province wrote *Lüshi xiangyue* (Lü's Community compact) in the ninth year of the reign of Emperor Shenzong of Northern Song (1076). It established a set of four rules to edify villagers by encouraging virtuous deeds, regulating faults, befriending one another through customs of propriety, and aiding one another in adversity; records of their good deeds and wrongdoings were maintained, and the relevant person would either be awarded or punished accordingly at community meetings. Not long after Lü's Community compact was implemented, it disappeared and was forgotten amidst the invasion of the Jin Dynasty, only revived when Zhu Xi rediscovered it in the Southern Song period, compiling and restoring it as *Zengsun Lüshi xiangyue* (Revised Lü's Community),[35] while in Korea the Chosŏn court endeavored to implement Lü's Community from the sixteenth century based on this restoration.[36] The content of Kim Ch'ungsŏn's community compact did not significantly differ from that of general communities that started in Song China and were implemented in other parts of Chosŏn Korea. The following roughly approximates such content:

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32 This is where Li Yuan 李愿 of Tang Dynasty used to live.

33 This is where Tao Yuanming 陶淵明 of Jin Dynasty used to live.

34 Of the four brothers, Lü Dazhong 呂大忠, Lü Dafang 呂大防, Lü Dajun 呂大鈞, and Lü Dalin 呂大臨, Lü Dajun was the central figure.

35 P'an 2017 3–4.

36 About the implementation of Community compacts, or, if you prefer, "self-managed communities" (*hyangyak*), in the Chosŏn period, see Yi (2002) 45; Yi (1983) 4; Han (1984) 58.

Compact between descendants and villagers

1. Though I lived in loneliness thousands of li away from home as a foreigner, now I have sons and grandsons lined up before me. Ah, my descendants, you must keep your mind in check with harmony, focus on loyalty and filial piety, and do not desert my lifelong true intention.
2. My descendants must get along well with neighbors bearing different surnames as though they were their own siblings and relatives, and not quarrel with them or cause friction over small things.
3. All conduct can be correct only after one is dutiful to one's parents; hence, regardless of age or gender, one should set filial piety as the foundation.
   (. . .)
4. When a villager suffers a fire, each person must gather assets and help with restoration work.
5. When a villager is burglarized, each household must dispatch a person, conduct communal investigation, and catch the thief within five days.
6. When a villager cannot farm because he or she lacks necessary farming tools or horses or cattle, lend one another tools or cattle so as not to miss the right time for farming.
7. When one of my descendants or a villager is too poor to perform a rite of passage, i.e. coming-of-age, wedding, funeral, and ancestral rites, each household must chip in to help out those in need.
8. When a dispute arises between villagers, do not form factions, but judge right and wrong based on righteousness, and let them reconcile.
   (. . .)
   I am a foreigner who lived in loneliness in a place away from home, but I admired the propriety, music, and institutions of Chinese civilization (Zhongxia) so much that I decided on this village as a site to borrow a plot of land in this country of sages upon which to leave my descendants. There are neighbors in this village who bear different surnames, therefore you must be of one mind and get along well with one another in harmony in order for benevolent and generous customs to come into being. Otherwise, each individual will differ in intention, and each household will differ in opinion, which would be distant from my true intention of admiring Xia (Mo Ha).

   (. . .)

On the one hand, the Community compact playing a pivotal role in Kim Ch'ungsŏn's life and thoughts is natural in that it is part of Neo-Confucianism, which serves as the basis of *Zhonghua* ideology. Yet, on the other hand, it is also connected to the fact that his posthumous works, *Collection of Mohadang* and *True Records of Mohadang*, were compiled by his descendants, who continued to live together in Uroktong. Included in *True Records of Mohadang* are numerous texts demanding the exemption from various labor duties of Kim Ch'ungsŏn's descendants on the merits of Kim, who rendered distinguished service over the course of the Imjin War, Yi Kwal's Rebellion, and Pyŏngja War throughout the reign of the

three kings, Sŏnjo, Kwanghaegun, and Injo.[37] The Community compact handed down by Kim Ch'ungsŏn is not simply a reflection of his personal ideology, but also associated with the actual lives of those descendants who published his posthumous works long after his passing.

Conclusion

This chapter takes an interest in the fact that the 22-year-old once Samurai Sayaka/Kim Ch'ungsŏn left writings composed in superb classical Chinese akin to that of the Korean Confucian literati and that they contain the *Zhonghua* ideology of late Chosŏn. The suspicion that the posthumous works bearing his name and the thoughts therein could not be that of a 22-year-old Japanese Samurai who came to Chosŏn would have been shared by Japanese scholars who studied Sayaka/Kim Ch'ungsŏn in the early twentieth century. Yet the fact of his historical existence and life are beyond doubt, as they have been confirmed by records found in primary sources from Chosŏn.

Hence, the remaining question is whether or not the *Zhonghua* ideology articulated in his anthologies is really his own. At the moment, there are no grounds to suspect or dispute that they are not his own ideas but, nevertheless, the thoughts expressed in his posthumous works echo the *Zhonghua* ideology so typical to the late Chosŏn period to the extent that one cannot completely dismiss the possibility that these thoughts belong to his descendants. What matters in the end is that his posthumous works are suffused with the *Zhonghua* ideology of late Chosŏn, rather than the identity of the true author, who may either be Sayaka/Kim Ch'ungsŏn himself or his descendants. Yet, what this reflects is that the strength of the *Zhonghua* ideology of late Chosŏn was such that it presented a Japanese Samurai who surrendered and defected to Korea amid a Japanese invasion of Korea as a figure thoroughly imbued with Sinophilism, or admiration for China. Even after the fall of the Ming Dynasty, Chosŏn held onto the era name of Emperor Chongzhen, the last emperor of Ming, and built *Taebodan* (Altar of Great Gratitude) to perform ancestral rites for Emperor Chongzhen in 1704, the practice of which continued until as late as 1884.[38] Furthermore, *Mandongmyo*, a private shrine built by the Korean Confucian scholar Song Siyŏl for the purpose of per-

37 Among the chapters included in *Mohadang silgi* (True Records of Mohadang), the following chapters include relevant content: *Tojang* 道狀, *Pidap* 批答, *Pyŏngjowan* 兵曹完, *Ch'unjogyŏl* 春曹訣, *Ŭbwan* (邑完), *Kŏmwan* 檢完, and *Wanŭi* 完議.

38 A critical study of this includes Kye (2019).

forming ancestral rites honoring the last emperors of the Ming Dynasty, Emperor Wanli and Emperor Chongzhen,[39] was maintained while receiving protection from the Chosŏn court up until the Japanese occupation period.

However, many years after the actual object of ideological admiration, the Ming Dynasty, collapsed and Koreans started to acknowledge that the Qing Dynasty was not merely a kingdom of barbarians but an advanced country equipped with a highly developed civilization, the Northern Learning School, which promoted learning from Qing, began to emerge in the late Chosŏn period. This evinces the fact that even the Chosŏn version of Zhonghua ideology embodied by Kim Ch'ungsŏn was not an absolute ideology of the period.[40] What Sayaka/Kim Ch'ungsŏn's posthumous works demonstrate is one axis of the philosophical landscape of late Chosŏn.

39 Last emperor of the Southern Ming dynasty.

40 For more detail, see Yu (2000) 56–78; Kim (2019) 219–341.

Ch'oe Chŏng'yŏn

On the Publication of *The True Origin of All Things* (*Wanwu zhenyuan* 萬物眞源) and the Response of Eighteenth-century Chosŏn Scholars

Abstract: This chapter reviews and presents those elements of the divine creation theory in Giulio Aleni's *Wanwu zhenyuan* (The True Origin of All Things) that anti-Western Learning Chosŏn scholars focused on in their criticism.[1] After an introductory section, where the nature of the book and its translations which were the main point of criticism by Korean Confucian scholars are briefly presented, Part one deals with the diffusion of Aleni's work in the Korean peninsula and examines those Chinese editions of *Wanwu zheyuan* which were transmitted to and circulated in Chosŏn. Finally, Part two analyzes the logic by which eighteenth-century Chosŏn scholars, such as Nam Sukkwan (1704–1781) and Hong Chŏnha (1731–1805), critiqued the theory of the divine creation within the framework of their Confucian mindset.

Prologue

Giulio Aleni (艾儒略, 1582–1649)[2] was a Jesuit missionary in China and the author of the book *Wanwu zhenyuan* 萬物眞源 (The true origin of all things)[3] which

1 This work was included in the one hundred and eighth volume of *Chungguk munhak* (Journal of Chinese Literature) in Korean on August 31, 2021, and some modifications were made in the process of translating it into English.

2 Born in Italy in 1582, Giulio Aleni joined the Society of Jesus on November 1, 1600, and studied philosophy and theology in Parma, Bologna, and Rome. He learned from the Jesuit mathematician Clavius the principles of mathematics and astronomy necessary for missions in China, and leaving Lisbon on March 29, 1609, he arrived in Macau the following year. In 1613, he met Xu Guangxi in Beijing. Together, they went to Shanghai that same year, where Aleni stayed until 1616. He then traveled through Hangzhou in Zhejiang Province and Yangzhou in Jiangsu Province, Shangzhou and Jiangzhou in Shanxi Province, Zhengzhou in Henan Province, and Changshu in Jiangsu Province. On December 29, 1624, he set foot in Fujian Province, where he was actively engaged in missionary work until his death in August 1649 in Yanping. For a detailed introduction to Aleni's life, see Ye (2009), 118–120.

3 The *Wanwu zhenyuan* is composed of 11 chapters, excluding the preface. For an overview of each chapter, see the following: Malek/Lippiello (1997) 278–283; Chŏn (2021) 17–22.

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sought to explain the process of creation by proving that God is the "origin of all things." Following its publication in 1628 in Beijing, it seemingly exerted considerable influence in the Fujian province; indeed, Father Foucquet (1665–1741)[4] remarked that the book "converted more infidels than it has characters, or even letters." *Wanwu zhenyuan* is in fact considered one of the most successful books since Ricci's *True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven* (*Tianzhu Shiyi* 天主實義) and was translated into Manchu,[5] Mongolian, and Korean under the reign of the Emperor Kangxi 康熙, into Russian under the reign of the Emperor Qianlong 乾隆,[6] and into French in 1933.

In eighteenth century Chosŏn, both Chinese and Korean versions were in circulation[7] and a few Confucian scholars did read Aleni's work, which is believed to have had a great impact on the Catholics of the whole Ch'ungch'ŏngdo Province. Nonetheless, it appears that the negative reaction of Confucian scholars towards this text were the same as those received by Ricci's *Tianzhu shiyi*. Under the Chosŏn dynasty, the spread of Catholicism at the end of the eighteenth century became an issue at the state level, stirring up criticism of *Sŏhak*, that is, "Western Learning," in public opinion. Chapter 10 of *Wanwu zhenyuan* in particular seemed to raise concerns among anti-Western Learning scholars; as can be seen from its title, "On God's Creation of the Heavens and the Earth," Chapter 10

4 In a letter dated November 26, 1702, sent to the duke de la Force in France from Nanchang, Father Foucquet praises Aleni and his *Wanwu zhenyuan*: "this missionary [Aleni] was during his time one of the pillars of that mission, and his work had such influence throughout China and is so impressive and so instructional, that I believe I can confirm that it converted more infidels than it has characters or even letters." See Aimé-Martin (1843).

5 In 1693, at the Jesuits' request, to determine whether Confucian and ancestral rites were religious rituals or socio-political practices, Emperor Kangxi ordered his court ministers to translate *True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven* (*Tianzhu Shiyi* 天主實義) and *True Origin of All Things* (*Wanwu zhenyuan* 萬物眞源) into Manchu; see Ye (2012) 341. It seems that *Wanwu zhenyuan* was then translated not only into Manchu, but also into Mongolian and Korean. Currently, there are two versions of the Manchu edition kept at the National Library of France (BNF). Book numbers 244, 245, and 246 were published in the year of Jiangxi, and number 247 in the reign of the Qianlong Emperor (1767 edition). See Guan (2016a; 2016b). The two versions of the Korean edition are kept respectively at the Research Foundation for Korean Church History (1792 edition) and the Chŏltusan Museum (unidentified). The Mongolian text (1764 edition) is kept in the University of Leuven but has not been verified. Hecken (1966), 99–108.

6 The Russian version was translated in 1791 by Alexei Agafonov, a member of the Russian Orthodox Church. This sole edition is currently kept at the library of the Russian Academy of Sciences in Saint Petersburg. See the following study on the bibliographic information of the Russian version: Tsvetkov (2018).

7 See Part 2 for more details on the Chinese texts and Korean texts that were in circulation in Chosŏn until the eighteenth century.

explains the principles and the order by which God created the celestial spheres and heavenly bodies surrounding the Earth, Heaven, and Hell, the four elements, the natural world, and humans. For anti-Western Learning scholars, the theory of Heaven and Hell was a poor imitation of Buddhist ideology, and the Catholic theory of four elements could not compare with the Confucian theory of five phases or *ohaengsŏl* 五行說.

1 The Diffusion of Chinese Editions of the *Wanwu zhenyuan* in Chosŏn Korea

In the extant literature of the Chosŏn Dynasty, *Wanwu zhenyuan* was first mentioned in *Yuanxi Airulue Wanwu zhenyuan bian* 遠西艾儒畧萬物眞源辨 (Discerning the Truth in Giulio Aleni's *Wanwu zhenyuan* from the Far West) by Nam Sukkwan 南肅寬 (1704–1781). Nam's work itself, however, has been lost and is only known to us as quoted by Yi Hangno 李恒老 (1792–1868),[8] and it is unclear whether Sukkwan wrote his essay after perusing *Wanwu zhenyuan* himself or merely reading other works describing it. However, the information he had gathered about the book provided sufficient material for criticism and thus it can be inferred that the content of *Wanwu zhenyuan* was introduced and known in Chosŏn before Nam Sukkwan's death, that is, 1781. Alenis's book proved particularly successful in China and was consequently translated into at least five languages, while the Chinese version underwent revisions and was intermittently re- edited up until 1940.[9] Little is known on which Chinese edition was introduced to Chosŏn and the extent of its diffusion until the eighteenth century; however, the Korean edition that was disseminated in Chosŏn and the critiques of Western Learning by Chosŏn scholars may aid us in its identification.

As of today, the sole Chinese edition that has survived is the 1888 metal-printed edition kept at Changsŏgak Library of the Academy of Korean Studies (AKS).[10] Nonetheless, the two Korean editions kept at the Research Foundation for Korean Church History and the Chŏltusan Museum, respectively, prove that there was at least one earlier Chinese edition in circulation. While it is not possible to identify the translator or the exact date of publication, the Korean edition from

8 Yi (2003).

9 For a detailed study of the bibliographic data and archives of the Chinese editions of *True Origin of All Things* published from 1628 to 1940, see Xie (2015); Chŏn (2021) 23–28.

10 This book was published in Hong Kong and introduced to Joseon after the France-Korea Treaty of 1886 which ensured freedom of missionary activity. Chŏn (2021) 12.

the Research Foundation for Korean Church History includes on the front cover the inscription "First Printed in the first year of Emperor Chongzhen 崇禎 and reprinted in the fifty-sixth year of Emperor Qianlong 乾隆崇禎元年始刻, 乾隆五十六年重訂" in addition to that of "Printed in Anno Domini 1792 텬쥬강ㅅ·이ㅇ일쳔칠ㅂ·이ㄱ구십이년ㅈ·이 라는 기록" on an inner page, which means that it was published in 1792 but further suggests that there was a family of Qianlong editions[11] published in 1791 in circulation in Chosŏn.[12]

Furthermore, the Korean version was widely disseminated throughout the Catholic community of Yesan, Ch'ungch'ŏngdo Province, in 1791, according to official records.[13] Thus, it is most likely that earlier editions predating the Qianlong edition had also been introduced to Korea between 1694 and 1791.

A number of Chinese editions published before 1791 could be proposed as candidates: the Huangcheng (Beijing) Xiushantang edition (1628),[14] the Suicheng (Guangzhou) Dayuangtang edition,[15] published during the lifetime of Aleni and Zhang Geng 張賡 (1570–1646/1647),[16] the two versions of the Wulin (Hangzhou)

11 The Chinese version used for comparison is a re-edition included in *Rare Books on the Catholic Church in the Ming and Qing Period housed in the Shanghai Library Bibliotheca Zikawei* (*Xujiahui Cangshulou Mingqing Tianzhujiao Wenxian* 徐家匯藏書樓明清天主教文獻).

12 The date of the Korean edition kept at the Chŏltusan Museum cannot be ascertained because it has neither cover nor colophon. Because the text presents more phonetic transliterations of Chinese characters than the one kept at the Research Foundation for Korean Church History, it can be concluded that the two are separate editions. However, their contents are rather similar, which suggests that the Chŏltusan edition was also translated and copied from the Chinese edition of 1791. A detailed comparative study of the two Korean editions is yet to be conducted.

13 *Chosŏn wangjo sillok* 朝鮮王朝實錄, vol. 33, King Chŏngjo fifteenth year, November 3. It cannot be confirmed whether the Han'gŭl edition mentioned in the official records is a translation from the Kangxi period or a Chinese edition.

14 Xiushantang refers to the North Church in Beijing, which was built in 1702. Between 1719 and 1798, Jesuit works were published under at least 13 different names, among which seven dated from the eighteenth century and six were copies of seventeenth-century editions. Therefore, the Huangcheng Xiushantang edition is most likely a republication of the original edition of 1628 by the North. See Malek/Lippiello (1997) 139, n.38.

15 The edition referenced here is the first edition kept at the Vatican Library (*Borgia cinese* 349.4).

16 The edition referenced here is a reprint kept at the Vatican (R.G. Oriente III. 286.12) as well as a reprint kept at the Bavarian State Library (L. sin. C'391). As for Zhang Geng, he was from Fujian and met Aleni in Hangzhou in 1621. Introduced to the Italian priest by Yang Tingyun 楊廷筠 (1557–1627), he was baptized in 1623. For more details on the dates of birth and death of Zhang Geng and his life, see Standaert (2001) 403; and Ye (2012) 5.

Jingjiaotang edition (abbreviated as the Alpha version and Beta version),[17] and the Jiangxi edition (1694).[18]

In order to identify the Chinese editions circulating in Chosŏn that Confucian scholars perused, an examination of the works of Nam Sukkwan and Hong Chŏngha 洪正河 (1731–1805) is necessary.[19] In his criticism of *Wanwu zhenyuan* titled *Yuanxi Ai Rulüe Wanwu zhenyuan bian*, Nam Sukkwan uses the term *yuanxi* 遠西 which appears in the foreword. Among the Chinese editions published before 1791, however, only the Beta version of the Hangzhou Jingjiaotang edition mentions this term in the foreword: *Yuanxi houxue Ai Rulüe shi* 遠西後學艾儒畧識 (Composed by later generation scholar Giulio Aleni from the Far West). By contrast, the foreword of the Xiushantang edition ends with the designation, *Chongzhen yuannian Airulue sijishi shi* 崇禎元年艾儒畧思及氏識 (Composed by *siji* Giulio Aleni in the first year of Chongzhen era), whereas the Guangzhou, Hangzhou Alpha, and Jiangxi editions[20] say, *Taixi houxue Ai Rulüe shi* 泰西後學艾儒畧識 (Composed by later generation scholar Giulio Aleni from the Occident).

Therefore, the Chinese edition of *Wanwu zhenyuan* studied and criticized by Nam Sukkwan most likely belongs to the Hangzhou Beta family. The work of Hong Chŏngha, born 25 years after Nam Sukkwan, strongly suggests that Confucian scholars of the time continued to peruse the Hangzhou Beta version.

17 Both editions referenced here are reprints kept at the Vatican Library (R.G. Oriente III. 248.8 and 221.11).

18 The edition referenced here is a reprint included in *Mingqingzhiji xixuewenben* 明淸之際西學文本. However,

there is no consensus in the academic community on the terms used to refer to each Chinese edition. Thus, in

this article, the four editions published in the Chongzhen era are arbitrarily named after the place of publication and abbreviated as the name of the region. As there is no information on publication sites for the 1694 and 1791 editions, these are designated as "Jiangxi edition" and "Qianlong edition," respectively, after the contemporaneous Emperor's name.

19 Hong Chŏngha is an anti-Western Learning scholar who wrote the so-called *Sap'yŏnjŭngŭi* 四編證疑 as a ch'ŏsa 處士 during the reign of King Chŏngjo. He carried out his activities in the cities of Ch'ungju and Wŏnju and was closely connected with prominent figures in anti-Western Learning Southerners Party, including Chŏng Pŏmjo and Kang Chunhŭm 姜浚欽 (1768–1833). His dates of birth and death were verified in a genealogy book compiled by the P'ungsan Hong family clan. See Chŏn (2021) 30–34 for details on Hong Chŏngha's biography, ancestry, and relationships.

20 Since the publication date of the 1694 Jiangxi edition cannot be verified as only modern printed books are now available, its foreword mentions *taixi* 泰西, as does the Hangzhou Alpha version.

Although Hong Chŏngha's critical work *Manmul chinwŏn chŭngŭi* 萬物眞原證疑 (*A Confutation of Wanwu zhenyuan*) remains undated,[21] the content of *Chŭngŭiyoji* 證疑要旨 (*An outline of Four confutations*) and *Ch'ŏnjushirŭi chŭngŭi* 天主實義證疑 (*A Confutation of Tianzhu shiyi*) as well as the time of Chŏng Pŏmjo 丁範祖 (1723–1801)'s death offer clues as to the time range of its writing. Most likely, it seems to have been written after the Chinsan Incident in the fifth lunar month of 1791 and before the Sinyu persecution[22] in the ninth lunar month of 1801.[23]

As Hong Chŏngha's confutation summarizes and reorganizes the content of Chapter 10 of *Wanwu zhenyuan* in the process of offering his commentary, it is rather easy to identify the version he seems to have consulted. As a matter of fact, Chapter 10 is the chapter of *Wanwu zhenyuan* where the most characters or sentences have been either removed or added, meaning a genealogy of the transmission of editions can readily be reconstructed.

The main criteria for differentiating between the Chinese editions published before the writing of *A Confutation of 'True Origin of All Things'* is the number of layers of Hell and the number of celestial spheres mentioned in Chapter 10. These two criteria enable us to determine the editions in question and the genealogy of their transmission.

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21 On the basis of the analysis of later works, it appears likely that it was composed "between the period just before the Book Prohibition Order of 1791 and the Sinyu Persecution in 1801." See Kŭm (2001), 23. On the other hand, Ch'a (2002) 270 argues that it was written immediately after the Chinsan Incident of 1791 on the grounds that *Ch'ŏnju shirŭi chŭngŭi* 天主實義證疑 mentions the abolition of ancestral rites and the burning of ancestral tablets.

22 In 1791, Yun Chich'ung and Kwŏn Sang'yŏn, two aristocrats from Chinsan in Chŏlla Province, disclaimed the ancestral ritual, burning and burying ancestral tablets. This incident sparked outrage among many Confucian scholars and resulted in the hardening anti-Catholicist feeling. The Sinyu persecution may be referred to as *Shinyusaok* 辛酉邪獄 or *Shinyubak'ae* 辛酉迫害. In 1801, after King Chŏngjo died and Sunjo ascended the throne, the Chosŏn government severely punished Catholics; during this period, around 100 believers were executed, and around four hundred were exiled.

23 On the basis of "至於廢其祭燒其主, 而單單共奉一天主, 以成其專權獨享之利" in *Ch'ŏnjushirŭi chŭngŭi* 天主實義證疑 and "燒父主絶父後" in *Chŭngŭiyoji* 證疑要旨, the *Sap'yŏnjŭngŭi* 四編證疑 (*Four confutations*) appears to have been written after the fifth lunar month of 1791, when the Chinsan Incident occurred. However, the word "oak 邪獄" (persecution) in "近聞邪獄文書半是淫案云" of *Sap'yŏnjŭngŭi* conventionally refers to the Sinyu persecution (1801), not to the Chinsan Incident. Therefore, *Sap'yŏnjŭngŭi* must have been written after Day 10 of the first lunar month of 1801, when Queen Chŏngsun promulgated a ban on Western Learning, and before Day 3 of the ninth lunar month of 1801, the date of the death of Chŏng Pŏmjo, the author of the afterword of *Four Confutations*. Accordingly, it seems that all the books of *Four Confutations*, which also includes *An Outline of the Four Confutations*, were written between the fifth lunar month of 1791 (Chinsan incident) and the ninth lunar month of 1801 (before Chŏng Pŏmjo's death).

Table 1: The number and names of places of Earthly Netherworld[24] in the *Wanwu zhenyuan*.

Edition	Beijing Xiushantang	Guangzhou Dayuangtang	Hangzhou Jingjiaotang (Alpha)	Hangzhou Jingjiaotang (Beta)	Jiangxi	Qianlong
Year	1628	1628–1646/7[25]	1628–1646/7	1628–1646/7	1694	1791
Place 4	*Gushengyu*	*Zanhouyu*	*Zanhouyu*	*Zanhouyu*	*Zanhouyu*	*Zanhouyu*
Place 3		*Lingboyu*	*Lingboyu*	*Lingboyu*		
Place 2	*Lianzuiyu*	*Lianzuiyu*	*Lianzuiyu*	*Lianzuiyu*	*Lianzuiyu*	*Lianzuiyu*
Place 1	*Yongguyu*	*Yongguyu*	*Yongguyu*	*Yongguyu*	*Yongguyu*	*Yongguyu*
Total places	3	4	4	4	3	3

The differences between the Guangzhou edition, Hangzhou Alpha edition, and Hangzhou Beta and remaining editions indicate that they belong to different textual families, and thus the task of determining the exact date of their publications poses a challenge. Nevertheless, the passage "萬國典籍, 論天地之原, 本國之始, 皆必謂有初, 如中國記盤古而上, 更無人類" in Chapter 1 is common to the Beijing version (1628) and to the Guangzhou and Hangzhou Alpha editions, but it has been amended as "萬國典籍, 論天地開辟, 人物滋生, 皆必謂其有初, 如中國記洪荒而上, 必無人類" in the Hangzhou Beta, Jiangxi (1694), and Qianlong (1791) editions. This means that the Hangzhou Beta was published after the Guangzhou and Hangzhou Alpha editions.[26]

Furthermore, while the names and numbers of Hell and celestial spheres in the Guangzhou and Hangzhou Alpha editions are the same, in the Guangzhou edition, as is the case in the Beijing edition of 1628, there is no space in front of the terms referring to God, such as "creator" (*zaowuzhu* 造物主), "Lord of Heaven"

24 There are generally two places of the Netherworld in the Earth (Purgatory and Hell). Some theologians also add a pre-Hell (i.e., Dante's *Antinferno*), that is a kind of vestibule of Hell, and a Limbo (literally: border) which is the most peripheral part of Hell itself. In Limbo the souls of non-baptized children remain, as well as those who are not baptized and virtuous and righteous people as ancient Patriarchs. In Chinese-written Catholic texts, *Gushengyu* 古聖獄 (or *Zanhouyu* 暫候獄) is the Limbo (occasionally there is also the *Lingboyu* 靈薄獄, that particular Limbo reserved for children), *Lianzuiyu* 煉罪獄 is the Purgatory, and *Yongguyu* 永苦獄 is the true Hell, or the Hell of the damned ones.

25 This edition, as well as the "Alpha" and "Beta" *Hangzhou Jingjiaotang* editions, may be conjectured to be published before the death of Zhang Geng (in 1646 or 1647), on the basis of a passage (溫陵張賡較梓) found in the works.

26 See Chŏn (2021) 28–29.

Table 2: The names of Celestial Spheres in the *Wanwu zhenyuan*.

Work's editions	Celestial spheres	Total
Beijing Xiushantang	Zongdongtian 宗動天 (Primum Mobile), Tongmingtian 洞明天 or Shuijingtian 水晶天 (Precessional sphere or Crystalline sphere), Liexingtian 列星天 (Fixed Stars), Tuxingtian 土星天 (Saturn), Muxingtian 木星天 (Jupiter), Houxingtian 火星天 (Mars), Riluntian 日輪天 (Sun), Jinxingtian 金星天 (Venus), Shuixingtian 水星天 (Mercury), Yuetian 月天 (Moon).	11
Guangzhou Dayuangtang	Idem	11
Hangzhou Jingjiaotang (Alpha)	Idem	11
Hangzhou Jingjiaotang (Beta)	Idem, except Tongmingtian or Shuijingtian	9
Jiangxi	Idem, except Tongmingtian or Shuijingtian	9
Qianlong	Idem, except Tongmingtian or Shuijingtian	9

(*tianzhu* 天主), "Great Lord" (*dazhu* 大主), and "Jesus" (*yesu* 耶穌), whereas the terms are spaced to mark respect in the Hangzhou Alpha and other subsequent editions, which suggests that the Guangzhou edition was published before the Hangzhou Alpha version. The Jiangxi edition of 1694 and the Qianlong edition of 1791 belonged to different families from the previous editions in light of their "three layers of Netherworld" and "nine celestial spheres."[27]

Among all the aforementioned editions, the one closest to what Hong Chŏngha quoted in his *Confutation* is the Hangzhou Beta edition. In fact, the citation deals with the names and functions of the "four layers of Hell" and the "nine celestial spheres," to which only the Hangzhou Beta edition offers a match. Therefore, the

27 The Jiangxi edition referenced here is the 1694 edition, which was critically compared to the 1791 edition. As it is a modern print, it is rather difficult to ascertain the degree of correspondence with the original text or clearly identify bibliographic data. However, it appears that the level of agreement between the two editions is very high, and the cover of the 1694 edition, which was republished in *Rare Books on the Western Learning in the Ming and Qing Periods* (*Mingqing zhiji xixuewenben* 明清之際西學文本), completely matches the cover of the 1791 Qianlong version. Thus, provided that the editor did not include the cover by mistake, the 1694 edition is the same edition as the 1791 edition, or at least an edition of the same family. The main difference between the two is the inclusion or exclusion of the foreword.

Hangzhou Beta family was most likely transmitted to Chosŏn in addition to the Qianlong edition.

2 Criticism from Eighteenth-century Chosŏn Scholars

As seen above, *Wanwu zhenyuan* was introduced to Chosŏn prior to 1781 and appears to have been in circulation since then with the diffusion of Catholicism. A number of Confucian scholars make note of this fact, although no documentation remains of their first-hand reading of *Wanwu zhenyuan* other than that of Nam Sukkwan and Hong Chŏngha. The reason why subsequent scholars of the nineteenth century did not come into contact with *Wanwu zhenyuan* probably stems from the impact of anti-Western Learning policies, such as the ban on and burning of Western Learning books, which were gradually stiffened from 1791 onwards.[28] For example, Yi Hangno cited Nam Sukkwan's work to take issue with what he considers to be the illogical academic stance of Western Learning[29] and, similarly, Hŏ Chŏn (1797–1886) criticized the principles of Western Learning after reading the works of Hong Chŏngha,[30] however, both acknowledge the limitations imposed on their assessments by the prohibition policies that severely restricted their access to Western Learning.[31]

Nam Sukkwan's *Discerning the Truth in Giulio Aleni's Wanwu zhenyuan from the Far West* is now lost, and the full gamut of its content remains unknown.[32] Nonetheless, the critique appears to raise issues related to Chapters 10 and 11 of Aleni's work, as evidenced by the passages cited by Yi Hangno:

28 Discussions around the ban on the importation of Western Learning books began around 1786; it seems that the importation of such books was strictly controlled after the Chinsan Incident in 1791. In November of that year, two Western Learning books kept in Hongmungwan were burnt and the following December, 49 books of 27 types housed in Oegyujanggak were burnt.

29 Yi Hangno criticized Aleni's unacademic assertion that there was no need to ask about the origin. See Yi (2003), *Kan Paltan Namgong Manmul chinwŏnbyŏn sosik* 看八灘南公萬物眞源辨小識 (Little Notes on P'alt'an 八灘 Nam Gong's 南公 *Discerning the Truth in Wanwu zhenyuan* 萬物眞源).

30 Hŏ (2003), *Sŏsap'yŏnjŭngŭihu* 書四編證疑後 (*Foreword to the Four Confutations*).

31 Yi (2003), *Pyŏksarokp'yŏn* 闢邪錄辨 (*Discerning the Truth in exposing heretical teachings*).

32 Yi (2003), *Pyŏksarokp'yŏn* 闢邪錄辨 mentioned that Yi Hangno knew the outline of Nam Sukkwan's *Discerning the Truth in Giulio Aleni's Wanwu zhenyuan* 萬物眞源 *from the Far West* based on Yi Chŏnggwan's summary of the book.

> Giulio Aleni from the Far West (Yuanxi Ai Rulüe 遠西艾儒畧), a man of Chongzhen's reign, is said to have mastered reason, along with Matteo Ricci (Li Madou 利瑪竇). In Chapter 11 of Wanwu zhenyuan, it is explained that in the creation of Heaven and Earth and the metamorphosis, the ruler of Heaven and Earth is the 'self- existing origin' of everything, just as there are roots to a tree and there is 1 among numbers yet you need not question the origin of the root or the origin of 1. This theory does not follow previous theories in that it does not regard the Creator as tian-ti 天地 cosmology, thing or person (人物), ghost or spirit (鬼神), principle or pattern (道理), natural or material force (性氣). This equates such a Creator with the absolute, which reminds me of Laozi- Zhuangzi. It is also said that Heaven is in the sky and Hell on earth, which is similar to the unrefined, vulgar theory of Buddhism.[33]

The analogy of the "tree's roots" and the "number 1" figures in Chapter 11 of *Wanwu zhenyuan*, while the passage referring to Heaven in the sky and Hell on earth is from Chapter 10. In Chapter 11, Aleni uses the expression "the beginning before the beginning of all things" (萬物未始有始之始) to explain that God is the "origin of all things, who has no origin" (萬有無原之原), which resonates with the "beginning before the beginning" (有未始有始也者) in Zhuangzi's 莊子 *On the Equality of Things* (*Qiwulun* 齊物論) while, from Nam's perspective, God is reminiscent of Laozi-Zhuangzi's principle that existed before anything else, that is, the "Tao of the absolute." As for the spatial images of Heaven and Hell of Chapter 10, they are suggestive of Buddhist doctrine. Thus, Nam interpreted the Creator of *Wanwu zhenyuan* as an imitation of either Taoism or Buddhism.

Unlike Nam's case, Hong Chŏngha's writings on *Wanwu zhenyuan* have remained fully intact and are the most detailed of all texts on the subject. Hong belonged to the anti-Western Learning Faction,[34] which maintained a critical attitude towards Catholicism. In addition to his Confutation of *True Origin of All Things*, Hong also wrote the so-called *Ch'ŏnju shirŭi chŭngŭi* 天主實義證疑, *Sŏngsech'uyo chŭngŭi* 盛世芻蕘證疑 (*A Confutation of Sŏngsech'uyo chŭngŭi*), and *Chindojajŭng chŭngŭi* 眞道自證證疑 (*A Confutation of Chindojajŭng chŭngŭi*), the four pieces collectively known as *Sap'yŏnjŭngŭi* 四編證疑 (*Four confutations*). The purpose of these confutations was to expose the illogicalities and errors in Western Learning so that followers could make their way back to the rightful path of Confucianism.[35]

Like Nam, Hong dismissed the Catholic theory of origin as a subsidiary doctrine of Taoism or Buddhism and, like Yi Hangno, he viewed Aleni's stance demur-

33 Hŏ (2003).

34 The ruling class of the late Chosŏn Dynasty was divided into three factions: the Patriarch's Faction, the Disciple's Faction, and the Southerners. Many of the Southerners converted to the Catholic faith, but many others also began to denounce Catholicism and came to be known as the Anti-Western Learning Faction in Korean academia.

35 For more details on the purposes and strategies of Hong Chŏngha's critique, see Kŭm (2001), 23–57.

ring to question the "origin of the origin" as unscientific and thus problematic.[36] He reviewed each passage of *True Origin of All Things* that he deemed to be contrary to norms through the lens of his Confucian rationality, with the most substantial issue he raised concerning the principle and process of the creation of Heaven and Earth based on the four elements. Just as any other Chosŏn scholar of the time, Hong understood the origin and creation of all things in terms of the Confucian theory of *yin-yang* 陰陽 and the five phases (*ohaeng* 五行):

> Generally, the origin of all things can only be these two characters: 理 (li or pattern) and 氣 (qi or material force). Li is the basis for the [creation] of all things, and qi is the material [that constitutes all things]. Li is immutable because it is fixed [as a law] and permanent. As for qi, it is the one primary material, generally speaking. However, there is a difference between going back and forth and moving around within the primary energy. Thus, if it retracts it becomes yin 陰, if it spreads out it becomes yang 陽; from given to collected, scattered to gathered, all things are combined and nurtured as big or small, fast or slow, and created in various ways.[37]

Li and *qi* are fundamental Neo-Confucian concepts that explain the existence of all creation; *li* is a fixed pattern that guides *qi* by means of regularity and directionality, while *qi* is the "fundamental material" (基體) and the energy that constitute and set into motion everything in the world. Energy is constantly flowing, "going back and forth" (往復), "retracting and spreading" (屈伸) in an undivided state. The two states that make up the motions of *qi* are called *yin* and *yang*[38]; the *qi* of *yin* and *yang* repeatedly "gives and collects" (施翕), "scatters and gathers" (散聚), and creates things of all kinds[39] by amalgamation. Everything created by the amalgamating force of *qi* has material properties,[40] which Hong classifies as the five phases:

> Everything that flows and gets wet belongs to water; everything that grows and rises brightly belongs to fire; everything that is straight, curved, and sturdy belongs to wood; everything that is strong and sharp but can be changed at will belongs to metal; everything that is wide, thick, heavy, and solid belongs to earth. If we discuss only in terms of what can be seen, the meaning of the five elements is limited to the five elements. However, if we discuss rationality, which cannot be seen, even the most insignificant thing has to become a

36 Hŏ (1985) 441–442.

37 Ibid., 458.

38 See Yamada (1991) 102–103.

39 Here, the "things" do not solely refer to the material substances that can be experienced in the natural world, but also to natural phenomena.

40 Yamada defines the five phases or the *qi* of the five phases in terms of physical or sensory properties such as heat and wetness. See Yamada (1991) 126.

> body that possesses the attributes of the five categories; therefore, if one element is missing, things cannot be achieved.[41]

Each of the five phases can be interpreted as a categorial concept that classifies the properties of the material world.[42] The five elements of water, fire, wood, metal, and earth are the names given to each category, but the categories encompass far more attributes than suggested by such elements in their common sense.[43] In addition, things become distinguishable according to their properties because the *qi* of each category amalgamates in different ratios to become objects that possess the properties of the five categories. Nevertheless, these are not merely categorial concepts that stop at delineating the properties of a given object, but go further to articulate the process of their creation:

> When (things) are created, they are necessarily revealed from insignificance and made stronger from weakness; when they disappear, they necessarily wear away from vitality and return to where they come from. Therefore, there is an order in the motions of yin and yang. In the past, sages carefully observed the signs of change and recorded them in order. Thus, they divided the primary material into five parts and named each part after the thing that best matched the image of each body among all things created according to those five parts. Then they claimed, "Sky 1 begets water; earth 2 begets fire; sky 3 begets wood; earth 4 begets metal; and sky 5 begets earth". This is precisely the so-called ohaeng 五行 (five phases).[44]

"The primary material" (元氣) and the motions of the yin-yang *qi* are perceptible as the "fundamental substance" (基體) of things before they are created. Instead, *qi* can be experienced in the real world through its self-motions and amalgamated form; its material properties appear in the order of creation of the five phases and turn things into concrete, perceptible objects. According to Hong, the ancient sage kings keenly observed the life and death of things and recorded their changes in order. To explain the life cycle, *qi* was divided into five parts (片) and for the name of each part they chose of all things created by *qi* the one that best represented the

41 Hŏ (1985) 460–461.

42 For an interpretation that regards the character *haeng* 行 in *ohaeng* 五行 as closely related to the category of material characteristics or material properties, see Chŏn (2009), 415–416.

43 See Hŏ (1985) 460. Since the names of the five phases do not designate concepts limited to material realities, the five phases are referred to by the Sino-Korean terms, namely *su* (water 수), *hwa* (fire 화), *mok* (wood 목), *kŭm* (metal 금), and *t'o* (earth 토), rather than the pure Korean terms *mul* (water 물), *pul* (fire 불), *namu* (wood 나무), *soe* (metal 쇠), and *hŭk* (earth 흙). However, according to Kim Yŏngsik, Zhu Xi does not strictly distinguish the five phases from the meaning of everyday substances and, in many cases, it is not known in what context he used water, fire, wood, and metal. See Kim (2005) 87, n. 2.

44 Hŏ (1985) 459.

material properties of the *qi* of each relevant part. After naming the elements water, fire, wood, metal, and earth, it is argued that these five phases were sequentially created according to the order of the motion of *yin* and *yang*,[45] which is expressed in the order (節數) of the action of sky and earth.[46] This does not mean that water as a physical substance was created first, followed by fire, wood, metal, and earth, but that the material properties represented by each category were created one after another.[47]

Hong offers human birth as an example to illustrate how the creation of things is structured according to the order of creation dictated by the five phases. Thus, the amalgamation of essence and blood corresponds to sky 1 generating water. After three months, the "essence and blood" (精血) has been clearly formed and starts to circulate, and its turning red denotes the generation of fire by earth 2. At month 4 or 5, limbs appear and the muscles and skeleton are formed; this is wood generated by sky 3. At months 9 or 10, the five senses are developed, and the overall shape is defined, which is when earth 3 generates metal. Finally, the body is born and lives on earth, which is sky 5 generating earth.[48] As human beings take on different material properties from the five phases at each stage of creation, they are molded into entities distinct from other species.

Similarly, *li* and *qi*, *yin-yang* and *ohaeng* are the fundamental concepts underlying the composition of things or their changes in the Confucian philosophy of nature. For Hong, the theory of yin-yang and the five phases, which explicates the origin and creation of all things, was one that was verified through historical evidence for over 4,000 years since it was affirmed by the ancient kings.[49] Formed as his worldview was within a Confucian landscape, he saw the five phases as a self-evident truth explaining the creation and the distinction of things; as long as he sympathized with this traditional theory of the creation of the world, the Catholic theory of creation based on the four elements was unacceptable. The follow-

45 The right order is thought to be sky 1, earth 2, sky 3, earth 4, and sky 5, which follows the motion of *yin* and *yang* creating the five phases. Further study is expected on this subject.

46 Hong Chŏngha faithfully follows Zhuxi's theory of the five phases. See Zhuxi (2009).

47 In the Confucian theory of yin-yang and the five phases, all things are created in the water-fire-wood-metal-earth order according to the motion order of yin and yang. However, in the natural world cycle, the harmonious order is wood-fire-earth-metal-water. For instance, when the season changes from spring to summer, wood is followed by fire; in late summer, fire is followed by earth; with autumn comes metal; finally, when autumn gives way to winter, metal gives way to water. Fundamentally, creation and cycles result from the mysterious action of *qi*. See Zhu (2009) 179–192.

48 Hŏ (1985) 461.

49 Ibid., 449.

ing passage exemplifies the point of *Wanwu zhenyuan* that drew his repeated criticism:

> [God] created pure and clear water [filling the world] from earth to Heaven and made it the 'material' of all things. (. . .) Then, he created air from the water on the earth, and above the air, he created fire. Air, fire, earth and water all together constitute the four elements.[50]

This passage constitutes a reinterpretation of the six days of creation in the *Book of Genesis* in *The Old Testament*, articulated through the Aristotelian theory of elements. According to the Jesuit interpretation, on the first day of creation, God created earth and water from nothing and, the next day, created air out of water and then fire to complete the elements.[51] In Aristotle's natural science, the elements are minimum units of the basic matter composing all things; God directly or indirectly creates these materials and combines them in particular ratios to create the natural world. Hong's objections to this can be summarized into three main points.

First of all, water cannot create fire and earth, let alone *qi*, as *qi* is a material force before it is actualized into fire, earth, and water. In the theory of the four elements, *qi* is only air and thus becomes one of the minimum units of matter that composes all things, along with fire, earth, and water. For Hong, however, *qi* signifies both the material energy and the fundamental material of all things, including fire, water, and earth; thus, it can create water, but water cannot create energy. Furthermore, when water loses its material properties, it can only disperse and return to its original state (元氣) as do earth and fire.[52] Therefore, the claim of the theory of four elements (四元行) that *qi* is a matter equivalent to the other three elements (元行) registers as an error.[53]

Second, the five phases (*ohaeng* 五行) can be more accurately described as five categories that classify the material properties of things than as common materials. In other words, the five phases should be understood as concepts utilized

50 Except for the addition and removal of the characters 而and 者, the sentences summarized by Hong Chŏngha in *Confutation of True Origin of All Things* are more or less the same as *True Origin of All Things* (Beta version of the Hangzhou Jingjiaotang edition).

51 The Western knowledge introduced to China by the Jesuits was principally based on the Aristotelian philosophy as explained by Aquinas. The translation of the creation theory also seems to follow Aquinas' interpretation. Texts introducing the six-day creation of *Genesis*, such as *Description of Celestial Bodies* (*Huanyouquan* 寰有銓), *Creation and End of the World* (*Huanyu Shimo* 寰宇始末), and *The True Origin of All Things*, are all very similar. In this regard, see Zhou (2013), and Standaert (2009a; 2009b). Further study is needed on the identification of the sources that the Jesuits usually used to introduce the theory of the creation to China.

52 Hŏ (1985) 461, 453, 455.

53 Ibid., 452–453.

to classify the properties that compose and distinguish things into five categories. Therefore, the water, fire, wood, metal, and earth of the five phases go far beyond the scope of water, fire, wood, metal, and earth in the common sense, as in the case of the four elements.[54]

Finally, in addition to being concepts that classify the material properties of things, the five phases also serve to explain the process of generating things.[55] As discussed earlier, the sky and earth create the properties of the five phases in a particular order, that is, wood, fire, wood, metal, and earth; thus, things gradually materialize based on this sequence. From this perspective, Hong sees an ordering of creation wherein God first creates the earth and water and then creates fire and air from water as mistaken from the outset.[56]

Conclusion

In the wake of the Chinsan Incident of 1791, Western Learning became an issue, and the intelligentsia of the time promptly took a dim view of it. From an academic viewpoint, the Chosŏn scholars adopted a critical stance towards *True Origin of All Things*; Nam Sukkwan understood *True Origin of All Things* in terms of Taoism and Buddhism and regarded it as unorthodox, while Hong Chŏngha pointed out errors based on the theory of yin-yang and the five phases. At the basis of Hong's criticism lies a respect for Western astronomical calendars and natural knowledge. He considers every passage that strikes him as suspect and proceeds to offer a rational critique:

> They removed two [categories, that is, wood and metal], added another, and reduced five to four. They too must have knowledge, which I cannot exactly determine or measure. But how to know if their knowledge is inferior to that of King Yu or Kija? Of King Yu, Kija, and Western Learning, the question of which is superior or inferior, I cannot judge. However, if judgment must be passed, it can only be done so after there is no longer any doubt that the

54 Ibid., 460.

55 Sibin and other British and American sinologists of the twentieth century use the term "element" for the four elements and "phase" for *ohaeng* 五行 to distinguish between the two. "Element" refers to the indivisible, smallest unit of basic substance. These elements may change their properties and cause physical transformations, just as water becomes vapor when heated; on the other hand, the character "haeng" 行 in "ohaeng" 五行 means "go" or "move." Thus, the concept of *haeng* encompasses not only sensory and physical movement and the transformation of things, but also the creation and cycle processes.

56 Hŏ (1985) 461–462

> theory of Western Learning follows reason and logic so as to be clear and easy to understand. In the end, we cannot be fooled into believing it in the way that the blind and the deaf would give in to threats and intimidation. Now, if we investigate the theory, it often makes no sense; thus, we cannot help but doubt all of it.[57]

And furthermore:

> Westerners are very much sophisticated in their observations and measurements in terms of the numerical values of the astronomical calendar. What I dispute is their school of thought, not their technique.[58]

Hong Chŏngha was wary about prejudging standards of Western academic tradition in light of the achievements yielded by the Western astronomical calendar[59]; instead, he sought to verify the theoretical legitimacy of their arguments on the basis of whether they were logical and consistent. His standards ("reason" and "logic") for such consistency comprised the Confucian theory of yin-yang and the five phases, a recognized source of legitimacy in the Chosŏn Dynasty. Because he approached the text solely through the lens of his own tradition, he had no real understanding of the theory of the four elements and thereby grounded his critique on a misreading.[60]

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57 Ibid., 449–450.

58 Ibid., 464.

59 Like Hong Chŏngha, some Southerners of the anti-Western Learning faction made a distinction between the doctrines and techniques in Western Learning: while they criticized the former, they would favorably evaluate the latter. This is also evident among scholars of the anti-Western Sŏngho faction; for example, An Chŏngbok (1712–1791), a representative anti-Western scholar of the Sŏngho School, critiques the Catholic doctrine item by item in his *Study of the Lord of Heaven* (*Tianxuehuowen* 天學或問) following the 1784 *Ŭlsa chujo chŏkpal* incident (where the Ministry of Punishment hunted down and uncovered Catholics during the *ŭlsa* year), while acknowledging Western technology. In 1790, Nam Hanjo 南漢朝 (1744–1809), a Southerner from Yŏngnam, reviewed the *Study of the Lord of Heaven* and criticized An Chŏngbok's attitude as insufficiently critical because An Chŏngbok and the Sŏngho anti-Western Learning scholars adopted a relatively moderate stance compared to other proponents of anti-Western Learning at the time. For An Chŏngbok's *Study of the Lord of Heaven* and the issues raised by Nam Hanjo, see Sŏ (2013); Cho (2019).

60 The theory of four elements intersects with the theory of five phases in that they explain the principles and process of the creation of the universe. Nonetheless, as can be seen from the semantic distinction between the "four elements" and the "five phases" in Anglophone academia, the two systems can be said to be heterogeneous. Therefore, from the moment when the Jesuits in China translated the four elements with the character *haeng* 行, Confucian scholars such as Hong Chŏngha could not but misinterpret and question the theory of four elements on the basis of the composition and meaning of the five phases.

Regardless of his misinterpretation, Hong pointed out the contradictions and illogicality of the four elements and creation theory based on the common sense and conventional notions of the contemporary intellectual world; he thus asserted the superiority of traditional natural science and sought to prove that it was the truth. Not only did his attitude differ from other anti-Western Learning scholars who unequivocally rejected Western Learning around the time of the Chinsan Incident, but also from the rigid intellectual circles of the nineteenth century, who similarly rejected Western Learning and only reiterated fierce denunciations.

Cho Haeran

Chosŏn People's Experiences of Foreign Lands in the Seventeenth Century: Focusing on Stories of Prisoners of War

Abstract: This article intends to examine the Chosŏn people's experiences of foreign lands.[1] During the Chosŏn period, people could not freely travel abroad except as diplomatic envoys. As a result of Chosŏn adopting a national isolation policy, following in the wake of changes in Ming policy, overseas trade was banned for Chosŏn people, and envoys were mostly sent only to China. It is thus hardly an exaggeration to say that the Chosŏn people's only experiences of foreign lands came about through drifting, however, at a certain point, many Chosŏn people encountered foreigners in their country, while many others went to Japan, China, or Vietnam at once. It was two wars that brought about change in the international dynamics within East Asia in the seventeenth century: *Imjin waeran* and *Pyŏngja horan*. During the wars, many Chosŏn soldiers and civilians, including noblemen and princes, were captured as prisoners of war by the Japanese and Qing Chinese, with many of them documenting their experiences in foreign lands as prisoners of war and many works of fiction based on the experiences of the wars also written. This chapter examines both documentary records and works of fiction; the documentary records illuminate issues of national loyalty for the prisoners of war as well as the importance of literary refinement in the Chinese characters, while the fictional works reveal how unrealistic it was to expect an individual to maintain national loyalty or Confucian ideology in the face of war.

1 Diplomatic Policies of Chosŏn and Chosŏn People's Experiences of Foreign Lands

This chapter discusses people's experiences in foreign lands during the Chosŏn period. Due to a settled agricultural lifestyle, most of the Chosŏn population spent their entire lives in their hometown for generations, with many villages com-

1 This chapter examines texts whose backdrops are the two wars of *Imjin waeran* and *Pyŏngja horan.* Although *Imjin waeran* broke out in 1592 and ended in 1598, this chapter treats the event as part of the seventeenth century because many prisoners of war were repatriated in the early 1600s.

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posed of people with the same family names. In this stationary culture, strangers and foreigners were seldom welcome because they were suspected of having caused a serious enough problem, if not a crime, that they were impelled to leave their hometown.

Compared to Silla or Koryŏ, Chosŏn had very limited exchanges with foreign countries, which stemmed from the diplomatic situation at the time, that is, the policy changes of the Ming dynasty. During the Shilla and Koryŏ periods, overseas trade thrived, however, Chosŏn maintained a national isolation policy throughout its 500-year history, with neither overseas trade by its nationals nor coastal access of foreigners allowed during the Chosŏn period. This national isolation policy of Chosŏn seems to have been influenced by changes in the foreign policy of China (in China as well), where international relations and trade had instead prospered during the Tang and Yuan dynasties. However, beginning in the early Ming period, during the reign of the Hongwu Emperor, seafaring was banned, prohibiting Chinese nationals from going abroad and foreign ships from entering the country's ports except for those coming to pay tribute.[2] It appears that Chosŏn adopted this Ming policy of national isolation.

The basis for the ban on seafaring in Chosŏn remained unspecified in the country's law code, *Kyŏngguk taejŏn* (經國大典), published in 1485. Its implementation was based on the laws on military affairs within the Great Ming Code (大明律, *Taemyŏngnyul*), which restricted exchanges between local residents in coastal areas and foreigners. A section regarding the ban on seafaring in Chosŏn's law code first appeared in 1746 when *Sok Taejŏn* (續大典, Amended Law Code) was published; although invasions of Japanese raiders had lessened in the eighteenth century, Chosŏn's ban on seafaring was stipulated in its law and maintained,[3] and China maintained the policy until the Qing dynasty period. Ming's ban on seafaring was so strict that even envoys from Chosŏn had to use the overland route instead of the safer sea route to visit China; the Ming dynasty blocked all sea routes between Chosŏn and China, allowing only tributary trading between the two countries.[4]

Envoys and their delegations were the only people in the Chosŏn period who could experience foreign lands. Their experiences of China, however, remained limited since they could not visit regions other than Beijing due to the many restrictions they had to abide by. Other than this special group of people, no one in

2 Im (1997) 41–44.
3 Ko (2013) 291–292.
4 Im (1997) 44–45.

Chosŏn could visit other countries; Chinese envoys were the only foreigners that people of Chosŏn might encounter, though very few would have the chance to officially meet them. Therefore, it was only through rare and unusual experiences such as unintended maritime drifting and shipwreck that an individual might meet a foreigner or visit a foreign land. Some foreigners, such as J.J. Weltevree and Hendrik Hamel, drifted by chance to Chosŏn, and there were cases in which Chosŏn people drifted to China and returned home via various regions of China. However, these were very rare cases.

The Japanese invasion of 1592 (壬辰倭亂, *Imjin waeran*) and the Manchu War of 1636 (丙子胡亂, *Pyŏngja horan*) served as momentum for a large number of Chosŏn people to experience foreign lands.[5] The Ming dynasty of China, the Later Jin dynasty of Jurchen (which later became the Qing dynasty), Japan, and Chosŏn were involved in these two wars; in their aftermath, Jurchen conquered China and founded the Qing dynasty, while Toyotomi Hideyoshi's regime collapsed and the Tokugawa Shogunate was founded in Japan. Chosŏn, meanwhile, maintained its dynasty but underwent conflict between the Ming and Qing dynasties.

2 Selection of Works for Analysis

During these two wars which led to significant changes in East Asia, a large number of Chosŏn people were drafted to fight on foreign land, and many soldiers and civilians were captured as prisoners of war by Chinese or Japanese forces, while some war migrants from China and soldiers from Japan took up residence in Chosŏn. These experiences were written into literary works which are analyzed in this chapter to examine the overseas experiences of ordinary individuals during the wars.

Such literary works can be divided into two categories: essays by prisoners of war who documented their experiences on their way back to Chosŏn and fictional works in which prisoners of war are the protagonists; the former are mostly records of the authors' firsthand experiences, and the latter are fictionalizations of probable events. The former – despite being nonfiction – might include self-

5 During *Imjin waeran,* the Ming sent 191,000 troops in support of Chosŏn. It was the first opportunity for the people of Chosŏn to meet the Chinese people in person and served as a catalyst for their interest in contemporary Chinese literature and culture. Self-identifying as "Minor China," Chosŏn was friendly toward the Ming and looked down on Japan and the Qing whose cultures it deemed not Confucianist enough. See Kang (2014) 533–534.

justifications, while the latter can better represent the overall situations, ironically, due to their nature as fiction written from a third-person point of view.

There are a number of nonfiction records written by those who became prisoners of war and then returned to Chosŏn,[6] with Kang Hang's *Kanyangnok* (看羊錄), Chŏng Hŭidŭk's *Wŏlbong haesangnok* (月峯海上錄), Chŏng Hoin's *Chŏng'yup'irangi* (丁酉 避亂記), and No In's *Kŭmgye ilgi* (錦溪日記) some examples,[7] while Yi Sugwang's *Cho Wanbyŏkchŏn* (趙完璧傳) describes the experiences of a man named Cho Wanbyŏk. Of these works, this chapter will mainly discuss Kang Hang's *Kanyangnok*,[8] No In's *Kŭmgye ilgi*,[9] and Yi Sugwang's *Cho Wanbyŏkchŏn*[10] because they present clear points of comparison. Among the prisoners of war, there were royal princes of Chosŏn; however, after Chosŏn was defeated in the *Pyŏngja horan*, the Crown Prince Sohyŏn and Prince Pongnim were taken as hostages and stayed in Shenyang. *Shimyang changgye* (瀋陽啓)[11] is a collection of reports on life in China and requests of the Qing government that the Crown Prince Sohyŏn and his vassals sent to the royal court of Chosŏn.[12] Although these reports are not essays, they are included in the first category because they have something in common with the essays in that the authors are prisoners of war.

Meanwhile, there are works of fiction that depict the escape of prisoners of war or the separation and reunion of their families. The number of these works, which evoke an individual's specific experiences of war, is smaller than that of the nonfiction records, with the representative works in this genre including short stories such as Cho Wihan's "*Ch'oe Ch'ŏkchŏn* (崔陟傳)"[13] in which the female protagonist, who was captured by the Japanese army, reunites with her family members, who were drafted in the war by the Ming dynasty; Hong Setae's "*Kim Yŏngch'ŏlchŏn* (金永哲傳),"[14] which describes the return journey of a Chosŏn soldier who was captured by the Qing army; and Sin Kwangsu's "*Kŏmsŭngjŏn*

6 There are many academic articles on the non-fiction records documented by prisoners of war in Japan. For more information on the academic literature on these records, see Yi (1995) 7–14; Kim (2013) 4–10.

7 Korean names are written in line with the Korean convention: family name first, followed by personal name.

8 Kang (1977).

9 No (1977).

10 Yi (1980). Although there are other versions of *Cho Wanbyŏkchŏn* written by authors such as Chŏng Sasin and Yi Chun, Yi Sugwang's version is the longest and the most detailed.

11 Sohyŏn (2008).

12 *Changgye* is the report the government officials submit to the royal court.

13 Pak (2005).

14 Hong (1980). According to recent studies, Kim Ŭngwon is assumed to be the original author of "*Kim Yŏngch'ŏlchŏn*." However, the original version has not been found. Among the several dif-

(劍僧傳),"[15] which is about a Japanese soldier who is left behind in Chosŏn and becomes a Buddhist monk. This protagonist of "*Kŏmsŭngjŏn*" is a captured Japanese soldier, and he lives in Chosŏn in hiding for the rest of his life.

The specific experiences of Chosŏn people who remained abroad as prisoners of war differed by their social status, which ranged from the royal status of crown prince to the commoner status of drafted soldiers. Moreover, each individual – whether Korean or foreign – assumed a different attitude towards the foreign environment even as a deep nostalgia for one's home country remained constant.

This chapter analyzes the aforementioned literary works to examine the ways in which the protagonists' attitudes differ and what such differences signify.

3 Loyalty and Literary Competency Disclosed in the Records of Lives as Prisoners of War

3.1 Records as Proof of Innocence and Loyalty

Many of the existing records on the lives of prisoners of war were written by those taken to Japan during *Imjin waeran* and *Chŏngyu chaeran.*[16] Kang Hang's *Kanyangnok* covers the span of September 1597 to May 1600 in five parts: "*Chŏkchung pongso* (賊中奉疏)," appeals sent to the royal court from enemy country; "*Chŏkchung kyŏnmullok* (賊中見聞錄)," records of personal experiences in Japan; "*Kobuin'gyŏk* (告俘人檄)," a written appeal to all prisoners of war; "*Yesŭngjŏnggyesa* (詣承政啓辭)," a text he submitted after returning to Chosŏn and assuming a government position in the Royal Secretariat; and "*Sŏmnansajŏk* (涉亂事迹)," a record of the circumstances in which he became a prisoner of war, his life in Japan, and his return to Chosŏn. Kang Hang was captured by Japanese forces in Namwŏn, Chŏllanamdo, in 1597 and returned to Chosŏn in 1600, while No In was taken to Japan as a prisoner of war on August 15, 1597, but escaped by getting on

ferent editions, Hong's edition is the most widely used version; this paper also uses Hong's version. For more information on the assumption of the original author of the story, see Song (2013).

15 Sin (1980).

16 *Imjin waeran* broke out in 1592 when the Japanese invaded Chosŏn. The Japanese invaded twice in 1592 and then in 1597. Although the two invasions are collectively called *Imjin waeran* today, back in the Chosŏn period, the second invasion was called *Chŏngyu chaeran*. In records of POWs of the war, the first and second invasions are mentioned separately since the documents are from the Chosŏn period.

a Ming ship in March 1598. After arriving in Fujian, he returned to Chosŏn via Beijing in December 1599, however, his *Kŭmgyeilgi*, however, records only a very short period from February 21 to June 27, 1598. Cho Wanbyŏk's experiences as a prisoner of war were put into writing, not by himself, but by other writers including Yi Sugwang. Cho was taken to Japan during *Chŏng'yu chaeran* (1597) and visited Vietnam three times from 1604 to 1606 because his Japanese master was a wealthy merchant who handled a trading business with Vietnam; he came back to Chosŏn in 1607. Of the three texts on him, Yi Sugwang's *Cho Wanbyŏkchŏn* is the most detailed, with its distinguishing characteristic that it focuses mainly on Cho's personal experiences of Vietnam.[17]

Kang Hang was a sixth-rank official in the Ministry of Justice before *Imjin waeran* broke out; he was held captive in Japan for three years before he returned to Chosŏn. At the beginning of "*Sŏmnansajŏk*," Kang describes in detail how he tried to jump into the sea and kill himself on the verge of being captured by Japanese naval forces. In "*Kobuin'gyŏk*," he writes, "I was disappointed that I was unable to die despite not eating anything for eight days. In retrospect, I believe I survived because there were things left for me to accomplish in the future."[18] *Kanyangnok* makes it evident that Kang tries to obtain information on Japan whenever possible; the aim was not to understand the foreign country in and of itself but to collect intelligence about the enemy. For example, in "*Chŏkchung pongso*," he copies Japanese geography and administrative law from a book obtained through a Japanese person, mentioning that it was for Chosŏn's national defense measures. Furthermore, the experiences in Japan that he documents in "*Chŏkchung kyŏnmullok*" mainly consist of the country's systems, geography, and military rather than its exotic landscape and culture. His writings also reflect his disparaging view of Japan; in "*Kobuin'gyŏk*," he describes Chosŏn as cultured while dismissing Japan as barbarous.

In addition to gathering intelligence from personal experience, Kang's writings also emphasize his loyalty. He consistently mentions that his loyalty towards Chosŏn is unchanged, even as he is compelled to stay in Japan as a prisoner of war. This may have been due to a need to prove his loyalty upon repatriation.[19] Of course, his writings also express his longing and worries for his family, whose

17 For an academic article focusing on Cho Wanbyŏk's experiences in Vietnam, see Nam (2016).

18 "八日不食 猶恨一息之尙存, 顧不死欲將以有爲 (I was disappointed that I was unable to die despite not eating anything for eight days. In retrospect, I must have survived because there were things I should do in the future)," in Kang (1977) 29.

19 A particular Chosŏn perspective, characterized by disdain for the Japanese as "barbarians" and loyalty toward the king of Chosŏn, is also evident in No In's *Kŭmgye ilgi.* No mentions the possibility of another Japanese invasion while explaining Japan's political situation.

fate was unknown to him, and record the strangeness of a foreign land. Kang, however, seems to focus on maintaining his hostile attitude towards Japan as a government official of Chosŏn, rather than expressing his emotions. Overall, in *Kanyangnok*, Kang demonstrates his loyalty as a government official of Chosŏn and tries to gather and organize intelligence on Japan.[20]

3.2 Experience of Foreign Lands and the Cultural Power of Competence in Literature Written in Chinese Characters

As mentioned in an earlier footnote, No In also documents how he maintained his loyalty during captivity in his *Kŭmgye ilgi*. However, *Kŭmgye ilgi* is distinct from other diaries by prisoners of war in that No escaped from Japan himself rather than waiting to be repatriated, fleeing to Ming China and eventually returning to Chosŏn via a route passing through many Chinese regions. Chosŏn maintained close diplomatic relations with the Ming dynasty, paying tribute and adopting its era names, and Ming even sent troops in support of Chosŏn when *Imjin waeran* broke out with the invasion of the Japanese. From No's perspective, Ming, with its superior culture, offered a safe haven for Chosŏn people.[21] After escaping from Japan, he arrived in Fujian in southern China, to which even envoys from Chosŏn had no access.

Upon encountering Chinese people in Fujian, he emphasized that he was observing the traditional three-year period of mourning, his diet limited to only vegetables, because his parents and siblings had died. He writes that those Chinese people thus came to understand that Chosŏn was not a "barbarian" country[22] and also relates how he explained to the Chinese people that Chosŏn called itself "Minor China" and followed many Chinese systems.[23] As he interacted with the Chinese literati, he gained recognition for his literary compositions, leading to the chance to participate in classes at *Liangxianci* lecture hall (兩賢祠書院). Participa-

20 Cho Hyŏn'u also points out that Kang Hang's logic of self-justification for being alive is evident in *Kanyangnok*. However, while Kang Hang claims that it was out of loyalty that he chose not to die, Cho is more interested in demonstrating how the POWs who wrote *Kanyangnok*, *Wŏlbong haesangnok*, and *Kyeyu p'irangi* selectively recorded their experiences depending on their positions or memories. For more on Kang Hang's self-justifications, see Cho (2014) 190–192.

21 Chŏn Songhŭi argues that No In's preference for the southern Chinese regions affected his decision on the itinerary of his return trip to Chosŏn via the Ming dynasty. For the people of Chosŏn, the southern region of the Ming China meant the center of the civilized world. See Chŏn (2017) 229–230.

22 No (1977) 55–56.

23 No (1977) 91.

tion was a rare opportunity even for Chinese scholars, but No was invited because his Chinese literary compositions were so highly appreciated.[24]

The nine valleys of Wuyi located in Fujian are famous for the Wuyi School (武夷精舍) founded by Zhu Xi, the master of Neo-Confucianism; for No In, the classes at *Liangxianci* lecture hall could have served as an opportunity to learn and discuss Neo-Confucianism in its place of origin. Although No was merely a Chosŏn prisoner of war who escaped from Japan, his competence in Chinese literary composition garnered him the appreciation to merit invitations to classes at *Liangxianci* lecture hall. In *Kŭmgye ilgi*, it is evident that No's identity as a Neo-Confucian scholar and competence in literature written in Chinese characters afforded him some degree of cultural power.

Another work that shows how competence in literature written in Chinese characters could confer special treatment is *Cho Wanbyŏkchŏn.* Cho Wanbyŏk was also taken to Japan as a prisoner of war, where he became a servant of a noble Japanese family deeply engaged with Confucian knowledge,[25] with Cho accompanying his Japanese master on trading trips to Vietnam because he was literate in Chinese characters.[26] Although Cho was a captive who had to serve a Japanese master, he was accorded a friendly reception in Vietnam because he was from Chosŏn and literate in Chinese characters. Mullihu Chŏngch'o (文理侯鄭勳), the man in power whom Cho met in Vietnam, was interested in the literary works of a Chosŏn writer, Yi Sugwang, who gave a collection of his literary works to the Vietnamese envoy P'ung Kŭkkwan (馮克寬), whom he met in China as an envoy himself in 1597; these works became known in Vietnam when P'ung Kŭkkwan included them upon the publication of his own collection of literary works. Although Cho was not well versed in Yi Sugwang's work at that time,[27] Vietnam-

24 "吾老爺見儞之文嘉嘆而使我帶去兩賢祠, 叅講留館, 儞命得不貴乎 此城中, 雖秀才多矣, 叅講亦難矣 (Our master was so moved by your writings that he told me to take you to *Liangxianci* and let you participate in the classes and stay at the official residence. Isn't that such good fortune for you? There are many people who passed the government exam, but it is difficult even for them to participate in the classes)," in No (1977) 23.

25 For more detailed information on Cho Wanbyŏk's Japanese master, see Nam (2016) 203–204.

26 "倭奴輕生重利, 以商販爲農, 以舟楫爲鞍馬, 海外南番諸國, 無遠不到. 以生曉解文字, 挈而登舟 (The Japanese neglect life and set much value on making profits. Thus they trade instead of farming and regard rowing as something similar to horse riding. There is no country overseas where they don't go due to the distance. Cho Wanbyŏk accompanied his master aboard because he could read and write Chinese characters)," in: Yi (1980) 53.

27 According to Yi Sugwang's *Cho Wanbyŏkchŏn*, Mullihu Chŏngch'o was surprised that Cho was unfamiliar with Chibong (Yi Sugwang's pen name). Yi makes the assumption that Cho did not know him either because Cho was a young Confucian scholar from the countryside or because he did not know Yi Sugwang by his pen name.

ese students of Confucianism invited him to their home, praised Chosŏn as a "courteous country," and mentioned Yi Sugwang's literary works. According to Cho, many students in Vietnam studied the collection of Yi's literary work.[28] The preferential treatment Cho received in Vietnam due to his Confucian knowledge and Chinese literacy demonstrates that competence in Chinese characters constituted important cultural capital in East Asia. In response to his experience of the new, exotic environment in Vietnam, Cho enthusiastically documented its animals, plants, sceneries, and customs. Although life as a prisoner of war must have been hard, it enabled Cho to visit foreign countries such as Vietnam and the Philippines and produce thorough documentation of his experiences in Vietnam.

Simyang changgye by the Crown Prince Sohyŏn and his vassals offers the last sample of a text recording the lives of prisoners of war to be examined. Technically, the Crown Prince Sohyŏn was not exactly a prisoner of war, but his situation as a hostage in China bore many similarities. Since *Shimyang changgye* is a collection of reports to the Chosŏn royal court, it does not highlight the cultural power of the competence in Chinese characters as the aforementioned two works do. However, its significance lies in how it reflects the Crown Prince Sohyŏn's perception of international relations and foreign lands. *Simyang changgye*, while relating reports of the Qing's requests to the royal court of Chosŏn, is simultaneously a political text in which the Crown Prince Sohyŏn's position as mediator between the Qing and Chosŏn can be explored. Through this text, we can examine the Crown Prince's efforts to defend Chosŏn's position, the hardships he undergoes acting as a diplomat even as he remains a hostage, and, most of all, his attitude toward the new western culture and technology he encountered in Qing China. During his long stay in Shenyang, he became interested in the national power of the Qing dynasty as well as the western civilization and technology he encountered; for example, he met and interacted with a German priest, J.A. Schall, in Beijing.[29] In contrast to his elder brother Crown Prince Sohyŏn, Prince Pongnim was negative toward both the Qing dynasty and the western civilization he encountered there. After Crown Prince Sohyŏn returned to Chosŏn, his openness toward the Qing and western civilization weighed against him in the power struggle surrounding the throne, and he ended up dead before he could ascend the throne. While Chosŏn was forced into the position of regarding the Qing as its "elder brother" in the wake of its defeat in the *Pyŏngja horan*, it still inwardly denied the legitimacy of the Qing dynasty as heir to Ming China. *Simyang changgye* shows both the contemporary diplomatic reality

28 For more information on Yi Sugwang's poetry, see Yi (1980) 54.
29 Kim (2006) 153–157.

Chosŏn faced and the Crown Prince Sohyŏn's interactions with various people in the Qing as well as his active interest in foreign civilizations.

4 Family-centered Attitude Represented in Short Stories

4.1 Mutual Acceptance between a Chosŏn Sword Master and a Japanese Soldier

This section discusses three short stories about prisoners of war: "*Kŏmsŭngjŏn*," "*Ch'oe Ch'ŏk-chŏn*," and "*Kim Yŏngch'ŏlchŏn*." First of all, this study will turn to the story of a Japanese soldier who comes to Chosŏn as a member of invading forces during *Imjin waeran*.

"*Kŏmsŭngjŏn*" begins with the scene in which Sin Kwangsu, the author, happens upon a Buddhist monk crying in the night. When Sin asks him why he is crying, the monk tells Shin his story, which he professes to have told no one over the course of his entire life. This story told by the monk constitutes the main narrative of "*Kŏmsŭngjŏn*," with three characters appearing: a Chosŏn sword master[30] and two Japanese soldiers. The monk is one of the Japanese soldiers, and Shin calls him "*Kŏmsŭng*," which means a monk skilled in swordsmanship. The Japanese army with which he was affiliated was composed of 3,000 soldiers and successfully advanced to Hamgyŏngbuk-do, a northern province of Chosŏn, during *Imjin waeran*, however, he lost all but one of his fellow soldiers to a Chosŏn sword master his army unexpectedly encountered. When there were only two Japanese soldiers left alive, the sword master gave them the chance to surrender; afterwards, the three men lived together, and the sword master taught them his swordsmanship.

Kŏmsŭng accepted the sword master as his teacher, and they seem to have established a quasi-family relationship over about ten years.[31] Apparently, the Chosŏn sword master truly opened his heart to these two Japanese pupils, and he taught them everything he knew about swordcraft. He eventually lets his guard down in front of them, however, as soon as he does so, *Kŏmsŭng*'s colleague kills

30 Sin refers to the sword master as *Kŏmsa* (劍師). He is described as a person who lives in seclusion deep in the mountains despite his outstanding abilities.

31 "二人遂從其人, 山中數年, 盡得其術, 師弟子三人, 徧游八道名山 (The two men lived with the master in the mountain and learned his swordsmanship for years. The master and his two pupils traveled all the famous mountains in Chosŏn)," in Sin (1980) 12.

him and, reflexively, *Kŏmsŭng* then kills his colleague.[32] Unlike *Kŏmsŭng*, his colleague had continued to think of the sword master as his enemy and had awaited the chance for revenge for all those years. Conversely, *Kŏmsŭng* considered the relationship among the three of them as that of a father and sons, who were consequently brothers. As such, from his perspective, his colleague had committed patricide, and he had committed fratricide. *Kŏmsŭng* seems to have intended to settle in Chosŏn with the other two as his family; upon their death, with no reason left to stay, he throws himself into the East Sea in hopes of getting back to Japan, however, when this attempt fails, he hides his true identity and becomes a monk. "*Kŏmsŭngjŏn*" depicts the tragedy of war through the fate of its unfortunate characters. Despite their part in invading Chosŏn, the Japanese soldiers are also described as victims of war. It is characteristic of this story that it shows the possibility of mutual acceptance and development of familial love between enemies, with the mutual acceptance and quasi kinship between *Kŏmsŭng* and the sword master demonstrating how human love can go beyond war and national boundaries.

4.2 Attitudes Toward Family and the Disappearance of Loyalty in Prisoner of War Narratives

Both "*Ch'oech'ŏkchŏn*" and "*Kim Yŏngch'ŏlchŏn*" depict the life of a prisoner of war after repatriation and the parting and reunion of family against the backdrop of historical turbulence wrought by war between Chosŏn and Japan, the dispatch of reinforcements to Chosŏn by the Ming, the subsequent war between the Ming and Qing, and Chosŏn's dispatch of reinforcements to the Ming.

Ch'oe Ch'ŏk and Ok Yŏng are respectively the male and female protagonist of "*Ch'oe Ch'ŏkchŏn*." Ch'oe Ch'ŏk is the son of a poor *yangban* family in Namwŏn, Chŏllanamdo, and Ok Yŏng is the daughter of a yangban family in Seoul who flees to Namwŏn to escape war. Ok Yŏng first sends Ch'oe Ch'ŏk a love letter, and soon

32 "後十年, 嘗出游, 其人頫而結屝係, 一倭忽乘後拔劒。斷其頭, 顧老僧曰, "夫匪吾讐乎 今日得反之矣, 吾二人盍間行反諸日本." 老僧目見師遇害, 狠發劒, 亦立斷其倭頭. 噫! 老僧與其倭, 俱倭耳, 同師數十年, 不知其日夜內懷陰賊心也. 旣報師讐, 念吾三若父子兄弟 . . . (Ten years later, as the monk went outside early in the morning, he saw his master making straw sandals with his head lowered. Suddenly, a Japanese man drew his sword and cut off the master's head. Then he said, 'Isn't he our enemy? I finally revenged. Now, let's go back to Japan secretly.' The monk drew his sword and immediately cut off the Japanese's head. 'Oh! The three of us lived together for decades even though we are Japanese and our master is Korean. I didn't know that you have always been secretly looking for a chance to kill the master.' The monk thought after killing the Japanese for revenge, 'The three of us were like the father and two sons . . .')," in Sin (1980) 12.

they set their wedding date, however, after *Imjin waeran* breaks out, Pyŏn Sajŏng 邊士貞, a leader of the Righteous Army, takes Ch'oe Ch'ŏk to war due to his prowess in archery and horse riding. Ch'oe Ch'ŏk later falls sick with worry about his fiancée and asks for leave to return home for his wedding but is refused, however, after taking a turn for the worse, he is finally sent home.[33] He recovers from his lovesickness once he marries Ok Yŏng, but his happiness is short-lived; when the Japanese invade Chosŏn for the second time, Ok Yŏng is captured by the Japanese on her way to refuge, and the entire family is scattered. Left alone, Ch'oe Ch'ŏk decides to live in seclusion in China and thus follows the lead of a Chinese general, Yŏ Yumun (余有文), whom he encounters by chance. Yŏ Yumun wants to marry his sister to Ch'oe Ch'ŏk, but the latter declines the offer, saying that he cannot live in comfort without even knowing whether his father and wife are alive or dead.[34] Meanwhile, Ok Yŏng's Japanese captor, formerly a merchant of overseas trading, makes her his chief navigator, and she gets to travel southern China and Vietnam.[35] One day, Ch'oe Ch'ŏk follows his friend, a Chinese merchant, to Vietnam and encounters Ok Yŏng; reunited, they go to China and bear their second son. Later, Ch'oe Ch'ŏk joins the Ming army when the Ming-Qing war breaks out, but his army suffers a crushing defeat in Liáoyáng and he is captured by the Qing. In prison, he happens upon his first son, previously lost in the second Japanese invasion, having been part of Chosŏn's reinforcements to the Ming before becoming a prisoner of war. Moved by the conversation between the reunited father and son, the prison guard – a naturalized Qing Chinese soldier originally from Chosŏn – lets them escape and on his journey back to Chosŏn, Ch'oe Ch'ŏk fortuitously crosses paths with an acupuncturist who saves his life, who turns out to be the father-in-law of his second son. Meanwhile, despite many hardships, Ok Yŏng, her second son, and his wife succeed in returning to Chosŏn; Ok Yŏng's Chinese daughter-in-law, Hong

33 "陟在陣中, 憂念成疾, 及其約婚之日, 呈狀乞暇, 則義兵將怒曰, 此何等時, 而敢求婚娶乎? . . . 陟方患病篤, 聞此驚惑, 轉成危革, 義將聞之, 卽令出送 (Ch'oe Ch'ŏk's worries in the military became his illness. On his wedding day, he submitted a paper asking for a leave. At this, the leader of the Righteous Army got angry and said, 'How dare you try to hold a wedding at this critical time?' Ch'oe Ch'ŏk, who was already ill, fell into a dangerous condition after hearing it. Hearing about Ch'oe's condition, the general ordered him to immediately leave)," in Pak (2005) 427–428.

34 "陟在姚興, 與余公結爲兄弟, 欲以其妹妻之, 陟固辭曰, 我以全家陷賊, 老父弱妻, 至今未知生死, 終不得發喪服衰, 豈敢晏然婚娶以爲自逸之計乎? (During his stay in Yohŭng, Ch'oe Ch'ŏk vowed to be brothers with Yŏ Yumun. Yŏ tried to marry his sister to Ch'oe. Rejecting the offer, Ch'oe Ch' ŏk said, 'I lost my whole family in the war and don't even know whether my father and wife are alive or dead. Thus, I can't even hold funerals and memorial services for them. How could I intend to marry anew and live comfortably without them?')," in Pak (2005) 433.

35 Ok Yŏng's experience of being taken to Japan as a captive and working in trading business with Vietnam according to her Japanese master's order is similar to that of Cho Wanbyŏk's.

Do, had agreed to the journey because she wanted to find her father, who went missing after he headed to Chosŏn as a soldier in the Ming reinforcements. Hong Do's story also appears in Yu Mongin's *Ŏu yadam*, a collection of unofficial historical stories. In the end, Ch'oe Ch'ŏk and his entire family, including his Chinese daughter-in-law and her father, get to live together in his hometown, Namwŏn. The parting and reunion of Ch'oe Ch'ŏk's family is occasioned by the wars in East Asia over the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and various experiences of foreign lands are described along with his family's saga.

Kim Yŏngch'ŏl, the protagonist of "*Kim Yŏngch'ŏlchŏn*," is a 19-year old man who has passed the military service examination and is skilled in horse riding, archery, and singing. The story begins as the Ming enters into a war with the Later Jin (which would become the Qing) and requests reinforcements from Chosŏn in 1618, with Kim Yŏngch'ŏl and his great-uncle thus joining the army. Kim's grandfather entreats him to survive and return to carry on the family line; however, his great-uncle dies in battle and he is captured by Arana, a general of the Later Jin, who makes Kim his servant, saying that Kim resembles his brother who died on the battlefield. As a captive, Kim meets a Ming prisoner of war named Chŏn Yunyŏn, and tries to escape twice but is punished by having both heels cut. In order to conciliate Kim, Arana marries him to his dead brother's widow, but even though Kim begets two sons from the marriage, he cannot stop longing for his home. Finally, he successfully escapes from Arana with Chŏn Yunyŏn and settles in the latter's hometown; after marrying Chŏn Yunyŏn's sister, he fathers two more sons, however, in 1630, Kim returns home with envoys from Chosŏn, leaving behind his Chinese wife and sons. He reunites with his grandfather, but the rest of his family has scattered during the war, while his family fortune is depleted. Lonely and with no means to support himself, he weeps bitterly in the streets.[36] Later, he marries once again in Chosŏn and begets more sons. Going to war on several more occasions he later chances upon Chŏn Yunyŏn in the Ming army and hears news of his second wife and sons, and when he joins the Qing army, he is reunited with his very first son from his first marriage. Having left behind his two wives and four sons to escape from China, Kim fears the same tragedy for his four sons in Chosŏn. He and those sons thus enlist in the army and defend a mountain fortress, with Kim spending the next 20 years guarding the fortress until he dies at 84. His voluntary enlistment had been further motivated by poverty, as it enabled him to receive a military tax exemption. Whenever Kim felt the

36 "英哲旣歸喜幸, 然兵火之後, 閭井蕭然, 骨肉漂散, 家業蕩盡, 無以自資, 行哭於途 (It was a glad and fortunate thing that Kim Yŏngch'ŏl returned home. However, due to the war, the village was desolate, his relatives were all scattered, and his family fortune had disappeared. He wept bitterly on the street as he didn't know how to keep on living)," in Hong (1980) 36.

discontents of poverty, he would look towards China, where he had left his two wives and sons. In the end, he believes that his indigence is heavenly punishment for the abandonment of his families in China.[37]

"*Ch'oe Ch'ŏkchŏn*" and "*Kim Yŏngch'ŏlchŏn*" describe the war as experienced by individuals. Both stories chronicle the process of the protagonists' homecoming and reunion with family, although the former has a happy ending while the latter ends bitterly. What acts as the deciding factor in the divergence of the two endings is the difference in the protagonists' attitudes toward the marriage offer they receive in China. While Ch'oe Ch'ŏk rejects the marriage offer because he cannot live comfortably ignorant of the fate of his father and wife, Kim Yŏngch'ŏl marries twice in China and abandons both families to return to Chosŏn, with it possible to attribute this difference in attitude to their disparate circumstances before they are taken as prisoners of war. As a married man with children at home, Ch'oe Ch'ŏk may have had more of a sense of responsibility for his family.

On the other hand, for Kim Yŏngch'ŏl, marriage in China may have been a way to secure his safety rather than the result of any romantic love. In fact, he betrays no sign of inner conflict when he leaves his first wife and sons, and although he undergoes mental conflict when he has to leave his second wife and sons, it is more important for him to keep his promise to his grandfather to return home and carry on the family line,[38] which enables him to abandon both families he started in China to return to Chosŏn; indeed, Kim only belatedly regrets this choice after he succeeds in "carrying on his family line" by remarrying and begetting four sons in Chosŏn. Although he escaped from China, risking his life and abandoning his two wives and four sons to fulfill the promise to his grandfather, the reality he faces in Chosŏn differs from his expectations, and Kim appears to have lived out the rest of his years in remorse. Ultimately, he enters the mountain fortress with all of his sons in tow to ensure that they avoid the tragedies of their father.

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37 "英哲卽與四子者入居城中, 年已六十餘矣. 窮老無聊, 每意不平, 輒登城北望建州, 西望登州, 黯然悽思, 淚下霑襟. 嘗謂人曰, 妻子無負於我, 而我實負之, 使兩地妻子沒身悲恨, 今吾之困窮至此, 豈非殃歟! 然身陷異國, 終歸父母之邦, 亦何恨焉 (Yŏngch'ŏl immediately entered the Chamo mountain fortress with his four sons. At that time, he was already over 60 years old. The poor old man often felt discontented with his life. Then, he would climb up the fortress and looked at the direction of Gŏnju to the north and Teungju to the west. His tears would wet his collar. He told others earlier that his poverty is the punishment he receives for abandoning his wives and children – who didn't abandon him – and making them live in sadness and regret for the rest of their lives. However, he also told them that he couldn't complain since he could come back to the country of his parents after such a long time of being captive abroad)," in Hong (1980) 39.

38 Kim's different attitudes toward his first and second family in China may be due to his different perception of the Ming and Qing dynasties or his gradual realization of family affection.

What is striking in these two stories, however, is that neither imparts any emphasis on the protagonist's loyalty to their home country. While both protagonists yearn to return home and be reunited with their families, neither really shows any sense of loyalty or patriotic spirit as soldiers fighting for their country. Ch'oe Ch'ŏk suffers from lovesickness and requests leave to marry his beloved; when separated from his family, he wants to go to China and lead a secluded life. Other characters in "*Ch'oe Ch'ŏkchŏn*" also show little patriotism, such as Hong Do's father who is a runaway soldier and the prison guard who lets Ch'oe Ch'ŏk escape who is originally from Chosŏn and has changed his nationality.

In "*Kim Yŏngch'ŏlchŏn*" a sense of loyalty to one's state is also absent. The state offers no compensation to the protagonist for what he loses because he goes to war, with the story highlighting the problem of a state system which does not recognize or reward subjects' patriotic sacrifices. This lack of loyalty is what sharply distinguishes these works from the records of prisoners of war discussed earlier; while both stories depict the ways in which war destroys and distorts people's lives, the protagonists show no sense of loyalty or patriotic spirit. Rather, both prioritize their personal matters over the war at hand. Perhaps these protagonists are more realistic in terms of how an individual would experience war, however, at the same time, no such attitude characterizes any of the nonfiction essays documenting the actual experiences of prisoners of war.

Conclusion

This chapter discusses Chosŏn people's experiences of foreign lands and therefore the cases of naturalized Chosŏn people fall outside its purview. Though few in number, there were foreigners who naturalized and settled in Chosŏn, with one such representative figure being Yi Chiran 李之蘭, the former Jurchen general who settled in Koryŏ and helped Yi Sŏnggye establish Chosŏn. During the Chosŏn period, *Imjin waeran* gave rise to the greatest number of naturalization cases, and as the Ming dynasty collapsed and the Qing dynasty occupied China, many Ming Chinese migrated to Chosŏn which – harboring close diplomatic ties to the Ming – welcomed their naturalization and settlement. Though a rare case, a former Japanese general, Sayaka, surrendered and was naturalized upon receiving the name of Kim Ch'ungsŏn from King Sŏnjo.[39] In *Mohadang munjip* 慕夏堂文集, he claimed that he was naturalized as a subject of Chosŏn out of love for its culture of Confucianism. However, it has also been suggested that his decision to set-

39 For more information on the naturalized Koreans in history, see Pak (2007).

tle in Chosŏn stemmed from a loss of political power in Japan while he was in Chosŏn for the war.[40]

During the Chosŏn period, it was extremely difficult for ordinary people other than official envoys and their vassals to experience foreign lands. However, the two wars of *Imjin waeran* and *Pyŏngja horan* served as the catalyst for many people's international experiences. Unwanted experiences as prisoners of war enabled many Chosŏn people to learn about Japan or Qing China, both of which they had ignored as "barbarian" cultures. They were also afforded opportunities to encounter western culture and products in either country, even as they continued to disparage both as "barbarians."

In their essays, prisoners of war continuously emphasize their loyalty as faithful subjects of Chosŏn, however, it is noteworthy that the emphasis is wholly different in fictional works. Although this chapter does not examine the entire corpus of fiction on prisoners of war, the three discussed works are the most representative examples of the genre. In contrast with the aforementioned nonfiction records, the fictional texts place no emphasis on the protagonists' national loyalty; for them, wedding their beloved or keeping a promise to their grandfather outweighs war or nation. Ch'oe Ch'ŏk and Kim Yŏngch'ŏl were the beneficiaries of friendly receptions in both Ming and Qing, however, in an era of national isolation, it was almost impossible for these ordinary people to solidify accidental encounters and exchanges with foreigners into continuous relations. One way to establish such an ongoing relationship though was through kinship, such as when Ch'oe Ch'ŏk accepted a Ming Chinese woman as his daughter-in-law and ended up living with her entire family, which came to include the father of that daughter-in-law. On the other hand, Kim Yŏngch'ŏl abandoned both families he started in China to return home and came to believe that his life in poverty was punishment for that unethical choice.

Chosŏn men of the yangban or royal class who became prisoners of war during the seventeenth century clashes with the Japanese or the Qing armies were afforded opportunities to experience foreign lands and engage with foreigners which would have otherwise been impossible; they were given the chance to experience East Asia not in terms of ideological territory, but in terms of real power dynamics. Meanwhile, the short stories about soldiers and their families during and in the aftermath of wars offer believable portraits depicting the inner world of human beings. These stories remind us that what is truly important in life is neither the ideology of national loyalty nor the duty of family succession.

40 Fujiwara (2016) 87–88.

Laurent Quisefit

The Yun Ponggil Deeds in Shanghai (1932) as Seen Through European Newspapers

Abstract: On April 29, 1932, the Korean activist Yun Ponggil 尹奉吉 launched a bomb into the tribune where the highest Japanese authorities attended a parade organized in the Shanghai Hongkou Park[1] to celebrate the Japanese emperor's birthday.[2] This was both a national celebration and a display of the Japanese troops which had crushed China in the Shanghai incident despite gallant resistance on the part of the Chinese army. Yun's bomb severely wounded six of the most eminent personalities of the Japanese army and civil service, including those who were about to sign the final truce agreement between China and Japan. Because the negotiators themselves were severely injured, the truce was postponed.

Yun Ponggil's action was intended as an "action d'éclat" that would shine a spotlight on the Korean independence movement and promote the cause of restoring Korean sovereignty. Indeed, news of this incident spread all over the world.

Media coverage of Yun's action in Japan[3] and China[4] has already been thoroughly and accurately presented in previous research. Though Hong Sŏnp'yo[5] has put forward an analysis of the situation in the United States, France, and the home Korean press, the wide spectrum of his study mainly showed the existence of numerous sources related to the Hongkou Park affair without offering a precise panorama of the European press. Moreover, my conclusions differ from his in my analysis of the European media's reception of Yun Ponggil's deeds.

Hence, the aim of this chapter is to examine how the European media related the tremendous events that occurred in Shanghai. To this end, we focused mostly on the French, Spanish and German-speaking newspapers in Germany, Austria, and other European countries.

1 Today Lüxün Park.

2 This chapter is an expanded version of an article published in the French language, focusing only on the French Press. Quisefit (2019).

3 Kim (2009) 5–42.

4 Han (2009) 43–86.

5 Hong (2018) 157–158.

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Prologue: Context of the Event and Methods of Research

From 1919 onwards, the Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea had successfully conducted its mission as a central organization for the defense and promotion of the independence of Korea. But though Korean delegates participated in many international conferences, such as the Paris Peace Conference (1919), the Lucerne Socialist Conference,[6] and then the Moscow Conference of the Oppressed People of the East (1920), they failed to gain the support of any of the world's powerful nations. In London and Paris[7] as well as the United States, some intellectuals timidly supported the Korean independence movement, through usually short-lived associations.[8]

Although it had some success with socialist organizations, the Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea, from its foundation, was beset by many difficulties, especially concerning money matters and legitimacy. At the outset of the 1930s, the position of the Provisional Government, installed in China, was undermined by the Manbo mountain incident[9] of 1931, which intensified mutual distrust and feuding between Chinese and Korean citizens in Manchuria, Korea, and China. Meanwhile, the Japanese Army was pushing its pawns forward in Manchuria (Manchurian incident, September 18, 1931) and went so far as to intervene in Shanghai at the end of January (Shanghai incident).

Kim Ku 金九 (1876–1949)[10] and other cabinet members of the Provisional Government considered every opportunity for action, but the means of action usually far exceeded the meager resources available to the Provisional Government. Hence, Kim Ku organized a small group of action called *Han'in aeguktan* (韓人愛國團 Korean Patriotic Corps) in order to strike prominent Japanese personalities and gain publicity and support for the Korean independence. The Korean patriots struck first in Tokyo, in January, and then in Shanghai, at the end of April. Other attempts were less successful, such as the March 3 attack on a Japanese airfield near Hongkou Park 虹口公园.[11] Other members tried to assassinate

6 Yi (2020).

7 See for instance "Our deeds in Europe" (Kuju ŭi uri saŏp) report by the Korean Provisional Government.

8 Especially the Friends of Korea League (Les Amis de la Corée), created in Paris in June 1921.

9 The Wanpaoshan Incident 万宝山事件 or Manbosan incident was a clash between Chinese and Korean farmers in Manchuria, which incited distrust towards Koreans in China.

10 He was then the Vice President of the Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea.

11 The attack was canceled due to the many sentries around the hangar.

Honjō Shigeru 本庄 繁 (1876–1945), the head of the Kwantung Army (*Kantōgun* 関東軍),[12] in Dalian (China), on May 26, 1932.[13]

My analysis covers a good-sized sample of French, Spanish, and other West European newspapers reporting on the April bombing, accessed through online digital libraries offering digitized newspapers and surveys, with this research based either on keywords or through an analysis of dailies and weeklies on a given date (most often April 30 and May 1, 1932). I favored digital libraries and databases with free access, excluding those that required registration fees, while ergonomic concerns, that is to say, the ease of use of the sites, also played a big role in the selection of sources. My review of material in the national libraries of Germany, Switzerland, Austria and Belgium are no doubt less than comprehensive, and I have deliberately limited my analysis to the best-known titles due to my rudimentary knowledge of German as well as the difficulty of reading the old Gothic characters German newspapers of the time employed in their printing.[14] Likewise, I had some difficulty in locating Italian periodicals, here limited to only two titles. Lack of knowledge of the landscape and editorial context of the different countries in terms of press titles and political orientation also limited my analysis.

Digitized newspaper databases offer the advantage of full text search to locate titles and keywords related to the targeted topics and the ability to download each issue. The downside of this process lies in the inevitable exclusion of documents that have yet to be digitized, however, this survey provides a significant overview of the phenomenon studied.

Notwithstanding, due to the purview of this study spanning Europe as a whole, it was not possible to dig deep with regard to any particular country and to study media reactions to the Shanghai affair in accordance with political factions. A better knowledge of each country's media context and political sensibilities would thus lend further precision to this research. At any rate, this survey serves to sketch European perceptions of Yun Ponggil's actions in Shanghai, and shows how Europeans understood the event and their perceptions of the situation in the Far East.

12 *Kantō-gun* was the name of the Japanese army units in Southern Manchuria.

13 See Kim Ku's diary, or *Paekpŏm ilchi* 白凡逸志.

14 The quality of the printing also played a role in my choice.

1 Context

On April 29, 1932, a Korean independence activist threw a bomb on the official platform of the great Japanese military display celebrating the birthday of Hiro-Hito 裕仁 (1901–1989) and the Japanese victory over Chinese troops during the Shanghai incident.[15] At the end of the ceremony, the attack struck the highest Japanese officials present and, after a moment of panic, an individual, manhandled by the crowd, was apprehended by the Japanese. The incident, thus throwing cold water on the hauteur of the victorious Japanese, brought to the fore a somewhat overlooked Korean independence movement and consoled the Chinese, deeply humbled by the victory of the Japanese army on Chinese soil. Coming on the heels of the Shanghai incident, which threatened to spark a general war between Japan and China, the attack had an international resonance that consolidated Western opinion against an "unnecessary" and strange Korean "terrorism."[16]

Historians are well aware of the thin line between patriotic action and terrorism, depending on whether the opinion of the oppressor, the patriot, or the distant and ill-informed observer is expressed.[17] This has been the case in virtually all conflicts in which civilians took up arms against occupying forces, from the Spanish guerrillas against Napoleon to the anti-colonialist movements, including the anti-Nazi resistance fighters. In opposition to Western opinion, in China, Yun Ponggil's actions gained lasting sympathy for the Korean movement, which stood at the forefront of the struggle against Japanese imperialism.[18] This contrast between two readings and two representations of armed action calls for reflection on its media coverage, on the issue of distance, and on the perception of the issues.

How did the European press describe and analyze the anti-Japanese attack carried out by Yun Ponggil 尹奉吉 (1908–1932) on the occasion of Hiro-Hito's birthday ceremonies on April 29, 1932, in Shanghai? This event was indeed relayed well beyond the borders of the countries concerned through the metropolitan press, which is the case of France but also that of the colonies or remote territories (China, North Africa, Madagascar), thus globalizing the event. How did

15 The Japanese disembarked naval troops on January 29, 1932, after Buddhist monks had been molested, while the Chinese resistance called for the intervention of army reinforcements from February 7. Artillery and air force were engaged, and it was not until March 14 that a temporary armistice ended the fighting.

16 It is worth noting that this word only appeared once in my corpus.

17 See *inter alia*, "Terroristes et terrorisme," in *Le Patriote, organe français libre* (*The Patriot, Free French Organ)*, August 1944.

18 See, in this regard, Pae (2017).

distance and "exoticism" determine representations of the attack? How did Western societies perceive this distant political violence? Was such "anti-colonial terrorism" even understandable? Could the European press really grasp the nature of the attack and its challenges?

My study is based on the analysis of a corpus of French metropolitan dailies and weeklies, *La Croix*, *Le Figaro*, *L'Homme libre*, *L'Humanité*, *L'Intransigeant*, *Le Matin*, *Paris-Soir*, *Le Petit Journal*, *Le Populaire*, and *Le Temps*, as well as colonial newspapers, *Le Journal de Shanghai, L'Écho d'Alger*, *L'Effort Algérien*, *Madagascar Industriel Commerçant Artisanal*, *Le Madécasse*, and *L'Éveil de l'AEF*.[19] The rest of my corpus, which does not include English-speaking countries,[20] relies mainly on German, Austrian, Luxembourgish, Italian, and Spanish newspapers.

First, I will examine the actions of the Korean independence movement in the context of anti-Japanese armed actions of the 1920s–1930s, before analyzing the media coverage in the European press of the attack. The point is to understand how these articles shed light on Western perceptions of the attack, and question the relevance of such a strategy for the Korean cause.

2 The Origins of the Korean Resistance

The Korean independence movement was born in 1919. Korea, dispossessed of its foreign affairs by Japan after the Russo-Japanese war, was finally annexed in 1910 by its cumbersome "protector"; none of the Western powers protested, the Japanese action appearing to offer the Koreans the so-called "advantages of Civilization and Progress," despite all the treaties signed by Seoul with the Western Powers in the 1880s and the good knowledge in some quarters of the lightness of the Japanese arguments leading to annexation.[21]

King Kojong's death in January 1919 coincided with the start of the Paris Peace Conference. Thirty-three intellectuals, encouraged by the principles of the

19 Published in Brazzaville, Congo.

20 E.g., the British Library service did not grant free access to the digitized newspapers at the time of this research.

21 "Japan considers Koreans as mere subjects. The 1905 treaty is barely concealed hypocrisy. Everyone knew what to expect. The Korean Emperor felt the impossibility of resisting the Japanese, and the other powers had accepted the interference and the conquest of Japan" (Perrinjacquet 1909). "The change of reign was accompanied by a convention, if we can call that the act signed by the new emperor under the threat of foreign bayonets, which consecrates the Japanese protectorate in Korea," "Au Pays du Matin Calme" (*Les Annales politiques et littéraires*, August 4, 1907).

right of peoples to self-determination, signed a declaration of independence which was read publicly at several sites in Korea. However, the peaceful option quickly proved to be a failure, with the peaceful demonstrations of March 1 in favor of independence ruthlessly suppressed by the Japanese police.[22] Many activists took refuge in Shanghai and, especially symbolically, in the French Concession and "homeland of human rights." The Korean independence movement had been virtually wiped out on the peninsula after 1910.[23]

It was revitalized, from April 1919, by a Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea (GPRC), a political front of national unity that mainly brought together exiles from China and the United States. At the Paris Peace Conference, in 1919, the Free Koreans tried in vain to have the delegation recognized by the Allied powers, with the movement then divided between several strategies: on the one hand, diplomatic action and lobbying, pursued especially in the United States or Europe, and on the other hand, armed struggle, mainly developed in China and Korea.

At the end of the 1920s, the Provisional Government was undermined by factional quarrels and the relative calm that reigned in Korea. The Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea, installed in the French Concession of Shanghai, was struggling to unite to fight effectively against the activities of an expansionist Japan, which was poised to seize Manchuria in 1931.[24] So, Kim Ku, the head of the provisional government, decided to procure publicity for the national cause by striking the highest Japanese personalities. Bursting on the scene in the aftermath of the Shanghai incident, the April 29 bombing erupted in a Far East that had seemed reassuring and thus rekindled newspapers' interest in the upheavals of the Far East. This act of Korean aggression, however, was part of a long-standing pattern of political violence.

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22 Baldwin (1979) 123–162. The Belgian diary *Le Soir* wrote, during the 1919 Peace Conference: "Ah, it was a cleverly conducted affair, this hijacking of the independence and freedom of an entire nation! [. . .]. However, after the Treaty of Portsmouth, Japan imposed its protection on the country by the force of bayonets, despite the protests of the Emperor who appealed to President Roosevelt in November 1905, protesting against the illegal procedures of Japan in Seoul. Two years later Japan, with the help of accomplices, provoked a political movement aimed at the overthrow of the Government . . ." (*Le Soir*, Brussels, May 27, 1919).

23 "Loyal Units," or *ŭibyŏng*, fought from 1907 to 1910 against the Japanese troops, in the Korean mountains. This guerrilla warfare has been depicted by the journalist McKenzie, through his famous book *The Tragedy of Korea* (1908). See also Quisefit (2018) 167–187.

24 The Mukden Incident, or Manchurian Incident, was staged by Japanese military personnel as a pretext for invading Manchuria under the pretext of the security of Japanese owned railroads (September 18, 1931). On the Korean resistance movement also see Hwang-Hong (2008).

3 Two Decades of Korean Targeted Actions

Armed action in the Korean context, intended both as political gesture and "media strike," often took on the aspect of the physical elimination of enemy leaders and collaborators, with this type of targeted attack against selected personalities designed to ensure publicity for the political motivations of its perpetrators. In 1908, Durham W. Stevens, counselor of the Korean court in 1904, who had dared to praise the actions of the Japanese resident-general, was killed in San Francisco.[25] The following year, Itō Hirobumi 伊藤博文 (1841–1909), or "the criminal initiator of Japan's imperialist policy in Korea" according to the independence activist Seu Ring Hai (Sŏ Yŏnghae 徐嶺海, 1902–1956?), died by the bullets of An Chunggŭn 安重根 (1879–1910) in Harbin station on October 28.[26] A decade later, on September 2, 1919, anxious to avenge the Japanese repression of the March 1 independence movement, a Korean activist attempted to assassinate Governor General Saitō Makoto 斎藤実 (1858–1936). The 1920s then saw a resurgence of patriotic activity, seen on June 29, 1920 when "Some Koreans threw a bomb in the direction of Mr. Mizuno,[27] head of the Taikou [Taegu] Civil Administration, as he was leaving for Tōkyō. Mr. Mizuno was not hit" (*Le Petit Journal*, July 2, 1920). Later, in Shanghai, on March 29, 1922, the former Minister of War General Tanaka[28] suffered an attack, where the "Korean assassins" [*sic*] missed their target but wounded five people before being arrested (*Le Petit Journal*, March 30, 1922). Also in Shanghai, another Korean tried to throw a bomb into the Japanese consulate in 1926,[29] while similar cases are recorded in Korea.[30] Finally, it bears noting that in January of 1932, the emperor Hiro-Hito himself escaped an attack when Yi Pongch'ang 李奉昌 (1900–1932) a Korean belonging to the same group as Yun Ponggil, threw a bomb at the emperor's carriage, "injuring a horse," as noted by *L'Echo d'Alger*[31] (January 9, 1932). This account also underlined the lack of information concerning the motives of the attack, however, more eloquently, *Le Journal* developed on page three of their paper the consequences of the attack, with speculation this could lead to the fall of the Inukai[32] cabinet,[33] while recalling that

25 Eckert/Lee/Robinson eds. (1990) 238.
26 Seu (1929) 170.
27 Mizuno Rentarō (水野錬太郎, 1868–1949).
28 Tanaka Giichi (田中義一, 1864–1929).
29 See, for instance, the *Neu Zürcher Zeitung*, September 17, 1926.
30 Cho (2013).
31 The main newspaper in French North Africa, published in Algiers.
32 Inukai Tsuyoshi 犬養毅 (1855–May 15, 1932).
33 The Japanese Emperor eventually refused Prime Minister Inukai's resignation.

"the criminal attempt perpetrated by a Korean is obviously a nationalist protest against the expansion policy of Japan" (January 9, 1932). Perhaps freer in its words than the colonial *L'Écho d'Alger*, this newspaper mentioned Yun's affiliation with the "Korean provisional government" in Shanghai (January 9, 1932).

Generally speaking, these "magnicides,"[34] or avenging attempts made by the Korean patriots of the 1920s and 1930s, were treated by European newspapers in a minimalist manner and presented as strange events which, although sensational, were news coming from the most remote regions, much removed from Europe (Table 1). As long as the Japanese emperor was safe, and there were few casualties to be deplored, the Korean action was worth only as much, if not less, than the consequences of the incident. Obviously, the attack against Hirohito, the Mikado, would have remained an obscure fact without the possible resignation of the Japanese cabinet; in this regard, "terrorism" failed twice, first as an attack and second as publicity for the Korean cause.

Table 1: Samples of the coverage of Korean armed actions in the French press (1920–1932).

Publication	Date	Title of the article	Morphology
Le Petit Journal	02/07/1920	"Koreans launch bombs against Japanese"	"Latest news," 102 words (478 signs)
	30/03/1922	"Gunshots on a former Japanese minister"	85 words (406 signs)
Le Journal	9/01/1932	"Mikado attack leads to resignation of Japanese government"	P. 1, 107 words (555 signs)
		"The identity of the Korean who wanted to kill the Emperor of Japan"	P. 3, "News from abroad": 85 words (418 signs)
		"The Attack on the Mikado and the Ministerial Crisis"	P. 3, "News from abroad": 406 words (2197 signs)

Quisefit (2019)

The treatment of information concerning the 1932 Shanghai bombing echoes this tendency; the Korean action was regarded only as an epiphenomenon absorbed into the question of the conflict between China and Japan, which was far more important for Europeans than the "strange" Korean attacks. Moreover, Japan was

34 From the Spanish "magnicidio," which means "assassination of an important person because of his high position of power."

doing everything to minimize these cases in the Western press. If the world of the press constitutes an arena, Western public opinion was also at stake, and this struggle was usually won by Japanese propaganda because most of the media had no access to other information to understand the situation.

4 A Bomb Attack, So Far Away

If connections to the cause of Korean independence hardly appeared in the European media, except perhaps in the German newspaper *Vössische Zeitung*, it is perhaps because the event was essentially perceived as regionally specific to that oriental world. As Japanese authorities at the international concession and the commanders of the Japanese Expeditionary Force in China celebrated Hiro-Hito's birthday alongside the Japanese victory in the Shanghai incident, a bomb exploded in the official tribune. Kim Ku undoubtedly chose this symbolic date in order to highlight the Korean national movement; though the bombing itself had been planned in advance, its consequences had not been fully considered, and Kim Ku was compelled to flee and hide at the YMCA.[35] To the best of my knowledge, no withdrawal plan from the Provisional Government had been in place, and the Japanese pursued the Koreans into the French concession, whose authorities could not oppose the search for real or suspected "terrorists."[36] Several Koreans, whether involved in the attack or not, were arrested by the Japanese in the French concession, sometimes even in the absence of approval from French authorities, which gave rise to strong diplomatic protests.[37]

The attack nevertheless acquired real international resonance through the emotion embedded in a larger geopolitical issue, sparking numerous comments of concern and indignation in the foreign press. Coming at a time when Sino-Japanese negotiations seemed on the verge of an agreement, the case offered all its dramaturgical potential for the West: would the attack reignite the conflict? If the indignation was palpable in press reports linked to the event by their geographical proximity – the fears of the colonial administration and economic

35 Cho (1992).

36 This word was not in common use at the time, however, except in the Italian newspaper *Il Messaggero*.

37 Archives of the French Foreign office presented in *Taehanmin'guk imisi chŏngbu charyojip* (*Collection of Documents on the Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea*), http://db.history.go.kr, accessed on January 14, 2019.

circles in the French press in China – the emotional wave was more contained in the newspapers of other French colonies.

5 Indignation in the French Press in China and Mainland France

Across the world, disapproval was widespread. The Minister of Japan, Shigemitsu Mamoru 重光葵 (1887–1957),[38] received more than 400 telegrams of sympathy. In London, the *Morning Post* of May 2 affirmed its solidarity with a Japan forced by the "revolutionary chaos of China" [sic] to take "Vigorous measures for the defense of its nationals and their interests" much in the same way as such chaos had forced Great Britain to act similarly in India, going so far as to praise Japan's "spirit of conciliation" in the Chinese affair (*Journal de Shanghai*, March 3, 1932). The affair gave rise to very strong emotions in Shanghai, where people feared that the Japanese could proclaim a state of siege and that the Sino-Japanese conflict would resume, with the peace talks having been *de facto* suspended as the Japanese negotiators had been injured in the attack. French authorities agreed to arrest Korean suspects within the French concession so as to avoid criticism and preserve the subtle balance of communities in Shanghai while, one week later, the murder of the French President Paul Doumer, by a Russian anarchist, probably removed most of reluctance of the French security offices in Shanghai.

The Westerners in the Far East preferred not to compound any susceptibility of the Japanese, who demonstrated their power during the Shanghai incident. Indeed, the Japanese police proceeded, legally or not, to arrest Koreans in the French legation, albeit not without French protests.

The enumeration of those injured also played a role in the resulting judgment, as some of the victims were civilians. The most prominent Japanese notables present in Shanghai were struck: Mr. Shigemitsu Mamoru,[39] Ambassador of Japan to China, Mr. Murai, Consul General in Shanghai, and Dr. Kawabata, President of the Association of Japanese Residents; in addition, there were Admiral Nomura, commander of the squadron, and General Shirakawa, commander of the Japanese forces in Shanghai,[40] as well as General Uyeda, commander of the ninth division. The French press, apart from *Le Journal de Shanghai* (April 30, 1932), which was

38 In charge of Japan's Foreign Office from 1943 to 1945.

39 Shigemitsu Mamoru eventually signed the Act of Surrender of Japan in August 1945.

40 He died from injuries on May 26.

better informed, hardly mentioned the other wounded, such as the secretary general of the Japanese Residents' Association, Tomono, who was slightly hurt, or a journalist from the *Osaka Mainichi Shinbun* injured by shrapnel, in addition to two soldiers and a sailor. Thus, the mainland newspapers (Annex 1), which devoted space to further developing possible implications of the case, reduced the injured to six or eight persons, slightly or more seriously injured. The next day, Kawabata's subsequent death was also announced (*Journal de Shanghai*, May 1, 1932), with *Le Matin* counting eight wounded and mentioning the injury of the press photographer. It specified that no doubt the promptness of the Japanese nurses had saved Shigemitsu Mamoru whose "blood flowed freely from a terrible wound which he had in the leg," without which he would "certainly have died in a few minutes" (April 30, 1932). Besides, the toll could have been much heavier; in addition to the 20,000 people gathered in the park, behind the military leaders and Japanese diplomats were gathered the "military attachés of France, Great Britain, the United States and Italy as well as a certain number of special envoys and European correspondents, who, by a miracle, were not hit" (*Le Matin*, April 30, 1932).

The words used express reprobation and clearly reflect how the incident was perceived, such as a "terrible attack" in *Le Journal de Shanghai* and "strange attack" and "deplorable event" in *Le Populaire*, even though its former political director, Jean Longuet, had defended the Korean cause between 1919 and 1921.[41] For *Le Populaire*, the attack constituted a twist of the war in the Far East, which implicitly testifies to the perception of the attack as a form of war: the very nature of the phenomenon was still difficult to grasp, and the League of Nations, in 1937, failed to propose a common law on this question. The daily worried about the dreadful consequences the affair might precipitate; indeed, the Japanese government could seize the opportunity to "justify in advance a new military expedition to Shanghai and, in any case, new Japanese demands on China"; "Wouldn't this be a new Sarajevo?", concluded the columnist (April 30, 1932). It was to think of political violence only through the Western prism, or at least only according to the Western experience and in terms of European issues. *L'Humanité* of May 1 denounced those who, despite the involvement of a Korean fighting against the oppression of his people, would use the affair as a pretext to accuse the USSR, as *Le Temps* suggested by mentioning "Russian elements." Once again, it meant tackling an Asian context through a very Eurocentric lens.

This geopolitical analysis reveals through what prism the tensions that arose in distant Asia were perceived; in this sense, it suggests more about the European

41 *La Corée Libre*, no. 10, May 1921. It was a small circulation monthly published by the Korean Information Bureau 파리한국통신부 in Paris, France.

perspective of the French than about the real motives of the attack. *Le Journal* did not hesitate to reinforce the sensational aspects of the recent news, with the title of the first page very descriptive ("A bomb is thrown in Shanghai in an official tribune during a Japanese military parade") and a subtitle enticing the reader by announcing that a Korean "lynched by the crowd, dies of his wounds" (April 30), where other newspapers simply indicated that a Korean was seriously mistreated by the crowd (*Le Petit Parisien*, April 30, 1932), which was also noted by *Le Journal de Shanghai* of the same day.

Another detail stoking indignation can be found in *Le Journal* (April 30), which reported that the terrorist hid under the platform and set off his bomb while schoolchildren sang the national anthem. This information actually came from a dispatch from the Japanese agency *Rengo*[42] (*Le Populaire*, April 30) and was clearly intended to discredit the perpetrator who – possibly out of cowardice – would have hidden under the tribune, however impossible this scenario seems in view of what would have been a heavy security presence around the official tribune.[43] The mention of children imparts a particularly odious character to the attack, which, however, mainly targeted soldiers, there being perhaps 10,000 Japanese soldiers involved in the parade. These embellishments by the Japanese media constructed an alternative account of the attack for propaganda purposes, which was widely disseminated; they functioned as a narrative element embedded into the fabric of the attack for the obvious purposes of denigrating Korean action.

Le Journal also evoked technical details: the bomb, home-made, consisted of a "piece of cast iron pipe 45 centimeters long, loaded with a low-power explosive. A well-made bomb falling in the middle of the group of officials would undoubtedly have killed several people" (April 30); indeed, it has now been well established that Yun Ponggil and Kim Ku worried about the mechanism of the bomb.[44] The second explosive device found in Yun's possession was not used, a point noted by several French and foreign dailies.

42 *Nihon Shimbun Rengosha* 日本新聞聯合社 or "Society of Associated Japanese Newspapers," in short *Rengo.*

43 See the photographs in *Taehan min'guk imsi chŏngbu charyojip* (Documents of the Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea), vol. 26, Kuksa p'yŏnch'an wiwŏnhoe, 2012.

44 Cho (1992) 74. The bomb, however, was provided by Kim Hong'il (1898–1980), a Korean officer serving in the Chinese nationalist army.

6 The French Colonial Press: From Shanghai to Africa

Limited to a fairly small audience (the colonial administration, the colonials, and sometimes a learned indigenous elite), the French colonial press remained relatively restricted. However, it relayed, with more or less precision, national and international information (see Annex 2). *Madagascar, industriel, commercial, agricole*[45] (April 30) thus informs its readers with a very short insert:

> THE HONG-KEW (Hongkou) ATTACK
>
> Shanghai, April 29. The attack on Japanese officials was committed by a Korean named Yiuhokito during the celebration of the emperor's birthday in Hongkew Park Square. As Japanese school children sang the national anthem, the Korean, who hid under the official platform, threw a grenade at the tribune where the Japanese notables were standing.

The use of words and some sentences are reminiscent of longer articles published elsewhere, for instance by *Le Journal* the same day. The publication date of *Madagascar ICA* also reinforces the idea that the work of synthesizing articles published elsewhere was routine in journalistic writing in this category of press.

While the palm for laconism goes to the Catholic sheet *L'Effort Algérien* of May 6, which condenses the event into three lines, *Le Courrier d'Ethiopie*, a French-language newspaper from Addis Ababa,[46] mentioned the information in a very allusive way (6 May). Other newspapers are more verbose, such as *L'Écho d'Alger*, the major daily newspaper in French North Africa, devoting more space to the incident; less conservative, it took a late but critical look at the Shanghai affair. However, in the colonial press, *L'Eveil de l'AEF*,[47] a Brazzaville newspaper, denounced with an astonishing freedom of tone and harsh criticism the pro-Japanese excesses of an article published in la *Gazette Coloniale*[48] by Georges Mahé, honorary governor of the colonies:

> Right now, the troublemakers . . . are digging into revolutionary papers . . . a murderous madness that leads them to acts as horrific as they are unnecessary. Fortunately, nothing will stop Japan in its task of maintaining order wherever its flag flies and enforcing respect for its treaty rights. (. . .) This is how peoples remain great and strong and after winning peace, can serve humanity and civilization," comments Georges Mahé, who unreservedly

45 Hereafter, *Madagascar ICA*.

46 Ethiopia was still an independent country in 1932.

47 AEF is short for French Equatorial Africa.

48 Georges Mahé, "L'affaire de Shanghai," *La Gazette coloniale*, May 5, 1932.

> praised Japanese policy and showed his admiration for the imperial army (quoted by *L'Éveil de l'AEF*, June 11).

In turn, *L'Éveil . . .* responded with sarcastic irony:

> It seems to us that this is going a bit far; in the past, when Japan seized Korea, it was also, no doubt, to serve humanity and civilization . . . After Korea, Manchuria . . . All of this, after all, would not matter much if thousands of women and children did not pay off the hook, exactly as with us in 1914 (. . .) Mr. Mahé forgets to report, for documentary purposes, the number of civilians, the number of these women and children, to whom his Japanese friends have put bullets in the flesh, as this is the sad privilege, usually of "great and strong" peoples (by L'Éveil de l'AEF, June 11).

Above all, it is the excessive judgments made by Mr. Mahé that are criticized here, and not the Shanghai bombing itself. The article, however, appears relatively hostile to Japan. It is one of the few texts demonstrating an objective understanding of Korean action, or at least of the Japanese danger, and offered a denunciation of hypocrisy.

More generally, in the Madagascan press, the episode was categorized as either Far Eastern news or framed in relation to Manchuria. *L'Éveil de l'AEF*, meanwhile, replaced the event in the "Shanghai incident" as a part of the Sino-Japanese conflict. Only *L'Echo d´Alger*, which by way of its circulation and its means of investigation was similar to the main metropolitan dailies, could take the matter more seriously and directly called on the reader to take an interest in the Shanghai events. The newspapers of Madagascar, modest regional newspapers, or the more prosperous *L'Effort Algérien*, presented the information very superficially, proof that their interests lay far from Shanghai and China.

Unsurprisingly, *Le Journal de Shanghai* lingered most extensively on a local subject, the outcome of which was crucial for its readership of administrators and merchants, given that the fear of a resumption of hostilities was on everyone's mind in Shanghai. As the organ of French interests in the Far East, *Le Journal de Shanghai* defended a mercantile and industrious vision, founded on the good relations of all the communities of Shanghai, and it is therefore no surprise that it staunchly condemned the attack. The article "A terrible attack in Hongkew Park on the feast of the Emperor of Japan" (April 30, doc. 1) occupied four columns on the front page, two more columns devoted to related issues, one to that of the Sino-Japanese negotiations in Shanghai, and another to the debates on Sino-Japanese conflict at the League of Nations (04/30). Throughout May, *Le Journal de Shanghai* pursued coverage of the aftermath of the April attack more closely than other periodicals until it gave way to more sensational news.

Criticism of the attack was often accompanied by distortions, or even inventions and rumors, which were to some extent all a means of exploiting the affair.

As in *Le Journal* on the mainland, *Madagascar ICA* evoked a scene where the author of the attack allegedly "hid under the official platform" to trigger his device at the moment when "the children of Japanese schools were singing the national anthem" (*Madagascar ICA*, May 4); no mention was made of the grand military parade that constituted the bulk of the ceremony. Admittedly, *Madagascar ICA* was a newspaper of modest circulation, no doubt with limited means compared to more important colonial newspapers such as *L'Écho d´Alger*. As a rule, the colonial press tended to treat the Shanghai affair as a distant news item and did little to expand upon the information. Indeed, the means of these publications hardly allowed them to allocate many resources to such news so far from the concerns of their subscribers, mainly in Madagascar.

7 Qualification of the Perpetrator of the Attack and Involvement of the Nationalist Cause

The name of Yun Ponggil (1908–1932), the perpetrator, appeared in a wide variety of forms, depending on whether the Japanese or Chinese transcription of his name was preferred. The perpetrator of the attack was therefore "a 25-year-old Korean named Yinokitsu, employed in a laundry" for *Le Journal*, while *L'Echo d´Alger* called him Yuhokitsu; his name also became Yiuhokito (*Madagascar ICA*, May 4). *The Shanghai Journal* (April 30) preferred to give two versions of the attacker's name: "In Fongsu in Chinese, and In Hokitou in Japanese." *Le Matin* featured Yintsuengkee, as did *L'Homme Libre* (April 30), but *L'Humanité* considered him to be a certain Feng Ki, a worker by trade (May 1). *Le Petit Parisien* (April 30), for its part, dubbed him Yinnokitsu, specifying that having been installed for eight months in Shanghai, he worked in a Chinese laundry in the French concession, a fact reported by many dailies in Europe.[49] These differences stem from a lack of knowledge of the languages considered as much as the note-taking conditions in which reporters worked.[50] These variations are also found in the Spanish

49 According to Kim Ku, Yun Ponggil formerly worked in a factory owned by their compatriot Pak Chin, which used horse hair to produce hats and others artifacts. Then, he "worked as a vegetable vendor at the Hongkou vegetable market" (*Paekpŏm ilchi*).

50 This confusion is long-lasting, however, since even some contemporary researchers had not recognized Yun Ponggil's Korean identity at the end of the twentieth century. Joshua A. Fogel, in a 2000 article, wrote: "Kawabata Teiji, a doctor living in the Hongkou district, served in this position; he had been a resident of Shanghai since 1912 and was felled by a Chinese terrorist bomb in April 1932 at a ceremony honoring Emperor Hirohito's birthday." Fogel (2000).

press and the German-language newspapers, without the name of Yun Ponggil ever being transliterated according to the Korean pronunciation. European newspapers adopted terms directly from the dispatches of the major international agencies (*Havas*, *Reuter*, etc.)

Yun Ponggil was "picked up lifeless from the ground, his face bleeding and his clothes torn" (*Le Journal de Shanghai*) after being manhandled by the crowd. He will be arrested by the Japanese military police (doc. 2), transferred to Japan and finally sentenced to death, then executed at the end of the year.[51]

The responsibility of the Korean Provisional Government was often highlighted in the articles. "The attack was the work of a Korean organization" announced *Le Matin* of April 30, on page three of the paper. "The instigator of the crime, whom we are looking for, would be Li Yupei, member of the Korean provisional government," indicated the regional newspaper *L'Ouest-Eclair* (April 30), which specified that the author of the action was "a member of the party for the 'Independence of Korea'", information which is identical to that of *Le Matin*, because both were relaying the same sources. *L'Ouest-Eclair* added that the Japanese police discovered that the perpetrator was in contact with "the chairman of a Korean revolutionary committee, installed [. . .] in the French concession," alluding to Kim Ku, the real instigator of the attack, whose name was never mentioned. References to the government of Korean exiles also appeared in *L'Echo d'Alger*, while the Communist journal *L'Humanité* went further, recalling that the attack "has its causes in Japanese oppression in Korea, in the powerful liberation movement which raises the working masses of Korea" and underscored that the "young worker Feng-Ki" was a member of the Korean Independence Party (May 1, 1932).

Le Journal de Shanghai, closer to the event and directly scrutinized by the Japanese, took care to adopt such precautions as the use of quotation marks as it wrote: "[. . .] it seems that the plot was hatched by a committee entitled "The provisional government of Korea" (April 30), a formulation that seemed to deprive Korean resistance fighters of all legitimacy. The context of the Shanghai incident worried many observers, who feared a new conflagration of Sino-Japanese conflict due to Yun Ponggil's links to certain Chinese circles. Korean responsibility ultimately seemed to ward off this dangerous prospect for peace in the Far East.

51 See *inter alia* the *DongA Ilbo* article reporting Yun's execution. http://news.donga.com/Culture/more28/3/all/20171202/87548448/1#csidx146c52bd67f9fb0a48c661ade963eef.

8 Europe and the Shanghai Attack

Other European newspapers reported the events of Shanghai across a wide range of political and national sensibilities. Large and small nations, national dailies and regional newspapers—all relayed the Far Eastern news with varying emphases given to these distant events. However, as a rule, European newspapers' position[52] wavered between indifference and disapproval. Only a few newspapers dared to argue with or criticize the Japanese position, either preferring to remain neutral or merely accepting dispatches from the major news agencies.

Spanish Newspapers

Though spared by the First World War, Spain was not a major power in the 1930s. This nation of about 23 million inhabitants, however, was split among monarchists, anti-monarchists, socialists, anarchists, and rightists in growing national strife, which eventually led to the civil war in 1936. Newspapers reflected this political situation, however, the reception of Yun Ponggil's bombing in Shanghai was typical, expressing reprobation towards the attack and compassion for the victims. This was made especially clear in the article "El representante de las victimas," featuring admiral Numura.[53] Concerning the event itself, *The Heraldo de Madrid* wrote that "A Korean hurls a bomb at a group of Japanese personalities,"[54] which resulted in heavy wounds for the Japanese ambassador to China.[55] Elsewhere, the daily *El Imparcial* dealt briefly with Shanghai events, "Atentado en Shanghai: un coreano arroja una bomba sobre varias personalidades japonesas,"[56] and concluded that the Japanese ambassador to China was on the cusp of death. The well-known Madrid newspaper *El Sol* devoted a good part of its page 12 (the last page of the paper) to the Shanghai affair, under the title: "Un Atentado en Shanghai: Durante una revista militar arrojan dos bombas contra varias personalidades japonesas."[57] The article reproduced most of the available information, even mentioning that the

52 At least in our corpus.

53 *Heraldo de Madrid*, 5 de mayo de 1932, 3.

54 "*El conflicto chino japonés*: *Un coreano lanza una bomba contra un grupo de personalidades japonas*." *Heraldo de Madrid*, 29 de abril de 1932, p. 3.

55 *El Imparcial*, p. 1. "Atentado in Madrid: "*Un coreano arroja una bomba sobre varias personalidades japonesas*."

56 "Attack in Shanghai: a Korean hurled a bomb at some Japanese personalities."

57 "Attack in Shanghai; During a military parade, a Korean launched two bombs against several Japanese officials." *El Sol*, 30 de abril de 1932, p. 3.

perpetrator was a Korean affiliated with a nationalist organization. Other, very short, articles took stock of reactions in Tokyo and prospects linked to a possible suspension of the truce in Shanghai,[58] while *La Libertad*, another newspaper from Madrid, devoted part of its front page to the event in China, denouncing a "new complication"[59] in Far East affairs; the information, less detailed than in *El Sol*, was very similar. As for the large independent Madrid newspaper *La Voz,* it gave pride of place to the news, at the top of the first page, but the seriousness of the affair faded away in light of the two photos of "fashion models" framing the article, entitled "Grievous event in Shanghai: A Korean, during a military review, drops a bomb on a group of Japanese personalities."[60] Yet despite the title, the article still casted doubt on the identity of the perpetrator; generally speaking, all Spanish newspapers relied on information from London and reports wired from Reuters, Havas, and United Press, with some of these agencies, in fact, reproducing the news broadcast from the Japanese agency *Rengo*. In other words, despite the differences in the length and presentation of the articles, they hardly differed from those published by the French press in mainland France.

Other European Countries

The situation in other European countries was very different. Austria, bereft of its empire, was a small country from 1918 onward; Switzerland was a respected and rather prosperous neutral State, concerned with its tranquility and the smooth running of commerce; Belgium had rebuilt its economy and was trying to forget the trauma of four years of war and German occupation; and Italy, meanwhile, was trying to achieve modernization and prosperity under Mussolini's guidance. Germany, though possessed of much sympathy for socialism, or even communism, was living the last months of the Weimar Republic.

Analyzing this heterogeneous collection of situations poses a distinct challenge. My aim was mainly to read how the newspapers of these countries relayed reverberations of the Korean attack in Shanghai, and to focus on perceptions of the event, as presented in the most important newspapers. Most of this corpus is rendered in old-fashioned gothic German script, the reading of which can be

58 *El Sol*, 30 de abril 1932, p. 12.

59 "*Otra Complicación; Una bomba hiere gravemente al ministro del Japón en China y a dos generales*."

60 "*Grave suceso en Shanghái. Un coreano, durante una revista militar, arroja una bomba contra un grupo de personalidades japonesas*."

problematic for the modern eye, and my German, I confess, is very poor, so the analysis is therefore a little bit biased. However, this sheds some light on the opinions of the German-speaking countries regarding the Shanghai affair.

Belgium

Most Belgian dailies treated the news in a typical manner, as demonstrated by the *Nieuw van den Dag* from Bruxelles[61] and *De Standaard*, which headlined "Aanslag op de Japansch overhetet te Shanghai"[62] and inserted a portrait of one of the victims, while the Christian-Democratic newspaper *Het Volk*, which initially headlined "Aanslag te Shanghai" in its April 30 issue, then specified the next day "De anti-Japansch aanslag te Shanghai."[63]

The Brussels newspaper *Le Soir* inserted "L'attentat de Shanghai" in the news concerning "the Sino-Japanese conflict," underlining first the death of the Japanese community's president while also reporting that according to the first investigations, the attack "was organized by Koreans. The Korean who threw the bomb is even believed to belong to a secret society under Bolshevik influence." The paper also related that the Japanese colony of Shanghai was indignant, and that to avoid reprisals, the Koreans in Shanghai had been placed under the protection of the international police. However, it noted that several Koreans had already been attacked, and one of them was believed to have died of his injuries (*Le Soir*, May 1).

The Antwerp newspaper *Gazet Van Antwerpen* was perhaps the only daily to make the connection between the event in Shanghai and the Tokyo bombing of February 8, 1932 targeting the Emperor of Japan. It also provided some details on the investigation, including the "raid" on "all Korean clubs in the French concession" which was carried out by the police.[64] It remained unclear, however, whether the police were French or Japanese.

61 "Het Japansch-Chineesesch Geschil," *Nieuw van den Dag de Bruxelles*, April 30, 1932.
62 "Attack against the Japanese personalities in Shanghai," April 30, 1932.
63 "*Het Volk*," May 1, 1932.
64 "Het Japansch-Chineesesch conflict," *Gazet Van Antwerpen*, May 2, 1932.

Luxembourg

The newspapers of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, a small neutral state, reported the events of the commercial capital of China in their own way. The *Luxemburger Wort* of April 30, 1932, published the following article:

Schanghai, 30. April. Am Samstag früh starb Dr. Kawabata, der Präsident des japanischen Vereins von Schanghai, als erstes Opfer des Bombenanschlages an seinen Wunden. Der Zustand Shigemitsus hat sich nicht gebessert. Die Nachforschungen über die Urheber des Anschlages werden fieberhaft fortgesetzt. Japanischen Kreisen zufolge war der Koreaner, der die Bombe geworfen hatte, der Freund des Führers des sogenannten „chinesischen und koreanischen Nationalverbandes", und gleichzeitig Sekretär eines bedeutenden kantoneser Politikers. Es wird daher auch vermutet, daß der Anschlag auf Anstiftung von kantonesischer Seite zurückzuführen ist.	**Shanghai**, April 30th. On Saturday morning, Dr. Kawabata the President of the "Japanese Residents' Association" of Shanghai, first Victim of the bomb attack, died from his wounds. Shigemitsu's condition has not improved. The investigations about the perpetrators of the attack continue feverishly. According to Japanese sources, the Korean who threw the bomb was the friend of the leader of the so-called "Chinese and Korean national association," and at the same time secretary of an important Cantonese politician. It is therefore also suspected that the attack can be traced back to instigation from the Cantonese side.

Again, perception of the incident's perpetrator can be considered negative, given that a "so-called" organization is mentioned. Elsewhere, a small newspaper like the *Escher Tageblatt*[65] illustrated how even the Luxembourg regional press reported on the Hongkou Park affair in such conventional terms. However, the *Escher Tageblatt*, after having presented the bombing in the usual way, specified that the Japanese part of the International Concession had been put under siege, and that this part of Shanghai included Hongkou Park, where the attack occurred. On the other hand, this newspaper also reported on the concerns of the commander of the Japanese military police and the consular authorities of that country, who could be accused of negligence and court-martialed[66] It also noted that the Japanese Foreign Minister Ushigawa said the day before that, by all appearances, Chinese elements[67] were believed to be involved in the Shanghai assassination (Japan's War Minister had also said that Imperial Shanghai troops were on alert and prepared for any eventuality).[68]

65 Esch sur Alzette, or *Esch-Uelzecht* is the second city of Luxembourg, with 34,000 inhabitants nowadays.

66 Nach dem Attentat von Shanghai (After the Shanghai Attack), *Escher Tageblatt*, May 2, 1932.

67 This hypothesis was abandoned soon after.

68 *Escher Tageblatt*, May 2, 1932.

Schanghai, 30. April. Die japanischen Behörden haben über den japanischen Teil der internationalen Niederlassung den Belagerungszustand verhängt. Zu diesem Teil gehört auch der Park von Kongkeu, in dem das Attentat verübt wurde. Der Leiter der japanischen Konsularpartei und der japanische Gendarmeriekommandant werden beschuldigt, nicht alle nötigen Vorkehrungen getroffen zu haben. Sie werden sich wahrscheinlich wegen Vernachlässigung ihrer Amtspflicht vor dem Kriegsgericht zu verantworten haben.

Shanghai April 30th. The Japanese authorities have declared a state of siege in the part of the International Settlement under their control. This area also includes the Hongkou Park, where the attack was carried out. The head of the Japanese consular office and the commander of the Japanese gendarmerie are accused of failing to take all necessary precautions. They are likely to be pushed out because of having neglected their official duty regarding the security of the parade. (*Escher Tageblatt*, 2 may, 1932).

Czechoslovakia, Austria, and Germany

In Czechoslovakia, the fears of a new war were also high; "The prospects for peace in the Far East are deteriorating," wrote the *Westböhmische Tageszeitung* of April 30, which mentioned that seven Chinese were arrested just after a bomb was thrown on the official tribune by a Korean, injuring some distinguished personalities and causing vast turmoil in Shanghai.[69]

In Austria, the *Wiener Zeitung* of the same day contained only a short article outlining the League of Nation position vis-à-vis the Shanghai affair.[70] The *Reischspost* disapproved of the action, which it summed up as a "Furious Bomb attack in Shanghai," but the columnist also pointed out that the author of the attack at the parade was a Korean, who was "a member of the Korean Independence Party," underscoring that "one of the initiators of the attack should be a member of the Korean Provisional Government in the French Concession zone."[71]

The German newspapers reflected the contemporary political situation – the last months of the Weimar Republic – characterized by the split between left and right and the presence of still strong communist and socialist parties. This was seen with *Oderberger Zeitung und Bothenblatt* which announced the incident on May 1 with the variant, "Dynamit attentat wahrend eine parade in Shanghai,"[72] and explained that the Korean perpetrator was associated with the Korean Provisional

69 *Westböhmische Tageszeitung*, April 30, 1932, 1.
70 *Wiener Zeitung*, April 30, 1932, 9.
71 *Reichspost (Wien)*, April 30, 1932.
72 "Dynamite attack during a parade in Shanghai."

Government and had ties to Guomindang.[73] Elsewhere, the Communist Daily *Die Rote Fahne* reported the title, "Bombenattentat in Schanghai – Hohe Japanische militärs und diplomaten verwundet"[74]; interestingly, the text indicated that the perpetrator was a "Korean freedom fighter" (*Freiheit kampfer*), whose attack was "part of an act of indignation against the enslavement of his homeland," but worried about the new situation in China and the movements of Japanese troops at the Soviet border, which could result in open war. The old benchmark Berlin daily, the *Vossische Zeitung* (established in 1704), adopted practically the same position, minus the Russian border, posing the incident as a "Korean Revenge at Park Hankow" in Shanghai; indeed, it asserted that the perpetrator of the attack was recognized as the head of a revolutionary action committee of Koreans living in the French concession and was believed to belong to a group known as the "Korean Provisional Government." Finally, for the *Deutsches Chinesiches Nachrichten*[75] published in Tientsin, the attack was held to have especially targeted Shigemitsu Mamoru, the Japanese envoy charged with negotiating the truce. This newspaper, although located in Tianjin, was in a situation akin to that of the *Journal de Shanghai*, due to its location in the International Concession of the North China port in the direct vicinity of powerful Japanese communities.

In Italy, *Il Popolo d'Italia*,[76] a daily founded by Mussolini, reported on this remarkable event in the expected manner, "Una bomba contro le autorità Giapponesi durante una parata militare a Sciangai,"[77] and depicted how this "cruento attentato" (bloody attack) occurred. According to the paper, the Korean author of the attack reportedly shouted "justice is done!" before being subjected to the merciless abuse of the crowd, with the identity of the 25-year-old Korean who launched the bomb given as Yitakutus (sic). *Il Popolo d'Italia* also evoked his affiliation to the Korean Independence League, deemed a movement of communist tendency[78] and revolutionary methods.[79] Also of interest is the news published in the famous daily *La Stampa*,[80] which had the headline: "Anti-Japanese attack in Shanghai; A bloodstain on a peace treaty."[81] The death of Dr Kawabata was announced by the even-

73 *Oderberger Zeitung und Wochenblatt*, May 1, 1932, 1–2.

74 "High Japanese military and diplomats wounded."

75 Also known as 獨華日報.

76 http://digiteca.bsmc.it/?l=periodici&t=Popolo%20d%60Italia(Il)#.

77 "A bomb against the Japanese authorities during a military parade in Shanghai."

78 This is also a way to denounce the insidious action of communists in Italy, since *Il Popolo d'Italia* is a fascist journal.

79 *Il Popolo d'Italia*, April 30, 1932.

80 This corpus is limited for I did not get access to most Italian newspapers. For instance, the *Corriere della Sera* is not giving free access to its online archives.

81 "Una macchia di sangue su un trattato di pace," *Stampa Sera*, April 29, 1932.

ing edition of the next day, under the curious title, "La morte di uno dei colpiti dalla bomba coreana,"[82] despite it not dealing at all with the question of the Korean independence movement and not mentioning any Korean whatsoever. It may also be worth noting that the *Il Messaggero*, the old Roman daily newspaper, explicitly mentioned a terrorist attack (*attentato terroristico*) and was interestingly the only newspaper, in my corpus, to use this word (April 30, 1932).

The Swiss Press

The Swiss perception of the Shanghai affair was generally very negative.[83] The bomb was described as "unfortunate"[84] in *Le Jura* of April 30, 1932, while *Le Nouvelliste Valaisien*, a socialist newspaper, denounced the "anarchist attack in Shanghai" which gave rise to "several victims among Japanese notables." Notwithstanding, in its May 1–2 editorial, *Le Nouvelliste Valaisien* admittedly denounced Japanese cunning, but worried both about the impotence of the League of Nations and the risks of a generalized war. It gravely misconstrued the Korean action, painting the Koreans as being nothing but mercenaries in the service of someone else:

> As the first felony, the Japanese, skillfully circumventing more or less solemn moral commitments, engaged in hostilities against the Chinese while avoiding a declaration of war which would have put them in a bad position. The League of Nations had appointed a commission of 17 members charged with liquidating this disastrous affair, which cast some ridicule on the beautiful institution of Geneva. In short, after an expensive trip to Shanghai, the armistice was going to be signed, when one or more Koreans, probably paid, amuse themselves by throwing a bomb that wounded many Japanese authorities and called everything into question. And, today, we are there, the beak in the water and in all the anguishes. It was a gunshot that caused the terrible war of 1914. What will come of this cotton fulminate used by the Koreans?
>
> We have the Conference on Disarmament adjourning for the third or fourth time ("Paroles en l'air," Le Nouvelliste Valaisien, May 1–2, 1932).

This rather anti-Japanese article illustrated the trauma wrought by the Great War among many European nations, even neutral ones. Above all, its intent lay in denouncing the abundance of sterile conferences on various international subjects;

82 "The death of one the wounded of the Korean bomb," *Stampa Sera*, April 30, 1932.

83 Obviously, our analysis results from the composition of our corpus, which itself depends on documents put online by the digital libraries consulted.

84 In French "Malencontreux, -euse," which also means "inopportune," "ill-timed," and "regrettable."

the tone was certainly quite ironic, underlining the flagrant ineffectiveness of international consultations: "So far, unfortunately, these talks have not led to very serious and very practical results." Beyond the bombing, the editor was especially anxious about whether peace would be compromised or not in Asia. *Le Réveil anarchiste*, an anarchist weekly publication in Geneva, pithily reported the news from Shanghai with irony: "This bomb moves us much less than all those with which the Chinese people have been sprayed. Diplomats and generals who believe that the world cannot do without bombs really have no cause for complaint if they happen to be struck in turn."[85] By doing this, the columnist swept aside all sickening manifestations of good feelings addressed to Japan, a power capable of crushing without mercy the suburbs of Shanghai. Elsewhere, The *Freiburger Nachrichten* announced the bombing in a short piece under the title "Das attentat von Schanghai," in which Yun Ponggil's identity was not indicated but questions were raised as to the perpetrator's possible connection to the Canton government. As for the *Neu Zurcher Zeitung*, it questioned the risks of a resumption of hostilities in Shanghai.[86]

Conclusion

Even if international news and reports on foreign wars occupied an increasing amount of space in French and European newspapers from the end of the nineteenth century, they could not, however, compete with events in the metropolis. The events in this changing and complicated Far East were quickly replaced by other equally sensational news, which was more "important" in its closer proximity to the direct concerns of the French (such as the assassination of President Paul Doumer on May 7, 1932 or the electoral campaign of the legislative elections). What applies to France is true for the rest of Europe; whatever its nature (political, economic or cultural), the event represented a fleeting peak of intensity, which disappeared under the constant pressure of a variety of newer and more sensational information. The news most likely to influence the daily life of Europeans was arguably the most read and, in many cases, news from the Far East was still marked by the perception of a distant, complicated, and incomprehensible outside world.

As the Sino-Korean conflict did not rekindle, the aftermath of the April 29 Hongkou Park attack took a back seat because it largely involved Japanese figures

85 *Le Réveil anarchiste*, May 28, 1932.

86 Das Bombenattentat in Schanghai, *Neu Zurcher Zeitung*, April 30, 1932.

unknown to the general public and therefore was of little interest. Only questions of the balance of relations in Shanghai and the smooth running of trade mattered, and it is therefore no surprise that *Le Temps*, the unofficial organ of the French Foreign Office, preferred to focus on the debates of the League of Nations and the state of Japanese public opinion (May 1, 1932). However, a few fringe voices raised the question of the right of asylum in the face of arbitrary arrests of innocent Koreans[87] inside the French Concession.

Violence, an unexpected phenomenon that interrupts daily life, imbued the event with extraordinary intensity, fueled by the horror of terrorist action and questions about its motives and consequences. This rupture, as soon as it impacts people or engages communities, nourishes information. But such an action has to garner wide resonance in order to prevail in a world open to the globalization of news; set against a backdrop of general violence and repeated incidents in the Far East as well as in Europe, the Hongkew Park affair was seen as a twist in the Sino-Japanese conflict that risked being extended to China and the USSR. To our knowledge, no newspaper seems to have presented the slightest study of the Korean independence movement, known to a handful of Asian scholars and diplomats who were especially attentive to the political fallout of the affair; alone, perhaps, was the *Vössische Zeitung* which specified the revenge of a Korean. In addition, the political attacks perpetrated in Japan or in Europe were detrimental to the publicity of the Korean independence movement. The murder of the President of the French Republic, Paul Doumer (May 7, 1932), followed by the assassination of Prime Minister Inukai one week later (May 15, 1932), produced the kind of sensational event that fuels the media, thus plunging into oblivion the already fuzzy memory of a bomb thrown somewhere in Shanghai, the legendary city on the other side of the world.

Regionally distant, the Hongkou Park incident was therefore perceived according to the particular interests and political sensitivities of the respective media and political actors involved, with explanatory elements and registers of emotion following one another in the newspaper columns. In Europe, most columnists were ill-informed about the particular situation of Korea; only the Chinese, in the front line against Japan, praised Yun Ponggil's sacrifice. Yun Ponggil's action also dynamized the support of Korean communities in exile, while the news of the Hongkou Park bombing not only revitalized the nationalist feelings of the Korean diaspora, but also brought about deeper cooperation between China and the Free Koreans. On April 29, Jang Jieshi (Chang Kaishek 蔣介石) noted,

87 "Right of political asylum," *L'Œuvre* (Paris) May 9, 1932. "And the right of asylum?," *L'Oeil de Paris*, weekly sheet appearing on Saturdays (in French, no date), 1932.

"Today, all key Japanese officials were seriously injured at Hongkou Park in Shanghai," and also reportedly wrote, "One Korean man did a great deed, which 400 million Chinese people could not do." Jang Jieshi soon met with Kim Ku and made military deals, including access for Koreans to Chinese military schools; consequently, in March of 1933, a Korean training course was held at the Nanjing Central Military Academy, with 62 Koreans graduating in April of 1935.[88]

The meaning given to the attack by the reporters, through their respective intellectual, political, and historical constructions and reconstructions, therefore seems to matter much more than the event itself.

Annex 1: Some titles about the Shanghai bombing in the French newspapers of mainland France (April 30–May 1, 1932).

Newspaper	Date	Title of article (s)	Location and volume of articles
Le Petit Journal	30/04	"A Korean, in Shanghai, throws a bomb at an official tribune"	First page, 2 columns
Le Populaire	30/04	"Strange Attack in Changhaï"	First page, 103 words, and 513 signs
		"A bomb was thrown in Shanghai during a Japanese military review"	Page 3, "International News," 3 columns
Le Temps	30/04	"Japan and the Shanghai bombing"	Small article on the first page
Le Figaro	30/04	"In Shanghai, an attack on the Japanese"	First page: one column
	01/05	"The Shanghai bombing and Japanese opinion" "American citizen arrested in Shanghai"	Page 3: small column
L'Homme Libre	30/04	"During a military parade a bomb is thrown at a gallery in Shanghai"	First page: two small columns
Paris-Soir	30/04	"During a review in Shanghai, a Korean throws a bomb in the official Japanese gallery"	First page: three columns

88 Kim (2018), 155–185.

Annex 1 (continued)

Newspaper	Date	Title of article (s)	Location and volume of articles
Le Matin	30/04	"Attack in Shanghai against the Japanese: bomb thrown by Korean after parade injures eight people"	First page: one long column
		"Shanghai bombing would not jeopardize peace talks between Japan and China"	Page 3, last news, half column
		"The attack was the work of a Korean organization"	Page 3, last news, one column
Le Journal des Débats (Journal des débats politiques et littéraires)	30/04	"A serious attack against the Japanese authorities in Shanghai jeopardizes the Sino-Japanese negotiations"	Page 2, one column, 3,000 signs
L'Echo de Paris	30/04	"Bomb is thrown at Japanese staff in Shanghai"	First page
		"The Shanghai bombing and the Geneva talks"	One column, page 2
L'Intransigeant	30/04	"An anti-Japanese attack in China"; "During a military review, a bomb is thrown in Chang-Hai against the Japanese authorities"	First page, three columns
	01/05	"The aftermath of the Shanghai bombing"	One column, 1/3 page
La Croix (Catholic Newspaper)	01/05	"Attack on Japanese authorities in Shanghai: one of the injured is dead"	One column, 1/3 page
L'Humanité (communist newspaper)	30/04	"Korean nationalist throws bomb in Shanghai against representatives of Japanese imperialism"	First page, two columns
	01/05	"French imperialism is pressuring Japan to activate preparations for aggression: the Shanghai Bomb affair will be exploited fully to extend the war in China and precipitate the attack on the URSS"	First page, one column

Laurent Quisefit, L'écho médiatique d'une action terroriste en contexte colonial. L'attentat coréen à Shanghai (1932), entre indifférence et réprobation, *Le Temps des médias* no 32, 2019/1. http://www.histoiredesmedias.com/L-echo-mediatique-d-une-action.html (only available online). All these papers were published in French.

Annex 2: The French colonial press and the Shanghai bombing (April 30–May 1, 1932).

Newspapers	Profile	Date	Title(s) of the main articles	Morphology of the papers
Le Journal de Shanghai (China)	Journal of French interests in China (daily)	30/04	"A terrible attack in Hongkew Park on the feast of the Emperor of Japan"	First page, four columns
		01/05	"After the Hongkew Park bombing"	First page, two columns
L'Écho d'Alger (Algéria)	Republican newspaper (daily)	30/04	"An attack in Shanghai against the Japanese general staff"	First page, 466 words, 2,560 signs
			"Eleven Koreans under arrest"	Small text
L'Effort Algérien (Algéria)	(Social Catholic weekly)	06/05	No title	3 lines (113 signs)
Madagascar. Industriel (Madagascar)	(bi-weekly)	04/05	No title	Small text
Madécasse. (Le) (Madagascar)	Small circulation journal	04/05	"In Shangai [sic], a Korean throws a bomb on the Japanese delegates responsible for signing the armistice with China. Many injured"	1 column, 1,261 signs
L'Éveil de l'AEF (Brazzaville)	"Far East" "In Manchuria"	07/05	"The Sino-Japanese armistice is finally signed"	Page 15, "Far East," 126 words, 630 signs
		11/06	"The Shanghai Affair"	Page 2, 309 words, 1,512 signs

Laurent Quisefit, L'écho médiatique d'une action terroriste en contexte colonial. L'attentat coréen à Shanghai (1932), entre indifférence et réprobation, *Le Temps des médias* no. 32, 2019/1. http://www.histoiredesmedias.com/L-echo-mediatique-d-une-action.html (only available online).

Annex 3: The Spanish Press and the Hongkou bomb attack.

Newspaper	Day	Title
Ahora	April 30	"Durante una revista militar celebrada en le Hong-New Park de Shanghái, un coreano lanza una bomba contra un grupo de personalidades japonesas"
Heraldo de Madrid	April, 30	"Un coreano lanza una bomba contra un grupo de personalidades niponas"
	May, 5	"El representante de las víctimas"
El Imparcial (Madrid)	April, 20	"Atentado en Shanghai: un *coreano arroja una bomba sobre varias personalidades japonesas*"
El Sol (Madrid)	April, 30	"UN ATENTADO EN SHANGHAI Durante una revista militar arrojan dos bombas contra varias personalidades japonesas"
La Libertad (Madrid)	April, 30	"Otra complicación: Una bomba hiere gravemente Al ministro del Japón en China y a dos generales"
La Voz (Madrid)	April 29	"Grave suceso en Shanghai Un coreano, durante una revista militar, arroja una bomba contra un grupo de personalidades japonesas"

Established by us, according to the documents mentioned.

Cho Yongseuck

The Americanization of the Korean Protestant Church in the Late Nineteenth and Early to Mid-twentieth Centuries

Abstract: This chapter investigates the historical process of Americanization in the Korean Protestant church of the late nineteenth and early to mid-twentieth centuries. While Protestant Christianity was not encouraged by the Japanese colonial authority in Korea, whose main intent was to create and lead a cultural/political coalition against the West, many Koreans' positive response to the United States represents a particular case in the history of religious missions, especially in light of the fact that only a few years previously Catholicism had been fiercely opposed and persecuted. This chapter, therefore, focuses on the cultural and political reasons informing Koreans' favorable attitude towards American evangelicalism, in particular over the course of the late nineteenth and early to mid-twentieth centuries.

Prologue

This chapter investigates the historical process of Americanization in the Korean Protestant church of the late nineteenth and early to mid-twentieth centuries. First, it will describe the Korean reception of Christianity from its outset as a background to the country's overall changes in culture, politics, and economy. Christianity was not implemented in Korea through Japanese colonial power, and it should be noted that missionaries and colonial rulers generally originated in one and the same country. However, this was not the case in Korea; the colonial rulers were the Japanese, but the Americans were the first to systematically send missionaries to Korea, and they sent the majority of them. The more the conflict between Japan and Korea escalated and Japanese oppression of Korea intensified, the more the psychological dependence on the USA grew. Furthermore, the introduction of Christianity gave rise to expectations that similarly grew in proportion, which was a crucial factor for Korea's open attitude towards the USA and is considered to be a unique circumstance in world mission history. In addition, from the Korean War to the Cold War, American evangelicalism greatly influenced Korean society and its Protestant church. Informed by American evangelicalism, positive attitudes toward the Americanization of the Korean church, culture, and

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society proliferated. Based on this point of view, this study takes a historical approach to examining the Americanization of the Korean Protestant Church. In this context, Americanization means the strengthening of Koreans' positive attitude toward the United States and their desire to emulate American culture through American evangelicalism. Hence, the chapter is structured as follows:

1. Beginnings of Korean reception of Christianity
2. Missionaries' national and cultural identity
3. Modes of Americanization of the Korean Protestant Church

1 The History of Reception of Christianity

Before the advent of Christianity, there were three representative religions in Korea: Shamanism, Buddhism, and Confucianism. Shamanism as a primeval religion of nature worship relies only on oral traditions concerning the spirit and soul, lacking such features as a set liturgy or sacred writings. Yet Shamanism existed from the beginnings of Korean history, as evidenced by the characterization of Tan'gun, the mythical founder of the Korean people circa 2333 B.C., as a shaman; from that point onward, there has never been a period in Korean history in which Shamanism has been completely absent. Conversely, the higher forms of religion, i.e. Buddhism and Confucianism, have undergone times of total demise in Korean history. According to many theologians, this history of faith goes so far as to color contemporary Christianity, for they discern traces of shamanistic influence in Korean Christianity to this day.

By contrast, Buddhism, despite its 1600-year-long history, has left far less of a mark on the Korean conscience and system of moral values. This is due to the oppression of the Buddhist faith during the Yi Dynasty, from the fourteenth to the twentieth century. As a result, Buddhism has lost much of any influence it may have had on society, yet it has managed to survive all that time and leave behind its own distinct traces, the most apparent of which are temples and other Buddhist monuments. Buddhism and Korean culture are inextricably intertwined.

Confucianism in Korea was not quite considered to be a religion, but rather a moral doctrine promoting social peace. Regardless of individual acceptance and attitudes, Confucianism shaped Korean sociocultural life for the entirety of 500 years like a religious dogma, with interpersonal relations as well as social organization conforming to strict Confucian standards. Because by all outward appearances, Confucianism in Korea seemed to be merely moral doctrine rather than religious faith, by the end of the nineteenth century, many foreign missionaries regarded Koreans as a nonreligious people. Accordingly, F.A. McKenzie reports

that at the time (1905) there existed no sanctuary in Seoul to celebrate any religious rituals.[1]

Koreans came into contact with Christianity for the first time upon the occasion of Japanese invasion (1592–1597).[2] Thousands of Korean captives taken to Japan were converted there, and some of them are said to have kept their faith when they returned to Korea.[3] The mission to Korea via Japan, however, remained a closed door; instead, the missionary route was opened via China. Various Korean delegations to Peking brought back Catholic books, which were studied by retired or exiled scholars as Western knowledge or alternately regarded as Heaven-Lord study, Heaven study, or holy study. At first, they considered it to be practical philosophy but eventually found religion in it and became believers. But the most critical early movement of Christianity occurred in 1784, when Yi Sŭnghun went to Beijing with his father where he learned about Catholicism and, upon his return home, the first Korean church was established by Koreans. Consequently, the baptism of Yi Pyŏk has been considered the starting point of the Catholic Church in Korea which grew quickly at first but was soon followed by heavy persecution as thousands were martyred.

During the late nineteenth century and the early to mid-twentieth century, Christianity served as a catalyst promoting positive change in Korean society. Christianity in this context refers to American evangelicalism, with an emphasis on conservative American Protestant Christianity. Christianity in Korea received a big boost following the 1907 Pyongyang Revival, and in the early 1900s many Koreans turned to Protestant Christianity. While this number was still fairly small then, it steadily grew over the next 40 years.

At this time, Shamanism, Buddhism, and Confucianism were unable to actively respond to the turbulent international and national situation compounded by Japanese imperialism. Rather, the three traditional religions acted as obstacles to the transition from a traditional to modern society. In this situation, intellectuals and the national press emphatically agreed that Christianity as the basis of the western civilization would strengthen Korea. Furthermore, the number of Koreans secure in their reliance on Protestant Christianity, introduced to them by American missionaries, had gradually increased. An American missionary phrased it as follows: "The primary aim of mission education in Korea is to bring as many as possible of

1 McKenzie (1908) 27.

2 Min (1994) 34–41. Francis Xavier (1506–1552) arrived in Japan in 1549, and many Japanese were initially converted. In this invasion, several generals and thousands of their followers were Catholics; therefore, a Portuguese priest accompanied them as a chaplain. He did not come into contact with Koreans.

3 Kim (1955) 29.

those who come under the influence of this education to a full acceptance of the Christian religion as the trust and complete adequate guide for human life."[4]

Regarding the reception of Christianity in Korea, Arthur J. Brown had already contended that "Korea really was an open country at the beginning of the 20th century."[5] The first Protestant missionaries from the USA arrived in Korea at a timely moment, with American churches becoming interested in missionary work in the country after a treaty was negotiated between Korea and the US.

There was no apparent persecution against the American missionaries, as was experienced by the Catholics in the previous decades. Christianity was welcomed without much opposition in Korea, and the Korean church grew quickly; Arthur J. Brown wrote in his mission-review that there existed no anti-foreign attitude in Korea in contrast to China.[6]

Korea had already come into contact with the gospel through encounters with European missionaries,[7] with a minority of Christians already in Korea, who had come to their faith via the work of missionaries in neighboring countries such as Manchuria or Japan. John Ross, a Scotch Presbyterian missionary residing in Manchuria, made an exploratory journey to eastern Manchuria in the autumn of 1873; he went to the Korean Gate and met Koreans who came there to trade with the Chinese. During this visit, Ross found a Korean who was willing to accompany him as his Korean teacher; with the latter's assistance, Ross and his fellow missionary John MacIntyre translated the Gospel of Luke into Korean. This Korean teacher was Yi Ungch'an, who was converted over the course of teaching Korean to the missionaries. When the first missionaries from America arrived in Korea, Koreans were already prepared to receive Christianity, as the Europeans had already established the fundamentals of Korean Protestant Christianity: "The sudden growth of the Korean church is not as miraculous, as it seems."[8] Last, but not least, with the help of Koreans, the Bible had already been translated into the Korean language by

4 Fisher (1928) 41.

5 Brown (1902) 7.

6 Brown (1902) 7.

7 Before Korea opened its borders, A. Williamson, a missionary of the Scottish Episcopal Church residing in North China and Manchuria, had proposed that western churches should force Korea to open up. The following quotation clearly shows William's attitude towards Korea: "(. . .) Hence, I believe, it is at once the duty and privilege of such countries as Great Britain and America to lead the van, and use the power God has given them to open up countries which are stupidly and ignorantly closed against them like Corea. War is a terrible evil in every aspect, but it seems a condition of progress in this fallen world; and, in view of the advantages, moral, intellectual, and spiritual, which would accrue to a people brought into full contact with the blaze of true civilization, the cost would be immeasurably counterbalanced." See Williamson (1870) 311.

8 Rhodes (1943) 78.

the missionaries in Manchuria. These translations had been smuggled into Korea by Koreans who had acquired their faith in China and who by this means had already introduced Christianity to some of their compatriots. These Koreans hoped for the quick progress of their mission in their own country.

One crucial factor for the spread of Christianity in Korea was the Korean government's favorable attitude towards the missionaries.[9] Dr. Allen, who was the first American missionary to set foot in Korea, saved the life of the queen's nephew Min Yŏngik, who had been critically injured, thereby gaining King Kojong's trust. On February 25, 1885, Dr. Allen procured the king's permission to found Kwanghyewŏn, the first hospital in Korea, which doubled as a mission station. In return, the missionaries offered support for King Kojong in the aftermath of the queen's 1895 murder, brought about by Japanese intrigue. By helping the king overcome his fear of death, the missionaries facilitated the spread of Christianity.

It is important to note that in Korea, Christianity was not implemented by the ruling colonial power, as was generally the case, with missionaries and colonial rulers hailing from the same country. Korea was different; the colonial rulers were Japanese, while the first numerous missionaries were Americans. The more the conflict between Japan and Korea intensified and Japanese oppression of Korea grew, the more Koreans' psychological dependence on the USA heightened, as did their expectations concerning the religion it put forward. This was an important reason underpinning Korean openness to the US and Christianity and is to be considered a unique occurrence in world mission history.

It must be emphasized that the reception of Christianity in Korea took place peacefully, as Brown mentions above. Although Christian missionaries have always been implicated in imperialistic politics and the Christian mission has typically followed imperialistic expansion, it is of note that the missionaries' charitable work corresponded with the Korean people's desires. Through close friendship with the missionaries, the Korean government supported the peaceful process.

2 The Missionaries' National and Cultural Identity

The history of the Korean Protestant church emerged in connection with the political relationship between Korea and the USA. Before the country opened its doors, European Protestant missionaries had already tried to enter Korea, such as Dr. Karl A. F. Gützlaff (1803–1851), "the herald of German Mission," who was a highly talented German descendant of a Pomeranian pietistic artisan-class family,

9 Min (1994) 94.

sent to Asia by a Dutch missionary society, proselytizing from 1828 to 1831 in Siam and from 1831 to his death in China. In 1828, he visited Korea as an interpreter for the British East India Company, traveling with the British trading ship "Lord Amherst," but at the same time remained true to his real vocation and took the unique opportunity to advance his mission. He stayed in Korea for a month, during which he disseminated copies of single Gospels among the people and made the king a present of two Chinese Bibles before leaving. However, despite all his effort, he did not make any lasting impact.[10] Another mission attempt was made by Rev. Robert Jermain Thomas (1840–1866), who traveled from London via China to Korea. During his second stay in Korea, however, he was killed after only two weeks, along with the whole crew of the American trading ship "General Sherman," putting an abrupt end to this attempt. In fact, the foundation of the Korean Protestant Church was laid in Manchuria through the work of Scottish missionaries, namely Rev. John Ross together with his brother-in-law Rev. John McIntyre, both affiliated with the National Bible Society of Scotland, who showed an interest in missionary work in Korea. They arrived in Kando (north of the Korean frontier) in 1874 and translated the Bible with the help of local Korean inhabitants. In 1881, they baptized 75 Koreans there.

But the actual history of the Korean church only began with the arrival of American missionaries, whose entry into Korea was made possible through the signing of the treaty of amity and commerce with the USA in 1882. Missionaries from other countries followed as soon as their homelands too signed commercial contracts with Korea, however, the impact of the American missionaries dwarfed that of the others, so much so that the contemporary Korean Protestant church was considered to be synonymous with the religion of the US; hence, the early stage of Korea's Christian mission history was shaped by Americans. In other words, the structure of the Korean church and the content of its faith was identical with those of the American denominational churches, and during the nineteenth century religious revival initiated the foreign missionary movement in the US. Each Christian denomination established its own mission committee and made efforts to educate and send missionaries. During this period, Korea emerged as a prolific mission field for the North American Presbyterian church, although other denominations had already started missionary work in Korea. Even today, the Presbyterian church remains the biggest denomination in Korea, with about 70% of all Korean Protestant Christians belonging to this denomination. At the same time, the Methodist church evolved into the second biggest denomination in Korea.

10 Gützlaff (1834) 317–335.

The first Protestant missionary allowed to enter and permanently live in Korea was Dr. Horace N. Allen. On September 20, 1884, he arrived as a medical officer in Chemulp'o, present-day Inch'ŏn, and two days later reached Seoul. However, because the Korean government was not yet willing to allow missionary work, he had to enter Korea as the American delegation's medical officer. On April 5, 1885, the full-time preacher-missionaries Rev. Horace G. Underwood from the American Presbyterian Church and Rev. Henry G. Appenzeller and his wife from the American Methodist Church arrived in Inchŏn via Japan; Henry Dodge Appenzeller (1889–1953), Rev. Appenzeller's son, was born in Korea and became a pedagogical missionary.

Shortly thereafter, the Methodists Dr. W.B. Scranton, accompanied by his wife, and Mary F. Scranton, his mother, arrived. Furthermore, the Australian Presbyterian Church of Victoria sent Rev. J. Henry Davies and his sister Miss M.T. Davies in October 1889 as representatives of their church; his death after only six months drew the attention of the Australian Presbyterian Church to the mission in Korea. In 1890, Bishop C.J. Corfe from the Church of England started his missionary work in Korea, together with six pastors and two medical doctors.

In 1892, the U.S. Presbyterian Church (Southern Presbyterian Church) began their missionary work with a number of missionaries in the province of Chŏlla, the southwestern part of Korea. Four years later, the Methodist Episcopal Church of the USA started their mission in August of 1896. Three years earlier, in December of 1893, Rev. William J. McKenzie from the Canadian Presbyterian Church had arrived in Korea as an independent missionary and stayed in Sorae, which also marks the site where the first Korean Protestant congregation evolved, even before the arrival of foreign missionaries.[11] The Baptist mission started with Malcom C. Fenwick, who was sent by the Y.M.C.A. at the University of Toronto in 1889, while the mission of the Seventh Day Adventists was initiated by Korean immigrants in Hawaii. The Oriental Missionary Society came in 1907 to Korea, and the Salvation Army started their work in 1908.

In accordance with the previously cited Arthur J. Brown, it could be said that the first Protestant missionaries shaped the Korean church through their "pietistic and evangelical faith."[12] The U.S. mission committees that first sent their missionaries to Korea were typical successors of the Wesleyan revival movement in that only the Bible was accepted as the absolute authority.[13] Moreover, the necessity of an experience of faith was emphasized, and they also actively engaged in

11 Underwood (1908) 141.
12 Orr (1965) 213.
13 Orr (1965) 68.

revival movements. The representative Presbyterian missionaries from the USA, who from the beginning played a leading role within four Presbyterian mission groups—North American, South American, Australian, and Canadian—were sent by extremely conservative, Reformed evangelical mission committees.[14] Most of the missionaries between 1870 and 1920 had studied at one of three US universities, McCormick, Princeton, and Union, well-known to be theologically conservative bastions of a fundamentalist, traditional theological education. In other words, their religious orientation and education were conservative, just as most of their educational institutions tended towards a pietistic, evangelical and fundamentalist orientation; to this day, this conservative attitude holds sway over the majority of the Korean church with regard to the Catechism as well as ecclesiastical politics. Of the background of missionaries in Korea, Min Kyŏngbae writes: "The missionaries hoped that Christianity had been accepted and then extended as a spiritual movement, therefore they were striving to discourage the political idea and movement associated with the Churches and to avoid any involvement with political movement within and without the Christian community."[15]

3 Modes of Americanization in the Korean Protestant Church

3.1 The Establishment of Hospitals and Schools

Before liberation from Japanese occupation, the Christian mission constituted the central conduit of Americanization. The Protestant missionaries, beginning their missionary work first with medical and educational involvement, received governmental support from the outset, in sharp contrast to former Catholic missionaries because Protestant Christianity was perceived as the basis for modernization and especially as a leading power in the world. Sun- Cheol Shin goes so far as to claim that Christianity did not expand solely on the basis of religious faith, but was bolstered by the will for modernization and trust in the USA.[16]

The first state hospital, Kwanghyewŏn, was established upon Dr. Horace H. Allen's suggestion with government approval on February 25, 1885, in Chedong, Seoul. In 1895, under the direction of Dr. O.R. Avison, the hospital was reorgan-

14 Orr (1965) 69
15 Min (1994) 165.
16 Sin (1981) 161–163.

ized as an institution of the Presbyterian mission, which also assumed financial responsibilities, and from that point on the Kwanghyewŏn hospital began treating about 500 patients each month.[17] These medical activities established natural contact with the people and thus facilitated the way for mission work.

During this period, the missionaries engaged not only in medical but also educational work. The Methodist Rev. Henry G. Appenzeller introduced modern schooling, and in May of 1886 Mary Fletcher Benton Scranton established the first girl's school, "Ihwa Haktang." The education of girls, which had been ignored until then, marked a turning point in the social situation of women. That same year, Horace G. Underwood established an orphanage in which the children here also received schooling, with the orphanage later evolving into the "Kyŏngsin"-school. The number of new private schools grew quickly, and by 1909 there were over 950 Christian schools in Korea, out of which 605 were established by the Presbyterian Church and 200 by the Methodist Church. In 1910, the number of new private schools, including non-Christian institutions, totaled 3,000.

Through medical and educational endeavors, early American missionaries assuaged the last vestiges of people's doubts regarding Christianity and were thus able to establish a basis for their mission in Korea.[18] However, two further factors played an important role, namely, the Korean government's politics, which built upon the missionaries' work, and the Korean people's need to rid themselves of poverty and illness.

3.2 Theological Orientation and Missionaries' Intentions

American missionary societies, Presbyterian missionaries in particular, considered Korea to be a successful mission field because the number of converts rose quickly, as they were notably conservative and taught fundamentalist theology to the Korean Christians. This theological education was supposed to convince Korean church leaders that the best and safest way to develop the Korean Church lay in their obedience to foreign missionaries. At the time, much emphasis was placed on teaching obedience, rather than nurturing any self-sufficient sense of judgment, which would enable independent decisions and acknowledge the basic equality of all the churches of the world, with the professors of the P'yŏngyang School, the only Presbyterian theological seminary in Korea until 1940, further cultivating this rigid fundamentalist theology. The Presbyterian Confession of

17 Clark (1971) 124.
18 Yi (1986) 51.

Faith, established in 1907, remains the irremovable cornerstone of conservative, fundamentalist faith in Korea, yet this creed originates not from Korean Christians, as it was rather was adopted from the Indian Presbyterian Church in accordance with the American model.[19]

Regarding theology, faith, and ecclesiastical politics, the Korean Church depended on the American Church until liberation in 1945. Those Koreans who had received a Christian education were naturally exposed to American culture and lifestyles by Christian schools and the free press, and during the Japanese occupation the Protestant Church was the most Americanized institution within Korean society.

3.3 Political Impacts

Within the three years of American military administration (1945–1948) in the wake of liberation from Japanese occupation, the cornerstone for the Americanization of Korean society had been laid. With the end of the Second World War, a new world order was at once established, namely the Cold War, in which the US and the Soviet Union constituted two opposing political poles. Therefore, the main task of the American military administration in Korea was the prevention of Communism and the establishment of a free democracy based on the American model. Consequently, it promulgated democratic laws and regulations, while declaring freedom of religion.

In this process, the Protestant Church was given special preference. The missionaries in Korea with their wealth of local knowledge were persons for whom the American administration had urgent need. Upon request by the administration, the American mission committee sent many more missionaries to Korea, who conscientiously performed their intermediary role between the church and the administration as translators and consultants. This served as an important step towards Americanization in Korea and the expansion of the Korean Church's position of power.

The majority of Korean employees of the church belonged to the Protestant elite, who had been educated in the USA. They were the "natives" with English language skills, who were familiar with the American spirit and ideology and understood the American lifestyle and worldview. Of this class of individuals, those Protestant elites who originated from the northwestern region of P'yŏng'ando (North Korea) received special attention; because they had fled from the Soviet

19 Institute of Korean Church History Studies (1989) 285.

Union's rule in North Korea, they were thus considered to have proven their anti-communist bona fides.

In sum, Protestant élites who originated from North Korea and were educated in the US took control of the Korean church directly after liberation and thus to a great extent determined the pro-American character of the Protestant Church in Korea. Even Yi Sŭngman, who had seized power amidst the country's disordered state directly after the Japanese occupation, presented himself as an upright Protestant Christian with pro-American sympathies; with the help of missionaries, he went to study in the USA and during his long stay acclimated to American customs and ways of thinking. He came to appreciate American Protestant culture so much that at the opening of the lower house of the National Assembly he requested an opening prayer from a pastor, thereby introducing American political culture to Korea. This kind of attitude and behavior were pivotal to the spread of Americanization within Korean society and to the Pro-Americanism within the Korean Church.

Reconstruction in the wake of the Korean War also accelerated Pro-Americanism within the church, as the U.S. government and the American Church played a decisive role in aid efforts geared towards those affected by the war, illustrated by the following example. The mission's office was frequented by pastors who sought funds to support their cause; two pastors, namely Han Kyŏngjik and Ryu Hyŏnggi from the North Korean city of P'yŏngyang, formerly known as the "Jerusalem of the East," were especially successful in this endeavor.

Particularly privileged due to their studies in the US, they were affiliated with the typical pro-American elites mentioned above. On an expedition to the US, they managed to raise significant funds for contribution and, as a result, they could then exert outsize influence on the course of the Korean Church. Due to the all-encompassing help that Korea received from the USA during the war and post-war period, Koreans came to consider the US its rescuer, particularly after the division of the country. Furthermore, during and after the Korean War (1950–1953), many Korean Christians considered the American government their political redeemer. It is also noteworthy that most North Korean Christians had emigrated to the South to flee the communist regime's persecution, which explains the strong influence of American Christianity in Korea; as a result, Anti-communism and Pro-Americanism evolved hand in hand within the Korean Church during the Korean War.[20] Yi Chingu argues, "The experience of the Korean War by the Korean Protestant church transformed Anti-communism into a religious dogma rather than a simple ideology. Just as the intense religious experience was confirmed as a dogma,

20 Yi (2007) 10.

the experience of the Korean War was fixed as an anti-communist dogma."[21] As for Christianity in North Korea and South Korea over the period of a few years before and after the Korean War, the difference became drastic depending on which side of the 38th Parallel one stood. North of the 38th Parallel, Christianity was demonized, but South of the 38th Parallel, Protestant Christianity was exceptionally well received, and a consideration of the differences between the two sides and the role of politics in accepting or rejecting the Christian message promises to be a meaningful avenue of inquiry. Tragically, the North came under the sway of the USSR and P'yŏngyang, which was once hailed as the "Jerusalem of the East" by western missionaries, then became the center of Communism and disinformation about the Gospel.

The Americanization of the Protestant Korean Church can be characterized by the following four factors, which have fostered Pro-Americanism within the Korean Church to this day:

1. The influence within the church of pro-American elites who had studied in the USA
2. The American missionaries' material and financial help
3. The spread of American Anti-communism
4. American adoptions of Korean war orphans

In order to successfully wage the Korean War, U.S. soldiers took care of the war orphans who filtered into U.S. military bases, which were a popular refuge for them. They flocked to the bases in search of food and sleeping facilities, and U.S. military officers were assigned to work with them. Accordingly, they had implicit permission to reside in the military camp.

The U.S. soldiers gave them American names and called them "house boys." Elsewhere, "blue boys" acted as spies to surveil the enemy; the soldiers meanwhile sent letters to relatives or family members to request resources, and the recipients of these letters mobilized local broadcasters, organizations, schools, and churches to replenish relief supplies that the soldiers could then relay to the orphans. Furthermore, the Eighth Army, as a U.S. field army which participated in the Korean War and is stationed in South Korea in the present day, encouraged its soldiers to look after war orphans, many of whom took orphans as mascots for their units or established orphanages. Elsewhere, James Alward Van Fleet (1892–1992), the commander of the Eighth Army, visited an orphanage in Seoul on several occasions and donated relief supplies. The Eighth Army tried to fashion a positive image for the U.S. military as savior and, in the process, the U.S. military presented itself as a heavenly envoy, father, and grandfather come to champion

21 Yi (2007) 11.

and protect war orphans. While their own government treated Korean war orphans as criminal suspects and unwanted by-products of the war, U.S. soldiers cared for the orphans as part of their policy toward the people, and the U.S. and Korean media touted the war orphans as symbols of anti-communism and the U.S.-South Korean Alliance.

The U.S. military's war orphan relief efforts emphasized a sense of political and moral obligation to anti-communism and the US-South Korean alliance as a bond forged in blood. Organized in 1951, "American Relief for Korea" continued these efforts with strong support from the U.S. government for about three years until it ceased operations on July 1, 1954. ARK also provided the most effective promotional material on war orphan relief efforts; above all, this was a cause that held broad appeal for many Americans, convincing them to take on the role of guardians to orphans whose parents had presumably died fighting the communists. Korean War orphan relief efforts contributed to the establishment of a close relationship between the United States and South Korea that was modeled on familial love; Christina Klein argues that sponsorship programs, such as that of the Christian Children's Fund, came to be seen as part and parcel of the fight expanding American influence against the encroachment of Communism in Asia[22] Arissa Oh links Korean War orphan relief to what she calls "Christian Americanism"—"a uniquely American sense of responsibility and the importance of family equated being a good Christian with being a good American."[23] In the 1950s, Christian Americanism, anti-communism, and adoption were closely intertwined in appeals for the sponsorship and long-distance fostering of Korean orphans, which served to expand the familial relationship between the United States and South Korea.

4 The Protestant Northerners (the North Korean Christians) as Refugees from the North Leading Forces under the Auspices of American Evangelicalism

After the Korean War, Americans' interest continued to decline, and the U.S. government needed to reinforce support for its anti-communist foreign policy. At this time, World Vision International, China's Children Fund, and Holt Children's

22 Klein (2003) 159.
23 Oh (2005) 175.

Services prompted many Americans to renew such support. These organizations were formed under the influence of American evangelicals, who played an important role in sustaining and promoting the U.S.-South Korea blood alliance in the wake of the Korean War and emerged as a huge political and social force. A significant subset of Americans sent monthly monetary donations of $10 to sponsor Korean war orphans through World Vision International and China's Children Fund; meanwhile, the Holt Adoption Program took Korean war orphans to the United States, thereby realizing parent- child relationships. The growth of American evangelicalism, which emphasizes the moral values, obligations, and responsibilities of the United States, was fostered by the strong support of the U.S. government and the various media and promotional activities maximally utilized to encourage Americans' participation in this program. Billy Graham (1918–2018) and World Vision's founder Robert Pierce (1914–1978), who were representative figures of the contemporary American evangelical movement, contributed to the creation of this atmosphere both in American society and abroad. As such, they were integral to strengthening relations with allies through efforts meant to demonstrate America's compassion, brotherhood, and familial love in action.

The growth of American evangelicalism was critical to expanding the political and social hegemony of Korean Christians, especially those Protestant northerners (North Korean Christians) who fled to South Korea as refugees to escape the persecution of North Korean communists and thus possessed a clear agenda to evangelize Korea and ward off Communism.[24] In 1945, led by Pastor Han Kyŏngjik, they founded the Bethany Evangelistic Church in Seoul, now renamed the Yŏngnak Church. Through monopolistic relations with American evangelicals, they laid their political and social foundation in South Korea; Korean church leaders like Pastor Han saw themselves as equal partners of the American evangelicals in transnational ministries looking to Korean Christianity to revitalize their own institutions and congregations at home.[25]

Both during and after the Korean War, Pastor Han Kyŏngjik and the North Korean Christians monopolized their relationship with the World Council of Churches to position themselves as leading forces in Korean Christianity. Christian World Service (CWS), a relief organization under the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the USA, subsequently established the Korean Committee of the Christian World Service and took the lead in relief, with the National Council of Churches in Korea (KNCC) thus able to monopolize these relief supplies. Pastor Han occupied an important position determining the organization's policy in the

24 Kim/Kim (2008) 174.
25 Yoo (2017) 182.

context of its close relationship with Billy Graham and Robert Pierce; Graham responded to this policy with revival meetings, and Robert Pierce contributed to the U.S. government's anti-communist foreign policy through World Vision. Emphasizing universal fraternity in Christ, Billy Graham invited thousands of people to revival meetings promoting American evangelicalism against Communism.[26]

World Vision worked to unite Korea and the United States into a single family through the support of Americans for Korean war orphans as it disseminated American evangelical beliefs against Communism in the Cold War era, and additionally contributed to enforcing the U.S.- South Korea blood alliance. The adoption project was developed through Holt Children's Services; actively sponsored by Robert Pierce, Holt International Children's Services grew rapidly with the support of Americans through TV, radio, newspapers, and magazines. Pastor Han Kyung-Chik directed the policy of this project, serving as the chairman and director of the World Vision and Holt Adoption Program in Korea. As a result, American evangelicalism grew further through the Korean War Orphan Program.

Conclusion

American missionaries were indeed predominant among western missionaries in Korea, and they made significant contributions to the betterment of the Korean people, e.g., building hospitals and schools, as noted in this chapter. However, it

26 When Pak Chŏnghŭi took the reins of government through a military coup in 1961, Pastor Han Kyŏngjik succeeded in gaining support from the U.S. government for the Park Chŏnghŭi regime; Pastor Han strenuously persuaded the U.S. government and Americans who opposed Park Chŏnghŭi's dictatorship; and Park Jung Hee maintained a close relationship with Pastor Han, who helped him. In 1973, Pastor Han Kyŏngjik invited the American evangelist Billy Graham to hold a large-scale revival meeting in Yŏŭido in Seoul. That spring, Graham traveled to Seoul, South Korea, for one of his famous crusades, and this revival meeting can be seen as an attempt to persuade the people and gain their support by emphasizing the U.S.-South Korea Alliance against Communism. The Pak Chŏnghŭi regime actively supported this revival meeting at the government level, and in this regard it bears noting that anti-communism and the expansion of American evangelicalism were two sides of the same coin. As a straightforward anti-communist, Graham considered the confrontation between Communism and Christianity to be a battle between Christ and the anti-Christ, which was a powerful vision in the Cold War Era. In the polarized context of the Cold War, support for the South Korean government meant not only strong anti-communism but also Pro-Americanism. He said, "There are strong indications in the Bible that in the last days a great sinister anti-Christian movement will arise. At this moment it appears that Communism has all the earmarks of this great anti-Christian movement." Graham (1951) Collection 191.

bears noting that there is no such thing as a monolithic "American" Protestant Christianity; despite sharing some commonality as Americans, Presbyterian and Methodist missionaries from the USA were also distinct from each other. Their understanding of the Bible as well as their approach to missions in Korea varied due to their different denominations and, moreover, even within a denomination, missionaries were hardly a monolithic group, seen with the Baptists under Malcolm Fenwick who were quite distinct from both the Presbyterians and Methodists. Nevertheless, the following facts cannot be denied: as Koreans considered their situation from the late nineteenth century into the twentieth, many turned to modernity or Westernization as the answer and, for those who viewed America positively, their openness to Christianity increased.[27]

While American evangelicalism was not encouraged by the Japanese colonial authority in Korea, whose main intent was to create and lead a cultural/political coalition against the West, many Koreans' positive response to the United States represents a particular case in the history of religious missions, especially in light of the fact that a mere few years earlier, Catholicism had been fiercely opposed and persecuted. It should be noted that Korean Christians deliberately chose to accept Christianity because, for them, it signified an escape and the promise of help to overcome a difficult situation. During the years of oppression and coerced adoption of Japanese culture, Koreans considered Christianity not as a Western import but, on the contrary, a means to renew their society. The active cooperation between American evangelicals and Korean Christians after the Korean War can also be understood in this context, with such positive attitudes and acceptance of Protestantism from the United States continuing throughout the Korean War and the Cold War after that, promoting the Americanization of Korean society and the Korean Protestant Church. This chapter, therefore, focuses on the cultural and political reasons informing Koreans' favorable attitude towards American evangelicalism, particularly over the course of the late nineteenth and early to mid-twentieth centuries.

27 Yu (2020) 209.

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Changing the Face of Destiny: A Study on Korean Reinterpretation of Tarot

Abstract: The very recent relationship that has arisen between Koreans and the Tarot is certainly one of the most interesting cases of a foreign cultural model undergoing the process of adaptation to local tradition. The topic arguably commands even greater interest as it is literally taking place before our eyes, making contemporaries "first-hand" eyewitnesses. After an introduction on the origin of playing cards and the Tarot itself, this chapter presents a comparative analysis between three historical decks of the Western Tarot and three oriental decks, where the modifications, differences, and adaptations of meaning, iconography, and content are evident within the depersonalizing context of an ultra-liberalist and individualist society. In its final section, the chapter draws on the differences previously noted to examine the social role that the Tarot plays in Korea, a country whose inhabitants are threatened by serious identity crises that sometimes culminate in deadly depressive states derived from an existential void. In this regard, the chapter points out that in such a situation as Korea, the Tarot cards, in contrast to their function in the West, have emerged as the tools of an authentic mass social therapy (also thanks to their local revisitation of images and content), often assuming value and meaning comparable to psychoanalytic treatments in providing at least a generalized placebo effect.

Prologue

Only recently have Koreans learned of the particular method of divination, widespread in the West, which uses a special type of cards called "Tarot." Within a social context where television programs exert a strong influence on people's fashions and other choices, what sparked such an interest in Korea seems to have been a television "drama."

The history of Tarot, however, is long and fascinating, originating from far away in both time and space. Over the centuries, this type of cards has gone through various versions and reinterpretations to assume today's very specific connotations and meanings, at least as far as the Western world is concerned. In fact, behind Tarot lies a complicated symbolism that draws on esoteric, philosophical, political, and religious themes that transpire from the representations and names present in the cards themselves; Tarot, therefore, encompasses a figurative

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tradition and cultural background completely detached from the Far East. From this derive many obstacles in adapting Tarot to the "taste" of East Asian civilizations, which often end up wholly distorting the intent and meaning of the cards, even if efforts are expended (not always successfully) to recover them in the "reading" and consultation.

Today small "booths" or places offering Tarot consultations are a common sight on the streets of Korea; indeed, one could argue that Tarot has become a social phenomenon. This chapter, therefore, will try, even in the *mare magnum* of the bibliography and the philosophy that surrounds and cloaks these cards, to analyze instances of local revisitation of their iconography and nomenclature, comparing them with Western originals and, if necessary, also with Chinese and Japanese reinterpretations. This constitutes a rare opportunity to directly witness in real time the assimilation of a cultural pattern, centuries old in the West, which in a few years has been transformed, in Korea, into something of an instrument of social utility.

1 Games and Divination: Playing Cards Between East and West

As far as I know, it is very difficult to trace the practice of divination through cards to the pre-modern East. However, observing the shape of some ancient cards such as the *t'ujŏn* 鬪牋 (also called *t'up'ae* 鬪牌) of Korea, one might speculate that they may be connected in some way to the ancient sticks for divination called *qiuqian* 求籤 in China, which were already attested to at least in the third century.[1] In Korea (at least with reference to Buddhism), a type of divination stick had already surfaced in the eighth century, if we are to believe what is reported by the *Samguk yusa* 三國遺事.[2] In this way, a game piece like the *t'ujŏn* may have

1 A reference is already found in the *Yuxiaji* 玉匣記 (Report of a Jade Box), attributed to the Taoist Master Xu Xun 許遜 (traditionally: 239–374. Also called "Prince Xu Zhen 許眞君"). See Xu (attributed to, 2005). The best-known version includes 100 sticks, but in 1915, in the United States, a shortened version of 78 sticks was created, called *Chi-chi* sticks. Note that 78 is also the number of Tarot cards, both Major Arcana and Minor Arcana, but it is not known if this is a case or a voluntary reference.

2 Iryŏn (2019), book 4. The sticks, which number 189, are delivered by the Bodhisattva Mirŭk 彌勒 to the monk Chinp'yo 眞表, who lived at the time of King Kyŏngdŏk 景德 (742–765) of Silla 新羅: ". . . 果感彌力現授占察經兩卷 . . . 竝證果簡子一百八十九介 . . ." (Moved by the monk's fervor, the Mirŭk appeared to him and handed him the two books of the Sŭtra of divination of Good and Evil . . . as well as one hundred and eighty-nine sticks to practice divination itself).

been the product of the evolution of similar objects initially used for divination, repurposed for play.[3] Conversely, we will see that Tarot cards followed an opposite trajectory, becoming instruments for divination after starting out as simple game pieces.

In China, however, there were also paper playing cards; it is quite possible, indeed, that they were invented right there. It is very difficult to pinpoint the origins of playing cards; the first Chinese playing cards may have directly derived from paper money at the end of the Tang dynasty, thus becoming, at least at first, a sort of *fiches*/*chips* to be used as both stake and game piece.[4] From the Ming 明 dynasty onwards, the evolution of card games in China can be more reliably traced, making it evident that the game called *Madiao* 馬吊, with its respective cards, has been one of the most popular. Indeed, *Madiao* cards may have even inspired the Korean *t'ujŏn*, even if the suits (and perhaps also the number of the cards itself) may have undergone some variation.[5]

Be that as it may, what appears certain is that playing cards in the Far Eastern context have no divinatory function, with some possible contemporary exceptions such as the Japanese *Hanafuda* 花札 which, however, have been heavily "contaminated" by Western influences.[6] Before discussing Western cards, however, finding a link between the Chinese and European worlds would seem to be in order. The transmission of playing cards from east to west presumably followed the routes of the various "silk roads," passing through India and Persia before reaching the Islamic countries bordering the Mediterranean Sea.[7] In this

3 The similarity of the *t'ujŏn* with the Chinese divining sticks is also noted by Culin (1895) 128. For the rest, the term *t'ujŏn*, even before "playing card," seems to have indicated at first a particular game, among many, played with cards. Various types of games (*mokchi* 목지, *sasirang'i* 사시랑이, etc.) are in fact reported by the first Western texts on the customs of Korea: see, in this regard, Anonymous (1880) 245 *et passim*. On the *t'ujŏn* see also Rossetti (1905). Among the Korean sources, see that reported in Yu (1992), 1.13.

4 See Wilkinson (1895) 69, which relies on Vissering's theory, according to which the paper money of the Song 宋, far from being original, instead merely replicated that which already existed and was in use during the Tang 唐.

5 In this regard, the *Ch'ŏngsŏng chapki* 靑城雜記, consisting of one book written by Sŏng Taejung 成大中 (1732–1809), reports that a certain Chang Hyŏn 張炫 (1613–?), a relative of the famous concubine Chang 張 (1659–1701), brought back a deck of such cards from China in 1644. See Sŏng (2006).

6 A *Hanafuda* deck includes 48 cards divided into 12 suits, each of which represents a month of the year. In a reflection of the handling of western cards, a sort of "solitaire" is practiced with the *Hanafuda*, meant to predict luck in the next 11 months based on the number of cards that are turned over.

7 There are conflicting opinions on the issue, and it is still uncertain who influenced whom. For sure, playing cards, called *ganjifeh* گنجفه, were used in Persia at least since the sixteenth century,

regard, it may well be that the so-called "Mamluk Cards," also known by the Arabic name *Mulûk Wa-Nuwwâb* الـنـواب مـلـوك و (Kings and viceroys/governors), were decisive in the birth and development of Western playing cards.

Today there are three (more or less complete) decks of these cards preserved in the Topkapi Museum in Istanbul, perhaps originating in Egypt and dating back to the fifteenth century. These, however, were certainly preceded in their style by other isolated cards present in different collections, dating back to between the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth century. Together, they testify that card games were already known at the time.[8] This may seem strange, given that the Islamic religion, while sanctioning the game of chess, whose results depend on the skill of the human mind (which is a gift from God) rather than on mere luck, condemns gambling and therefore card games. But the games played with those cards were probably conceptual and practicable through logical reasoning.[9] For the rest, the cards do not depict human figures (whose use is discouraged by Islam), but it is clear that they are divided (to form a deck of 52 [?] cards) into four suits, in each of which there are ten cards numbering one to ten, one *nâ'ib thânî* نائب ثاني (second viceroy/governor), one *nâ'ib* نائب (first viceroy/ governor), and one *malik* ملك (king).[10] The very word "*nâ'ib*" persists to this day in Europe, because, despite having fallen into disuse in Italy, it remains in use today in Spain, where playing cards are called *naipes*. Regarding the four suits, they are *mutatis mutandis*, those that are still found in Italian and Spanish cards, that is to

but similar cards were also already used in India in the Mughal era (Beveridge ed., Vol. II [1922] 584). These cards later developed variants such as the *Dashavatar Ganjifa* दशावतार गंजीफा. The cards in question, however, are typically round in shape, and their illustrations also differ from those found in Western cards.

8 Parlett (1990) 40.

9 According to Onimus (2019) 401–407, however, the Mamluk cards represented the extension and projection of the political affairs of the high dignitaries who used them, thus becoming a board game like any other: "*Nous en ignorons les règles mais sans doute se jouait-il comme tous les jeux de cartes en fonction d'un enjeu (une mise qui devient un pot à remporter quand toutes les mises sont cumulées), d'une donne, puis de l'habileté au jeu lui- même dont chaque joueur faisait preuve.*"

10 Actually, although various websites only report three "court-figures" in the Mamluk cards (see, for example, Anonymous, "Mulûk Wa-Nuwwâb," at the website http://l-pollett.tripod.com/cards64i.htm#:~:text=Le%20cosiddette%20carte%20dei%20Mamelucchi,che%20oggi%20%C3%A8%20l'Egitto), Mayer (1939) 115, the discoverer of the Mamluk cards, had already also reported, among the 47 cards left in a deck, the presence of a "helper" (*aḥad al-rakâiz* أحد الركائز [literally: "one of pillars"], or *nâ'ib thalit* نائب ثالث [Third Governor]), which, if it had really been a fourth "court-figure," would bring the number of cards in the original deck to 56 rather than 52.

say, *Darâhim* دراهم (coins), *Tûmân* طومان (cups), *Suyûf* سيوف (swords), and *Jawkân* جوكان (polo sticks, which in Europe become just "clubs").

The incongruity between the term *Tûmân* (the unit of measurement sometimes also used for coins) and the cups designated as such is surprising, but perhaps this hearkens back to a memory of Chinese cards, where the suits were divided according to the number of coins.[11] The suits of Islamic cards are considered to be the origin of their European counterparts, but an interesting hypothesis, dating back to the eighteenth century, suggests the suits may be the product of purely Italic origins. The Roman era bronze ingots and coins known as *aes signatum* and *aes grave*, in fact, also counted among their marks amphorae, swords, clubs, and the sun; the sun, in this case, could have been misunderstood for a coin.[12] From thence the suits of the cards, together with some nomenclature (i.e., "ace" which derives from "aes"), may well have been derived.[13] Neither the Islamic nor the Italic hypothesis precludes the other; the two could arguably coincide. That is, following the Roman expansion, some motifs present in the ancient *aes signatum* and *aes grave* could have remained in the Middle East to be transferred to the playing cards of those regions and therefore "re-exported" to Europe.

Thus, by way of a long, tortuous (and in many cases still obscure) route, playing cards finally arrived in Europe, where they were already attested to in the fourteenth century,[14] although they very likely had already been present be-

11 The basic suits of the Chinese cards were in fact three, namely *Qian* 錢 (coins), *Diao* 吊 (string of coins), and *Wan* 萬 (ten thousand [coins]). It should also be noted that the terms *Jawkân* and *Tûmân* are not Arabic, but, respectively, Iranic and Turkic, proof of the westward route made by the playing cards.

12 In the West the four suits are identified, as perhaps it already was in the Islamic context, with the four social classes, with the swords symbolizing the nobles/military, the cups symbolizing the religious clergy, the coins representing the bourgeois/merchants, and the clubs representing the peasants/farmers.

13 Cantù, vol. X (1842) 221–222. On this occasion, Cantù quotes the work of a certain Father Daniel, titled "*Origine du jeu de piquet, trouvé dans l'histoire de France*," and published in May 1720 in the review *Journal de Tre voux*.

14 The term *naip* already appears in the entry nr. 1299 of the *Diccionari de rims* by Jacme (Jaume) March (ca. 1336–1410), written in 1371. See March (1921) 63. Also see Brunet y Bellet (1886). Regrettably, Jacme March is often mentioned on websites instead of Jacme Roig (1401–1478), and it is the latter (and not March) who is the author of the verses *joch de nayps*/*de nit jugavem* (We played card-games by night), which are often adduced as evidence for the existence of cards in the fourteenth century. See Roig (1905) 56. 3010–3011. Also, it should be noted that, in southern Europe, the expression "To play card-games by night" is sometimes a metaphor for "To have sexual intercourse." The oldest evidence of the existence of cards in Europe, however, could be that of an internal ordinance at the Abbey of St Victor in Marseille, dated 1337, where it is said: "*Quod nulla persona audeat nec praesumat ludere ad taxillos nec ad paginas nec ad eyssy-*

fore.[15] However, as far as the sources relate, these were always cards intended for recreational activities (including gambling), unrelated to divination. At this point, the emergence of cards wholly associated with divination lay far in the future with the invention of new cards, now universally known as "Tarot."

2 The Tarot

Before broaching the main topic of this chapter, we need to make one thing clear. Nowadays, all Tarot cards are divination cards, but not all divination cards are Tarot. This study, therefore, exclusively examines the Tarots invented in Italy, that is the 22 cards known as the Major Arcana, Lames, or Trumps, considering their names, iconography, and symbolism. As for the 56 Minor Arcana, even if today they are widely used in divination and in ancient times could also be called "Tarot," they are distinct from the Major Arcana in terms of iconography (they are divided into the traditional four suits) and their esoteric meaning. Indeed, as we will see, in the beginning they most probably were entirely unrelated to the 22 "major" cards.

We can therefore conclude that the Tarot proper was born in northern Italy in the first half of the fifteenth century in a context where common playing cards were already well established.[16] According to Vitali, the inventor of the Tarot can be precisely specified as Prince Francesco Antelminelli Castracani Fibbia (1360–

chum" (That no one dares, or simply thinks, to play dice, "pages" and chess), where the "pages" in question could be precisely playing cards. See Du Cage (1886), Tome VI, 92: "*Paginae: Folia lusoria . . . Jeu de cartes, Statuta ann. 1337. Ex tabular. S. Vict. Massil . . .*"

15 In this regard, I would point out that in Sicily, to indicate the suit of coins, the term *daremi* is still used, clearly derived from *darâhim*. This term is exclusively used in relation to playing cards and therefore it is very likely that it was acquired in Sicily, together with playing cards, during the Arab domination of the island, which lasted from 827 to 1091 or, at the latest, during the Norman-Swabian period, which ended in 1266.

16 Berti (2007). Playing cards in Italy are already attested to in the fourteenth century, as Kopp rightly points out (Kopp [1973] 131): "*Manche autoren betrachten eine Florentiner Verordnung als ältesten nachweis der Spielkarten in Europa. Sie trägt das Datum des 23. März 1376 was nach unserer zeitrechnung den 23. März 1377 bedeutet da Florenz damals das jahr erst am 25. März beginnen ließ.*" Perhaps (but the question is debatable), the oldest known European deck of cards is also Italian, the so-called "Mazzo moresco Italia 2," dated between the last years of the fourteenth century and the early years of the fifteenth century, kept in the Museo Fournier de Naipes in Vitoria-Gasteiz, Spain.

1419),[17] who lived in Bologna but originally hailed from Tuscany as the grandson of the famous Castruccio Castracani. This hypothesis, however, has been violently contested and the very existence of the prince himself questioned. Whatever the truth may be, it is certain that the Tarot was born within the Renaissance courts of northern Italy, and their origin is indissolubly linked to two cities in particular: Milan, then the duchy of the Visconti (first) and Sforza (later) families; and Ferrara, led by the Este family. It is thus likely that the Tarot was initially a court game, called *Ludus Triumphorum*, practiced for didactic-edifying purposes, intended above all for young women waiting to become "bargaining chips" within the framework of alliances formed from time to time between the various Italian lordships and the powerful courts of Europe. The concept of *ludendo intelligo*, therefore, had been fully implemented, with the learning and discernment of those vices, virtues, and phases of life that Francesco Petrarca (1304–1374) had previously illustrated in the succession of his *Triumphi*[18]: namely, Love, Modesty, Death, Fame, Time and Eternity.

The rules of the game are not known, nor is it known how numerous, initially, those cards called "Triumphs" were, before their number was definitively fixed at 22, perhaps already by the end of the fifteenth century. For sure, these cards represented a formative spiritual path, which in the iconography of their figures and in content drew heavily on late medieval religious and allegorical traditions. Equally, as proof of their educational character, which taught the recognition of vices and virtues, in the years following their diffusion, the Tarot was regarded with indulgence by the Church, unlike standard card games.[19]

The most ancient Tarots are those called "Visconti-Sforza" (so the place of origin is presumably Milan), of which cards belonging to about 15 different decks remain today. Among these, the deck called "Visconti di Modrone," kept at Yale University, is considered by many experts to be the oldest, having ostensibly been produced between 1442 and 1447.

Sixty-seven cards of this deck remain today (11 trumps, 17 face cards and 39 numbered cards) which, however, cannot clarify how many cards originally

17 Vitali (2013). Also see Anonymous, "La carovana dei Tarocchi," 5. References are to the website http://www.letarot.it/cgi-bin/pages/Caravan%20Italiano.pdf.

18 This poetic work in the Tuscan language perhaps remained unfinished due to the author's death, but it certainly exercised great influence on the intellectual life of fifteenth-century Italian courts. See Petrarca (1984).

19 Precise references to the Old and New Testament in the Tarot's iconography have been hypothesized (see, for example, Lyons [2013]). For sure, the four corners of the card of the World often show the symbol of the four Evangelists. On the relation between Tarot and Mythology, see Caldwell (2007).

made up the deck. It is noteworthy, though, that the deck already includes both the Major Arcana and the Minor Arcana, although it is unclear whether they were used in the game together or (more likely) separately.

The Major Arcana of the oldest cards are not numbered and have no names, nor is the order in which they were considered known, having been fixed in the sixteenth century along with the term "Tarot" by which they continue to be known today.[20] From this moment on, little by little, the Major Arcana take on their current appearance and assume the following order (I prefer here to keep the Italian nomenclature)[21]:

Il Matto (no number)	La Giustizia (n. 8)	La Torre (n. 16)
Il Bagatto (n. 1)	L'Eremita (n. 9)	La Stella (n. 17)
La Papessa (n. 2)	La Ruota della fortuna (n. 10)	La Luna (n. 18)
L'Imperatrice (n. 3)	La Forza (n. 11)	Il Sole (n. 19)
L'Imperatore (n. 4)	L'Appeso (n. 12)	Il Giudizio (n. 20)
Il Papa (n. 5)	La Morte (n. 13)	Il Mondo (n. 21)
Gli Amanti (n. 6)	La Temperanza (n. 14)	
Il Carro (n. 7)	Il Diavolo (n. 15)	

The cards thus constitute a path of life, of which they function as allegory, a "mystical scale" within which the number "22" is anything but incidental. Excluding the Fool, in fact, 21 cards remain, divisible into three groups of seven. The first group, from n. 1 to n. 7, starts at initiation and continues through the learning of

20 In fact, throughout the fifteenth century they were called *Triumphi*. Although entire rivers of ink have been spilled on the etymology of the term "Tarot," even today we are far from having said the last word. A fairly popular hypothesis is that the name derives from the "Fool" card, since, in some regions of Italy, the noun "Tarocco" was formerly synonymous with "Scirocco," the hot south-east wind that was believed to bring madness. But it has even come to suppose a derivation from Arabic *Tarîq* تاريخ, that is "route" or "historical route," with precise reference to the path to perfection hidden in the cards. For an overview of the possible etymologies of the term "Tarot" see Vitali, "Dell'etimo Tarocco" at the website http://www.letarot.it/page.aspx?id=220. Also see Farley (2009) 28–32.

21 Even in Italy, however, there are various names to indicate the same card: the "Hanged Man," for example, is also called "The Traitor," and "The Tower" is also called "The Lightning." In the Protestant context, the figures of the Pope and the Popess will be replaced, respectively, by the Hyerophant and the High Priestess. It must be said that the original Popess had nothing to do with the papacy, but it was the personification of the Christian Faith which drew its iconography from Giotto's painting (ca. 1306) in the cycle of frescoes in the Scrovegni Chapel in Padua. According to one hypothesis, the term "Popess" follows the nickname given to Maifreda from Pirovano (?–1300), a mystic woman, ancestor of Bianca Maria Visconti, who was burned at the stake after being accused of heresy. With regard to the order presented here, it should also be stated that in the Rider-Waite deck, published in 1909 and today much appreciated and imitated, the Lames n. 8 and n. 11 are interchanged.

the sacred and the profane, prompting the acquisition of knowledge and awareness of the self. The second group, from n. 8 to n. 14, offers revelations on relationships and choices, teaching one to know one's neighbor, while the last group concerns the spiritual relationship with the divine and the otherworldly, gradually raising the individual from hell towards an empyrean, Thomistic and Dantean in nature, which culminates in the totality of the World after the Final Judgment. On this path, which is actually divided into purification, enlightenment, and mystical union, the number 22 is loaded with precise religious references grounded in a tradition that, in the Christian context, already dates back to the origins of the Church itself, as can be read in this testimony from the third century:

> Οὐκ ἀγνοητέον οὖν, ὅτι καὶ τὸ εἶναι τὰς ἐνδιαθήκους βίβλους, ὡς Ἑβραῖοι παραδιδόασι, δύο καὶ εἴκοσιν, ὅσος ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῶν παρ'αὐτοῖς στοιχείων ἐστὶν, οὐκ ἄλογον τυγχάνει· ὡς γὰρ τ ὰ στοιχεῖα εἰσαγωγὴ δο κεῖ εἶναι εἰς τὴν σοφίαν καὶ τὰ θεῖα διδάγματα τοῖς χαρακτῆρσι τούτοις ἐντυπούμενα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις· οὕτω στοιχείωσίς ἐστιν εἰς τὴν σοφίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ εἰσαγω γὴ εἰς τὴν γνῶσιν τῶν ὄντων τὰ θεόπνευστα βιβλία.[22]
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> Furthermore, we must not ignore that the very books of the Old Testament, as the Hebrews transmitted them, are twenty-two, and the number of Hebrew elements is equal to them; and this is not without reason. In fact, just as twenty-two letters seem to be the introduction to the wisdom and doctrine imprinted with these figures in men, so too the Twenty-two Books of the Holy Scriptures constitute both the basis and the introduction to the wisdom of God and to the knowledge of the world.

Centuries after their invention, the relation between Tarot and the world of *Qabbālāh* קבלה (including the number and the symbolism of the letters) will even be exalted for their esotericism, but more daring combinations abound: 22 is also the number formed by the goddess Tārā तारा and her 21 forms, praised in the famous text *Praises to the twenty-one Tārās* known in Chinese as *Ershiyi zhongjiudu fumu zan* 二十一種救度佛母贊).[23] And what about the 78 cards, both Major Arcana and Minor Arcana? Their number coincides with that of the god Śiva's 78 aphorisms (*Śivasūtra* शिवसूत्र).[24] We find ourselves, as thus evidenced, in a field of the most unbridled intellectual speculation.

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22 Origenes, *Selecta in Psalmos* 383–385.

23 See the English translation of the *Praises to the twenty-one Tārās* at the website https://studybuddhism.com/en/advanced-studies/prayers-rituals/prayers/praises-to-the-twenty-one-taras.

24 See *Śivasūtra* (1992). In reality, there are 78 aphorisms in the commentary on the *Śivasūtra* by Bhāskara भास्करा and 77 in the commentary by Kṣemarāja क्षेमराज. On the number 78 in the Hindu cultural context see Kak (2011) 75–110.

Beyond every possible hypothesis, however, we can say with a good chance of success that the Major Arcana of the Tarot, in the first phase of their existence, were not used in divination. It is certain that, while they virtually disappeared from Italy, they spread quite quickly throughout Europe, but we only have sporadic evidence of the use of cards for divination purposes in the following centuries. We also do not know for sure if such cards were the Tarot and if, even if they were Tarot, they were only those Minor Arcana which, as we have already noted, probably constituted from their outset a separate entity, altogether distinct from the Major Arcana.

The real "boom" of the Tarot Major Arcana as divination cards took place between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[25] It was set into motion, among other things, on the one hand by the intellectual reaction to the Enlightenment (and to the crisis of the European monarchies), devoted to privileging the more strictly spiritual and "irrational" side of human nature, and on the other hand by the rediscovery of ancient civilizations of the Near and Middle East, which intrigued and enchanted the minds of contemporary esotericists with their secrets.[26] In the context of this anti-materialist recovery of human nature, French occultists and esotericists stand out above all, such as: Antoine Court de Gébelin (1719–1784), Jean-Baptiste Alliette (1738–1791), better known as Etteilla (that is, "Alliette" read backwards),[27] Éliphas Lévi (18 10–1875), Gérard Encausse (1865–1916), alias Papus,[28] and Stanislas de Guaita (1861–1897). It was then that the 22 Renaissance Triumphs were re-examined and re-read according to a new approach which, if it does not deny the primitive religiosity codified by the Church, transcends and amplifies it by also referring to those doctrines, such as ancient Egyptian religion, Hermeticism, Gnosticism, and *Qabbālāh* itself, that played a major role in accompanying (and not infrequently in influencing) the origin and the development of Christianity.

Thus, starting with the Visconti-Sforza Tarot, the iconography of the Major Arcana was re-visited in conjunction with the old names and, in part, also their mean-

25 Berti (2005) 301–331.

26 Although popular divination with Tarot (or other cards) by well-defined ethnic-social entities (i.e.: gypsies and other nomadic groups) probably already existed in this period, the esoteric approach by Major Arcana is framed precisely in the ideological, political, and religious conflictual context of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Parallel powers such as Freemasonry also took advantage of this conflict, and Freemasonry itself played an important role in the esoteric promotion of the Tarot. See, among others, Sosteric (2014), especially 364–370.

27 See Etteilla (2012), where the alleged close relations between Tarot and ancient Egypt are fully illustrated.

28 Papus himself links, in one of his most famous works (Papus [1896]), the Tarot to the gypsies, who for a long time were believed to be their inventors or, at least, their main disseminators.

ing, which were then expanded. Through this process of renewal, a deck of Tarot cards destined to leave its mark spread like wildfire and remains to this day the main point of reference for every occultist and fortune-teller of cards. These cards are the so-called "Tarot de Marseille" whose origin, despite the name, is still uncertain.[29] The Anglo-Saxon world's best known rejoinder to the Tarot of Marseille was undoubtedly that of the American esotericist and occultist Arthur Edward Waite (1857–1942), who, inspired by the iconography of the 1491 Italian deck called "Sola-Busca"[30] and aided by a disciple, Pamela Smith, created in 1909 what is now known as the "Rider-Waite deck," one of the most widespread and also often adopted in the East.

Today there are countless graphic versions of the 22 Major Arcana, but the most authoritative and far-reaching decks remain the three "historical" ones, namely the Visconti-Sforza Tarot, the Marseille Tarot, and the Rider-Waite Tarot; it is to these that we will refer in a comparison with Korean and Oriental decks.

3 The Tarot in Korea: Between Anomie and Tradition

The total depersonalization of the individual in industrial society is a worldwide phenomenon, and the Republic of Korea is certainly no exception. Conversely, the rapid social, political, and economic changes of the twentieth century often had a more devastating impact on Korea than other countries. The existential vacuum wrought by this novel situation has had serious repercussions on the mental

29 The expression "Tarot de Marseille" began to be used only in the nineteenth century, while the oldest Tarot deck painted in this style is probably Jean Noblet's incomplete rendering, dated around 1670. The iconography recalls models of Northern Italy. In this regard, Dummett has hypothesized that the French came to know of the use of the Tarot after the invasion of northern Italy by the armies of Charles VIII (1494) and Louis XII (1499). It would therefore have been those very French soldiers returning from military expeditions who introduced the Tarot to France. On this question, see Dummett/MacLeod (2004) 15 ff. See also Depaulis (2013–2014.1) and (2013–2014.2).

30 It is the oldest Tarot deck that has preserved all 78 cards. On the derivation of the Rider-Waite Tarot from the Sola-Busca deck see Kaplan, vol. III (1990), 30–35. As for the deck in question, it was painted in Venice and today is kept in the Pinacoteca di Brera. It is a very special deck because instead of the standard allegorical figures there are characters from Roman history and biblical history. In doing so, its creators probably had sociopolitical intentions, which however are now incomprehensible. On the Sola-Busca deck, in particular, see Anonymous, "Il mazzo Sola Busca e il Gioco dei Tarocchi," at the website https://pinacotecabrera.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/document8.pdf.

health of citizens,[31] and it has exacerbated the proliferation of those barkers, "holy men," prophets, mystics, healers, living Buddhas and assorted Messiahs that, indeed, have never been lacking in Korean history. The Republic of Korea has thus achieved such unenviable records as that of suicides (for which the country places among the first in the world), making the Durkheimian theory of suicide very topical, i.e. self-destruction as a consequence of rapid social change, where the forced loss of those traditional values that are now useless has not yet been compensated by the total acquisition of new cultural models complete with their own regulations.[32] Indeed, the void between "what has been" and "what has yet to be" was already well perceived in classical Korea: in traditional funerals, in fact, the transport of the corpse from the house to the burial place was considered the most vulnerable moment where it was exposed to the attacks of evil spirits and, for this reason, apotropaic statuettes called *kkoktu* 꼭두 were placed around the coffin.

Thus, anomie (ἀνομία: literally: "lack of rules") occurs, that is, the feeling that common moral laws have evaporated, a condition due to the lack of social reference points and certainties wrought by the breaking of the link between present and past (that also generates a lack of perspectives).[33] For sure, after the 1997 IMF disaster, a body of "consolatory literature" asserted itself in Korea. Just at the moment when the Tarot became generally known to common Korean citizens, there was the proliferation of more or less "literary" works aiming to alleviate the discomfort of a shocked and disappointed society, starting with Korean youth: a substantially reactionary literature disguised as philosophy, which in reality offers survival manuals for the ultra-liberalist jungle of South Korean society where, in

31 An article in the *Korea Herald* of February 15, 2012 mercilessly reported that one sixth of South Koreans were (or had been) suffering from mental problems: the same newspaper, on April 12, 2017, revised the percentage to one fourth. http://www.koreaherald.com/view.php?ud=20170412000835&fbclid=IwAR3s4ErTNLDCABoi9JB-AGRs_r7AzbeQSckA63m49ryh1-18XMhsmEQExsg.

32 A detailed discussion of the reasons for suicides in Korea is beyond the scope of this essay. However, I would integrate the works of Park (2012) and Kang (2017) by emphasizing, among the various causes, that "loss of sacredness" already noted and theorized by the Italian scholar Sabino Acquaviva (Acquaviva [1971]). The "loss of sacredness" is, foremost, the loss of that "sacred time" within which each individual found a role in pre-industrial societies. It is not mere chance, in this regard, that the dates of feasts (the feast is the sacred time *par excellence*) of the new religions often coincide (i.e.: Christmas and *Sol Invictus*) with the dates of older religions, as the life of pre-industrial societies was marked and regulated by a time that was essentially "sacred time." And it is not by chance that many Koreans have tried to restore their "sacred time" by joining various kinds of religious (or pseudo-religious) movements.

33 Riotto (2018) 642.

the name of the false freedom subtly granted by capitalist "democracies," the hero, aligned with the American myth of the "self- made man," is anyone capable of affirming oneself, even going so far as to destroy others if necessary.[34] In this regard, the recent wave of Korean emigration to countries such as Canada, Australia or New Zealand (the last stage of the "Korean Diaspora") has even been minimized (when not censored) as it is due, even prior to economic problems, to the unsustainability of existing and living in the contemporary society of one's homeland.

But the social malaise engendered by the "Law of the strongest" imposed by Neo-liberalism does not just affect young people: the uncertainty of the future is at the basis of a generic anthropological drift towards irrationality giving rise to truly unique phenomena. According to an article in the *Korea Times* of November 27, 2017, in South Korea there are currently one million shamans/shamanesses (*paksu* 박수/*mudang* 巫당) and various types of fortune tellers (*yŏksurin* 易術人), many of whom are even gathered in associations such as the *Taehan kyŏngsin yŏnhaphoe* 大韓敬信聯合會 and the *Han'guk yŏksurin hyŏphoe* 韓國易術人協會.[35] The exponential increase in unemployment and struggles for survival on the part of workers after retirement due to age limits has also led to a real proliferation of "schools" of prophecy and divination (even operating into the evening because they are also frequented by employees near retirement). These institutions aim to train "fortune tellers" so that, thanks to the knowledge they impart, they are capable of making a living in the inevitable years of "lean cows" that await them. Furthermore, those who have lost their homes and jobs or those who, in any case, have been reduced to penury, are increasingly invaded and "possessed" by more or less powerful spirits and divinities, who transform them into shamans, licensed and certified no less. Thanks to "heavenly help," these individuals can preserve that right to exist denied to them by ultraliberalism.

But tradition sometimes persists on an unconscious level. Another area in which South Korea holds dubious records is the prevalence of plastic surgery where, from a superficial viewpoint, the phenomenon might merely appear to be a tendency or desire to leave reality behind and immerse oneself in a life of movie stars, soap operas, and music that dictates fashions that one then imitates.

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34 Among the works of this period see, among others, U/Pak (2007), Kong (2008), Pak (2011), and Kim (2010). The rate of suicide in Korea has dramatically increased since 1990, yet Korean scholars such as Hong et al. (2006) 9, have proven that economic crisis is not the main reason for such a phenomenon, whose roots should be traced to new social problems (divorces, aging of population, depersonalization, etc.).

35 *Korea Times*, November 27, 2017. http://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/nation/2017/11/371_239999.html?fbclid=IwAR05GxfGYLqkpc2GDqa38cWsyethPaDL8C1lQbamYPV7tljysLQWtXPmokw.

Upon closer observation, however, more serious and worrying reasons lie behind this trend. One is the will of massification (to obtain by means of autosacrifice [*scilicet*: surgery]) into a typifying standard in which the individual, who feels individually helpless and unarmed, unconsciously seeks more protection; in other words, it can be likened to the defensive strategy of shoals of mackerel or herring.[36] This leads to another social aberration, namely Normopathy, a syndrome based on an obsession with "being like others" that gestures to a desperate attempt to recuperate the values of old Confucian collectivism. Normopathics are people with little initiative, sensitivity, empathy, and critical sense, who follow the "norm," fashions, and dogmas, criticizing all that is not compliant and "normal." They are passive spectators; they act like automatons. Using neither reason (cognitive intelligence) nor sensitivity (emotional intelligence), they identify themselves with the norms/values of institutions/mass aggregations such as the Church, political parties, TV, etc. A sense of "normality" is maintained by "healing"/"normalizing" the psyche, body, and emotions, eradicating anything that could call into question this "normality."[37]

Another reason stems from the ancient art of physiognomy (*kwansang* 觀相), in which the qualities and defects of an individual are illustrated and highlighted in his/her body. In this way, those who change their facial features imagine, more or less unconsciously, that they are also changing their destiny.

Indeed, the Tarot speaks precisely of destiny. According to a saying of Italian practitioners of cartomancy, *Cards are just painted paper, but the destiny they announce comes true*. In Korea, the cards have had recent and sensational success, thanks in part to the historical-social moment that the country is undergoing. Additionally, Tarot cards are also known in China and Japan.

But which Tarot? It is obvious, in fact, that the Far East lacks the intellectual and cultural tools to decipher this particular type of cards, where names, symbols, images, and meanings are inextricably linked: many oriental decks thus

36 Korean governments have sought to exorcise the trauma of transition from Confucian collectivist society to individualistic neo-liberalism, with all its tragic results, through repeated (sometimes hammering) attempts to awaken national pride in the people and strengthen their spirit and group unity. Thus, the paroxysmal emphasis on historical issues such as "comfort women" and Tokto 獨島 risks transforming legitimate historical claims into regime propaganda aimed to divert the attention of the common citizen from the drama of everyday life by channeling it towards collective nationalistic ideals, resulting in serious damage to the very image of the country. In other words, the risk is that such claims may be intended as a "distraction strategy," a primordial element of social control that consists of diverting the attention of the public from important problems and changes decided by the political and economic elites, through the "technique of the deluge" or flooding of continuous distractions and useless/insignificant information. On "distraction strategy" see, among others, Herman/Chomsky (1988).

37 Fromm (1995).

slavishly replicate Western iconographies and nomenclatures. Some oriental decks, however, have adapted names and depictions (but also interpretation) to local "taste" and local cultural traditions, regardless of whether the creators of the designs are East Asian or not. But then, what emerges in a Far Eastern context from the adaptation of a Western cultural reality that has its roots in the medieval religious imagination and is then revisited in an esoteric-divinatory key from the eighteenth century onwards? We will now examine four cases of particular interest: in this regard, we will compare four cards from the following decks: 1) Visconti-Sforza (either the *Visconti di Modrone* or *Pierpont-Morgan* deck); 2) Tarot de Marseille (deck by Jean Dodal)[38]; 3) Rider-Waite; 4) Beautiful Korea Tarot Cards 뷰티플코리아타로카드[39]; 5) Chinese-style Tarot Cards[40]; and 6) Japanese-style *Ukiyo-e* Cards.[41] We will then draw conclusions as to what has been illustrated in the process.

4 The Tarot in Korea: Some Examples of Reinterpretation of Iconography and Iconology

Case 1: Il Matto (The Fool) n. 0. Associate letter: *Shin* ש

In an initiatory sense, the Major Arcana represent a traditional code with a rigid iconology[42] in its defined signifiers and in hidden meanings.[43] As one approaches the profane dimension, however, the local cultural tradition adds or subtracts from the cards, more or less consciously, adapting them and shaping the foreign cultural model to its own likeness and enjoyment. In this way, those meanings, hidden from an esoteric point of view, become highly flexible and open in a pro-

38 It was published in Lyon between 1701 and 1715.

39 Chi (2017).

40 Chinese-style Tarot Cards from the website https://accesschinese.com/divination/tarot-chinese/cards/tarot-chinese-22-cards.php?carte=1

41 Furuta (1982).

42 The difference between Iconography and Iconology was established in 1928 by Hoogewerff in a conference dedicated to the subject in Oslo. The distinction is the same as that, according to the comparison established then, between geography and geology: the first deals with the external appearance of a phenomenon, the second examines its internal structures. See Panofsky (1955) and Cieri Via (1994) 13.

43 De Nigris (2020) 3.

fane environment, as demonstrated by the exceptional variety of decks recently created in every part of the world.

In the case of the Fool (see Table I), the original iconography derives from an artistic model representing *Stultitia* (Madness), eternalized by Giotto da Bondone (1267–1337) around 1306 in a cycle of paintings in the Scrovegni Chapel in Padua that illustrate the vices and virtues. It is clear that the Visconti-Sforza deck emulates the Giotto model almost slavishly, with the figure in a static posture. But already in the Tarot of Marseille, the Fool is depicted in motion, with a wanderer's stick and confronted by an animal that interrupts his walk; the figure of the Rider-Waite deck roughly inhabits a setting similar to that of the "Marseillaise" figure, but it already seems to have reached the end of its path, given the precipice that lies ahead.

In divination, the interpretation of the card (originally probably a symbol of negative value) has evolved over time to take on mystical and often decidedly positive connotations. First of all, "zero" is the universal multiplier, since any number multiplied by zero always equals zero. Moreover, since "zero" is not considered to be a number in this context, the Fool's card can be placed anywhere and take on any value; in this way, the Fool is actually the first "Joker" to appear in the cards, refuting the hypothesis that locates the invention of the Joker in the United States. Even today, and not by chance, the Italian term that translates the English "Joker" is "Matta" (Fool).[44]

The Fool is neutral and powerful; he is the unconscious of creation, the infinite *par excellence*. He is the Dionysus of the pagan world who opposes the Olympic and "official" deities. As "Fool of God" he reaches the pinnacle of mysticism, becoming the Majnun مجنون (possessed) of the Islamic tradition. Thus, the Fool signifies the infinite from which everything is born, a free spirit capable, at the same time, of adapting to any situation and rejecting the rules that govern the world, starting with clothing.

But let us now consider the oriental cards. The Korean card draws heavily from the Rider-Waite deck in its iconography, retaining the "zero" and the English wording "The Fool." But in its choice of descriptor, it uses the Korean term *nagŭne* 나그네 which can be translated as "wanderer" or "traveler." While even the English "fool" does not fully do justice to the meaning of the card, the Korean version of the Fool favors the concept of "travel" and "movement," certainly inspired by karma, which likens the individual to a cloud in a typically Buddhist conceptu-

44 The "Matta," intended as the "Joker," has existed in Italy since time immemorial. In the absence of the Major Arcana, this card is usually replaced by the king of coins, as in the game called "Sette e mezzo" (Seven and Half), which is very similar to "Blackjack."

alization. However, we have seen that the idea of movement plays no part in the fifteenth-century original and begins to be specifically exalted in the Tarot of Marseille. What is of interest, however, is that in the Korean card the figure wears a *sakkat* 삿갓 (a kind of hat widely used in mourning) and lacks the tattered or outlandish robes of a beggar. It therefore follows that, not wanting to yield to the external meaning of "(subversive) madman/beggar," execrated and condemned in the Confucian context, the creator of the card instead chose to identify the Fool with an archetype of the "cursed poet" (like the famous Kim Sakkat 金삿갓: 1807–1863),[45] forced by an adverse fate to wander the eight regions of Korea, rejected by society despite extraordinary intellectual gifts.

The Chinese card is particularly significant. First of all, it does not admit the value zero (in fact the card bears the n. 1), and the wording of "Fool" (unacceptable in Marxist and Confucian rationalism) is replaced by the *Tudi* 徒弟 (Apprentice) as the first stage in that concept of progress of human society central to Marxism. Ultimately, therefore, the Chinese deck retains the ancient idea of the Tarot as a formative path but does not see it so much in terms of spiritual development but rather as a propaganda tool for social training in a socialist/Confucian context. Not by chance, the last card, that of the World, which traditionally symbolizes the union of the human sphere with that of the divine, will thus be replaced by "The Harvest," the deserved and happy result of that political-social trajectory embarked upon the Apprentice.

The Japanese card, for its part, seems to underscore the concept of stupidity, for the English "Fool" is literally translated as *Gusha* 愚者. Of the three oriental cards, it is undoubtedly the least innovative (also the image derives in large part from the Rider-Waite deck, given that the depicted character is standing and overlooks a ravine). But the mystical thrust that prompts the Waite's Fool to look towards the sky, forgetting the impending danger, is completely elided here, and the character is limited to looking at the animal nearby. The Japanese card, therefore, mechanically imitates the Western model in that it copies the image without incorporating its intimate meaning.

45 Pseudonym of Kim Pyŏng'yŏn 金炳淵. Of noble birth, his family fell into ruin when his grandfather, Kim Iksun 金益淳 (1764–1812), was involved (and therefore accused of treason and executed) in the great revolt of Hong Kyŏngnae 洪景來 (1780–1812) of 1811–1812. Consequently, despite his immense talent, he never had the opportunity to pass the state exams to attain a career as an official. He thus became an authentic "cursed poet," leading a nomadic existence, brutalized by excessive indulgence in women and wine, during which he always wore the mourning hat from which he took his nickname.

Case 2: La Papessa (The Popess) n. II. Associate letter: *Beth* ב
This is certainly one of the most controversial cards of the Major Arcana (see Table II), presenting a woman in the role of the Vicar of Christ, that is, the Pope. In reality, as we have seen, the Visconti-Sforza deck card takes its model from Giotto's painting of the aforementioned Scrovegni Chapel, in which the personification of the Christian Faith (*Fides*) figures.[46] It, therefore, has nothing to do with the Papacy.

The original card represents a mature woman, seated, which in divination indicates a feminine entity of great moral depth and spiritual energy, heir to the Egyptian Isis, the Greek *Sophia* Σοφία and the Jewish Ruah רוח. She embodies Dante's "Somma Sapienza" and is the female (and original) version of that Holy Spirit by which it was replaced in the patriarchal turn of early Christianity. She has a book in front of her but does not read it, connoting that she herself is the "book" and the *Sedes Sapientiae* who knows everything; a maternal figure, she is the eternal feminine that indicates fertility, reflection, and constancy, and for this reason, it is usually a good omen in forecasts on relationships. As such, the Rider-Waite deck adds details such as pomegranates[47] and the two columns (B and J, that is to say, Boaz בועז and Jakin/ Yakin יכין[48]) that indicate male and female duality as well as the alchemical dualism of Fire and Air. This duality is reaffirmed in the card number (n. 2) and attests to its role in the dualistic relationship of family and society in addition to its role in the two worlds of physical action and spirit.

As for the Dodal deck, it bears the title "La Pances" instead of "La Papesse" due to this author's habit of voluntarily distorting the names and images of the cards on the basis of a symbolic language that has yet to be fully deciphered. It is possible that "La Pances" should be understood as "La Pensée" (The Thought) in homage to the great philosophical depth of the depicted character[49]; it is there-

46 See above, note 21. It must be said that in the Visconti-Sforza decks there were three more Major Arcana, and they were the Three Theological Virtues (Faith, Hope, and Charity). The Faith card, which survives only in the Visconti di Modrone deck, is practically identical to the figure depicted by Giotto, while the Popess card is lost and remains, among the three main ones, only in the Pierpont-Morgan deck.

47 In the West, the pomegranate is a symbol of immortality, linked as it is to the myth of the eternal return of Persephone and the cycle of the seasons. But it is also a symbol of fertility, due to the high number of grains it contains. In ancient Greek culture there is even, within the mystery cults, the figure of Demeter Malophoros (Μαλοφόρος: literally: "fruits/apple bearer") eternalized in the votive statuettes found in large numbers at the sanctuaries dedicated to this goddess. Later, Christianity would take possession of this pagan tradition, with the representatio n of the "Madonna of the pomegranate," still venerated in many areas of Italy.

48 They were the two columns in the entrance vestibule of the Temple of Solomon.

49 This is not the only anomaly of this deck. In the Star card, instead of *L'Étoile* (The Star) being written as *La Toille* (The Veil, or The Curtain [of Heaven?]), The Tower is called *La Maison Dieu* (The

fore a card of great esoteric energy because it holds the keys to knowledge that is unknown to most.[50]

In the Far East, however, the situation is quite different. The Korean card features a young woman in traditional costume with a sad, thoughtful, and humble air, which could not be further from the spiritual strength emanating from the Western character. The card is named *Nani* 난이, a purely Korean term translatable as "princess"; in fact, it is specified that the character is inspired by Tŏkkye Ongju 德惠翁主 (1912–1989), the last princess of the Royal House of Korea.[51] In her hand she grasps a mace of the type *Ŭnipsa kwimyŏnmun ch'ŏlt'oe* 銀入絲鬼面文鐵鎚 (Iron mace, silver plated, decorated with ghostly faces), a more decorative and apotropaic than functional weapon. The dualism is faintly alluded to in the two moons (one waning, the other rising), while a snake approaches the black cat as if to suggest something to the detriment of the girl who, for her part, seems to be waving the mace in order to avert and exorcise the danger. It is a gloomy, almost spooky atmosphere, where a girl, who already seems tired and tried by life despite her social status, instead of exerting her beneficent authority, stands on the defensive. Yet the environment, the Royal Palace, is sumptuous and suits her.

The Chinese card manages to capture the sense of fecundity possessed by the Western card by presenting a *Daoshen* 稻神 ("Goddess," and not "Queen," of rice), but the similarities end there as every other detail appears unrelated to the original model. The Japanese card shows a jumble of terminology, coupling to the English "The High Priestess" the Japanese *Onna Kyōkō* 女教皇 which, in a Christian context, could also be translated, literally, as "She-Pope" and therefore "Popess." Apart from this, the card is absolutely amorphous, and the only point of contact with the Western card is the scroll that replaces the book. Considering that Japanese tradition has a "Rice fields Princess" (*Inada hime* 稲田姫) as well as a goddess carrying pomegranates, the latter, *Kariteimo* 訶梨帝母 (or *Kishimojin* 鬼子母神), of Western origins, who still enjoys a certain measure of veneration, could have been a better candidate for the role of "Popess."

Case 3: L'appeso (The Hanged Man) n. XII. Associate letter: *Lamed* ל

The Bolognini Chapel of the Basilica of San Petronio, in Bologna, is adorned by vigorous frescoes painted by Giovanni da Modena (ca. 1379–1455) around 1410. In the fresco concerning the *Inferno* (Hell), we note figures of some of the damned hanging upside down. This portrayal is anything but incidental because at that

God House), etc. But the iconography is also bizarre: as we have seen, the figure of the Fool has no definite buttocks and, as we shall see, the Hanged Man is also drawn in a very particular way.

50 See, among others, Wirth (2010) 128.

51 Chi (2017) 22.

time being hung by one leg was punishment designated for traitors and renegades; in any case, it is almost certain that these figures served as a model for the Visconti-Sforza Tarot, which then influenced all subsequent decks.

Given the nature of the subject, we can assume that within the educational/edifying path provided by the fifteenth-century Tarot, the Hanged Man card (see Table III) was a very negative one. However, in the context of the mystical-esoteric turn that took place from the eighteenth century onwards, this card was "re-evaluated" to some extent, a process also taking a cue from the serenity exuded by the character, despite the uncomfortable position depicted.[52] If, on the one hand, the Hanged Man expresses a sense of powerlessness in action (and is therefore forced to wait), on the other hand he has the opportunity to see the world from a reversed perspective (we note, to such purpose, that the number on the Marseille card is written backwards).

The Hanged Man, in divination, therefore represents an invitation to take, in the face of the inevitability of events, a period of reflection, serenely accepting reality as it is and waiting for more propitious periods to wield greater freedom of action. It thus proposes that a new way of seeing things can overcome, albeit at the cost of sacrifices, a blocked and stalled phase.

The iconography of the Hanged Man is very similar in the three Western decks presented here. The Marseille card, however, does not reveal what the rope that supports the character is affixed to; indeed, it could theoretically be joined to the sky to form a sort of cosmic pillar where the human sphere is a natural element of connection between Heaven itself and Earth. As for the Rider-Waite card, the character sports a halo of light as a testimony to the fact that he has learned to live wisely within the limitations of life.

And in the East? The Korean card, despite the puzzling English expression "The Lone Man," is entitled *Maedallin saram* 매달린 사람, which translates to the English "The Hanged Man." The visual representation, however, is very different from those of the Western decks presented here. The man (strictly in Korean attire), in fact, is not actually hanging (no rope holds him) and seems to be in an attitude of voluntary meditation, while the cobwebs suggest that he has been in that position for a long time; above, a raven cannot scratch or jolt the man out of impassivity. The card has been greatly "softened" to align with a culture that generally avoids extreme representations that might upset the beholder, in this case, the client. This, however, is to the detriment of interpretation because it is one thing to give up act-

52 The hanged man is sometimes seen as Jesus Christ (Place [2005] 149), as "traitor of the Jews," or Saint Peter (Lyons [2013] 5), who denied Christ three times.

ing out of necessity, while quite another to give up by choice. We have thus moved quite a distance away from the conditions portrayed in the Western cards.

The Chinese card is as dramatic as it is incomprehensible to those accustomed to traditional Tarot. Despite both English and Chinese titles (*Diaoren* 吊人) clearly foregrounding the concept of "hanging," instead of the Hanged Man, one sees a character, already subjected to the punishment of the *canga* and guarded by an armed man who might plausibly execute him. Before him, a woman in tears (perhaps his wife) mourns his fate; here the character certainly lacks freedom of action and it is difficult to identify any positivity offered by the card.

The Japanese card is almost comical. The Hanged Man (*Tsurusareta otoko* 吊された男), in fact, appears to be tied up like a salami in a masterpiece of bondage. Also, in this case, it seems that the only trait the creator gleaned from the Western model is that of impotence, to the exclusion of all else.

Case 4: La Morte (Death)[53] n. XIII. Associate letter: *Mem* מ/ם

After the plague of 1347–1353, an artistic genre known as "Danse Macabre," or "Triumph of Death," was established in a Europe still in shock. In paintings of this genre, Death, personified as a skeleton, suddenly and unexpectedly bursts into scenes of everyday human life, indiscriminately exterminating, with a bow or a scythe, poor and rich, nobles and plebeians, popes and sovereigns. In this regard, one of the most famous and oldest works is a fresco by an unknown artist, now visible in the Palazzo Abatellis in Palermo, dating back to around 1446, that is, more or less the period from which the oldest deck of the Visconti-Sforza Tarot originates. We do not know if the images of the two works are directly connected; what is certain, however, is that the theme of the Triumph of Death was already widespread in Italy through literary works as well, such as the aforementioned text by Francesco Petrarca.

The image of Death (see Table IV) as it appears in the Visconti-Sforza Tarot (Visconti di Modrone deck) is fully saturated by the artistic theme of the Triumph of Death, "mistress (in Italian, "death" is a feminine noun) and master" of humanity. It reaps victims as one reaps wheat, and thus the scythe became its customary attribute and appears in the Marseille card as well. The Rider-Waite card recasts the iconography of Death on horseback; it also wears armor and carries a black banner with a white flower, an indication of purity and power. In the background sails a boat of the ancient Egyptian type on a river that can only be the Nile, with

53 In the Marseille decks the name of this card is generally omitted, due to the linguistic taboo of "*evocation*." Death therefore becomes simply "The Arcanum n. 13" or "The nameless Arcanum". On the titles of Marseille cards see, among others, Dummett (1980) 387–390. On the deck by Dodal in particular, see *supra*, note 38.

the reference, of course, to the ferrying of the souls of the dead. Death proceeds from west to east, that is, towards rebirth, while those who are about to die look west, where the sun dies.[54] Before this inexorable warrior, a high prelate prays standing up in the security of his own faith; a woman looks away; and a child, who has neither perception nor fear of Death, offers it flowers.

The card is interpreted as the end of something, often due to forced[55] and inevitable circumstances. However, this is not a definitive end; after all, the European Renaissance was also a consequence of the plague of 1347–1353 which, by eliminating a huge number of people, ensured the survivors a better future and a new existence illuminated and directed by the terrible experience they had suffered. And that is not all; the plague actually drew Medieval thought to a close as well, projecting the West towards more secular intellectual development less influenced by religious dogmas. In divination, this card therefore announces a renewal, a radical change (not necessarily negative), and a turning point where one must close one door to open another.

But how can all this be achieved and visually communicated in the terms of the Far East? The art of the Far East does not contemplate the personification of Death, and therefore its representation would only offer potential embarrassment, incomprehension, and unease to the consultant seeking out the Tarot. It is thus inevitable that the iconological problem be resolved by means of symbols taken from local tradition, and it is precisely on this point that interpretation will clash with the images.

The Korean card retains some aspects of the Rider-Waite card. The black dress, the boat, and the child are all elements taken from that famous deck. The card is titled *Chŏsŭng* 저승, that is to say, the Underworld, and the character depicted is therefore the *Chŏsŭng saja* 저승 使者, a messenger of the kingdom of the dead. This detail warrants attention because the "messenger of Death" is not "Death" itself as is featured in the Western cards; as a messenger, therefore, the character is the bearer of a message, which in this case is the scroll of destiny (*saengsabu* 生死簿) in one hand. In the other, the messenger holds a string of gourd-shaped vessels (*horibyŏng* 호리甁) containing the spirits of the dead, while the presence of a nocturnal bird of prey (an owl) completes the negative picture wrought by the arrival of the messenger. The child, however, is protected by a fence made up of favorable, propitious, and apotropaic elements (chilies, white paper, pine needles, etc.). Starting from the assumption that without life death

54 The symbolism of the directions was very strong in Western antiquity. Remember that, with rare exceptions, the ancient Greek temples had the entrance to the east (place of sunrise), while the necropolises were located to the west (the place of sunset, symbol of death) of the city.

55 The disasters announced by the card no. XVI, that is, the Tower, are instead attributable to human errors of presumption, with a clear reference to the Tower of Babel. See Wirth (2010) 217–223.

could not exist, the card therefore suggests that life and death are complementary and that every death foretells a new life (here the Buddhist influence is very strong); above all, it leaves the reader with the hope that the child will survive, a hope that is absolutely denied in Western cards. Overall, the image conveys a much more reassuring message, which gestures to the context where the use of the Tarot in Korea has evolved into a real experiment in social therapy; I will address this point in my final reflections.

In the Chinese card, the idea of death (*Shiwang* 死亡) is represented in a mixture of symbols (both Western and Eastern) ranging from the hourglass and scythe to a severed head and incense. There is no pathos, and the static nature of the scene seriously compromises that main idea of renewal, revolution, and traumatic change linked to the interpretation of the card.

The Japanese card, like the Marseille card, has no name, but it is easy to identify the main character as Enma 閻羅, the judge of the afterlife, respectively called Yanluo in Chinese and Yŏmna in Korean, whose prototype lies in the god Yima/Yama यम of the Indo-Iranian tradition. The difference from the Western view, however, is enormous. In the Japanese card, those who appear before Enma have already exchanged dimensions: they are already dead and only awaiting judgment. Therefore, the tragic and sublime moment of passing or, in a divinatory sense, the moment of the decision to interrupt one thing to start another is completely missing. As a matter of fact, the static nature of the oriental cards only shows the immanence of Death and not its destructive yet creative potential. Here, the distance between the cultures of the two worlds spans wider than ever.

5 The Tarot in Korea: A Reinterpretation of its Social Role and Final Reflections

The previous section examined cases where the original iconology of the Tarot was modified to cater to "local tastes." Setting aside their "Chinese" and "Japanese" counterparts, in the Korean cards (at least in the deck examined), this also manifests as a "softening" of the images and a generalization of their meanings aimed at avoiding culturally particular points of emotional disturbance for the clientele of fortune tellers.

Even the local literature on Tarot, however, reflects the nature of the relationship that has been established between Koreans and these cards. A simple reading of the (few) Korean publications on Tarot demonstrates how in Korea these cards have assumed connotations unthinkable not only for their ancient

creators, but also for those esotericists/occultists who from the eighteenth century onwards popularized them as a divination tool.

The Tarot, *per se*, aspires to the evolution of the individual, and divination is subordinated to this scope. The meaning of each card must remain consistent across readings so that whoever approaches this world can discover for themselves the true and complete message of a single card. The Tarot was born as an instrument of a spiritual path that is absolutely subjective and individual, and these cards essentially remain as such, even in the field of divination, because every human being is a unique and irreplaceable organism.

In Europe, Tarot (and Tarot reading) are not taken lightly. In various places, Tarot cards are usually not read on Fridays, and the environment must also be deemed compatible with the practice of divination. Moreover, care is taken to store cards so as to shield them from external energies. In Europe, Tarot reading is not necessarily delegated to professionals and more often is the patrimony of amateurs with particular intellectual and spiritual skills. Often it is a friend who reads the Tarot to another friend and, as such, does not expect any compensation because reading, which is first of all teaching, must be offered free of charge.

In Korea, the situation is completely different. Apart from the purely informative articles,[56] the literary digressions,[57] and the (to say the least, questionable) statements that can be read in more or less "scientific" publications,[58] Tarot consultations take place in department stores, in Tarot coffee shops, and even along the streets. But there are also real schools of Tarot, as if the art of divination is just a profession like any other, trafficking in mnemonic facts to be learned and repeated mechanically. The card readers often wear ridiculous costumes in the vein of authentic clowns, a far cry from the discretion and modesty that this kind of divination requires.

In sum, it is noteworthy that the consultation of the Tarot, originally an intimate and private act, has become a mass phenomenon, peddled on the streets and commercialized to the utmost. But there is something even more disturbing; the "ethical code" requires the fortune teller to give the consultant a sincere response, whether it be positive or negative, otherwise, the Tarot would lose all their *raison d'être*, and the so-called "Higher Spiritual Powers" would take great offense (at least for those who believe in these things). But in a country where, on average, a person takes his/her own life every 40 minutes, and existential crises

56 See, for example, Kim/Yi (2002).

57 See An (1998).

58 See Pak (2004) 137: ". . . 잃어버린 (sic) 오리지날 마르세이유 타로 . . .

and the pain of living are now integrated into the social fabric, what would happen if those consultants were to receive negative card readings on top of everything else?

Here, then, through a distortion of its original meaning, the Tarot enables an experiment in mass social therapy as a kind of "Restore Hope" operation carried out on the national level. Thus, the Tarot serves as an opportunity for people to experience greater interest in beauty through "beauty Tarot cards,"[59] and that is not all. A form of "art-therapy" is explicitly proposed through Tarot cards characterized by figurative elements and symbols of the Korean cultural tradition,[60] probably with the aim of proposing a resolution of life's problems to the average Korean citizen in despair by drawing on one's own intellectual universe (we have seen something similar in the above illustrated Korean cards). In a society in which the ego of the individual is exalted for the sole purpose of making him/her an eternal consumer and the community, on the other hand, has become fluid, inconsistent, and flowing docilely from one induced need to another, a Tarot consultation (especially accompanied by a positive outcome) can serve to soot he the consultant's discomfort and defuse the aggression directed towards others and, above all, selfward.

The continued Korean insistence on associating the Tarot with psychology and psychological healing affects (and upsets) anyone who has had a minimum of familiarity with these cards. In fact, the psychoanalytic approach amounts to a historical perversion of Tarot. In compiling a list of conventional meanings (on which the late esoteric tradition had already intervened arbitrarily and heavily) that ultimately betrays the profound nature of the Tarot game as a vehicle to reach the unknown, the psychoanalytic approach has reduced the interpretation of the cards to merely a technique for discovering existential problems, behavioral complexes, or, in other words, the "soul" of those who rely on this type of divination.[61] But in fact, a

59 What we read in Im/Im (2018) 251 is even terrifying, yet eloquent, and makes the situation clear: 앞으로 뷰티 타로카드에 대한 연구 관심도를 높이고 흥미를 이끌어 내고 메이크업, 헤어, 피부, 네일아트 등 다양한 미용영역에 알맞은 타로카드의 제작을 기대한다 ("It is expected that interest and concern for beauty tarot cards may increase, and tarot cards dealing with various aesthetic fields such as makeup, hair, skin, nail art, etc. may be produced in the future accordingly"). The issue of "beauty" has already been addressed by Im (2017): "The tarot has generally been known to originate from Tora (sic)," and: "The first tarot was the Visconti Sforza Tarot created in the 15th century, but all 78 cards were lost (sic). Therefore, the Marseille tarot has been known to be the first tarot (sic)" (p. 41).

60 Ryu/Pak (2017).

61 For this reason, the psycho-analytical approach that has already been proposed by Jung (see, for example, Douglas, [1997] 923) in his ideas on Tarot cards and psycho-analysis is clearly privileged in Korea. In this regard see Yi/Chin (2020), especially pp. 116 ff., where the Tarot is seen as a

Tarot consultation is not (and should theoretically never be) a psychoanalytic session; the Tarot card reader generally does not know (and does not want to know) the exact reason for the consultation. The customer expresses a will in their mind, and the cards will then positively or negatively outline what has been thought. Obviously, Tarot sessions in a psychoanalytic key also take place in other parts of the world, but based on the available bibliography (as well as direct testimonies), it seems that in Korea this is the preferred approach. Hence, in Korean society, the Tarot cards, properly addressed and modified, function as a reassuring, consoling, relaxing and curative drug—a sort of therapeutic opium aimed at increasing hope and reducing the stress, aggression, and depression of entire social groups, especially young women. Like all drugs, however, they can be addictive. In a thought-provoking article, Yi Hyŏnch'ŏl precisely addresses this addiction to Tarot, which he connects to the Lacanian theory of desire[62] for which (to summarize), "Desire is the desire to have one's desire recognized."[63] In this case, Lacan emphasizes the value of the symbolic recognition of desire: desire is no longer the desire for an object but a desire to be recognized by the "Other" (that is to say, the counterpart), which cannot be fully expressed in words; a perverse dialectical relationship is thus forged between the fortune teller and the consultant. And finally, the fortune teller ends up telling the consultant exactly what the latter wants to hear, thus providing a false, accommodating, and consolatory response. Furthermore, it bears noting that Koreans inhabit a cultural context in which transmitting unpleasant news (deaths, illnesses, divorces, etc.) is considered a rude and shameful act. In any case, the placebo effect of the consultation remains.

In sum, the problem is complex. What is certain is that the Tarot adventure, which began in the distant past, continues and will continue until someone, akin to the legendary bird Anzu, steals the tablet of destiny from the gods.

Cards are just painted paper, but the destiny they announce comes true.

tool of Gestalt psychology. See also Chŏng (2012), where the author links the Tarot to the Enneagram of the personality in a psychoanalytic key. In both cases (Gestalt and Enneogram) these are very recent psycho-analytical theories, but the Jungian imprint in its practitioners can be easily traced.

62 Yi (2019).

63 Lacan (1966) 181.

TABLE I: THE FOOL.

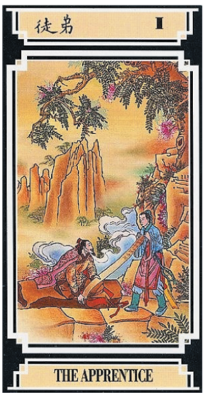
Giotto: Stultitia(ca. 1306). Padova, Cappella degli Scrovegni

Visconti-Sforza(Pierpont-Morgan)

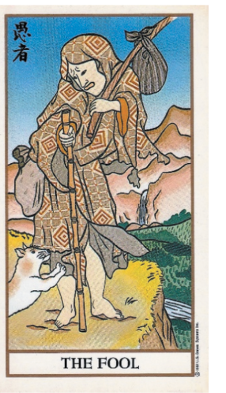
Marseille (Jean Dodal)

Rider-Waite

Beautiful Korea Tarot Cards



Chinese style Tarot



Ukiyo-e Tarot

TABLE II: THE POPESS.

Giotto:Fides (ca. 1306). Padova, Cappella degli Scrovegni. Photo José Luiz Bernardes Ribeiro CC BY-SA 4.0

Visconti-Sforza (Pierpont-Morgan)

Marseille (Jean Dodal)

Rider-Waite

Beautiful Korea Tarot Cards

Chinese style Tarot

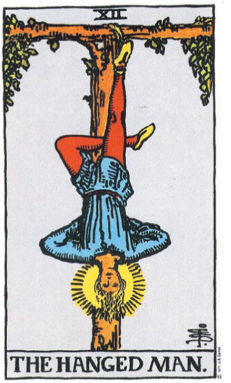
Ukiyo-e Tarot

TABLE III: THE HANGED MAN.

Giovanni da Modena: The Hell (detail. Ca. 1410). Bologna, Basilica di San Petronio

Visconti-Sforza (Pierpont-Morgan)

Marseille (Jean Dodal)



Rider-Waite

Beautiful Korea Tarot Cards

Chinese style Tarot

Ukiyo-e Tarot

TABLE IV: THE DEATH.

Anonymous: The Triumph of Death (ca. 1446). Palermo, Palazzo Abatellis

Visconti-Sforza (Visconti di Modrone)

Marseille (Jean Dodal)

Rider-Waite

Beautiful Korea Tarot Cards

Chinese style Tarot

Ukiyo-e Tarot

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