

TRANSACTIONS



ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
Korea Branch

Volume 79 – 2004

TRANSACTIONS
of the
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY - KOREA BRANCH

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COVER: The logo of the Royal Asiatic Society - Korea Branch. This seal-shaped logo consists of four Chinese characters which have been metaphorically interpreted to mean "Encourage Education in the Land of the Rose of Sharon."



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Church Growth in Korea: Perspectives on the Past and Prospects for the Future

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One of the more remarkable aspects of twentieth-century and early twenty-first century Christianity has been the rapid growth of the church in many parts of the non-western world.¹ Perhaps the most outstanding example of this growth is Korea, where it is estimated that approximately 25 percent of the population is Christian.² In this essay we shall examine this phenomenon of church growth and seek to identify the factors that have contributed to it. We shall begin by considering the question of why the church has grown in Korea but not in the other nations of northeast Asia such as China and Japan.

There are a number of answers that traditionally have been given to this question. They can be summarized under three basic categories: religious factors, socio-historical factors, and cultural factors. Each of these will be considered and critically examined. It will be shown that taken together as a whole, all of these factors have contributed to the uniqueness of the Korean situation and to the receptivity of Christianity.

In spite of the uniqueness of this overall situation, there are two events which stand out: the great revival of 1907, which stressed quantitative growth through the building up of the church, and the Independence Movement of 1919, which emphasized qualitative maturity through the strengthening of national consciousness. These events represent two vastly different yet interrelated paradigms, and the growth of the church is largely due to a paradigm shift which occurred between 1907 and 1919. This paradigm shift was from ecclesiology or concern with the institutional church, to nationalism and concern with the

task of recovering national identity. It is this paradigm shift which has enabled Christianity to become truly Korean.

An examination of Korean Christianity in its many and varied forms reveals a strong predilection toward nationalism. This is true not only in the progressive wing of the church, with its emphasis upon minjung theology and national reunification, but also of the conservatives who focus on church growth, evangelism, and international mission. It is this nationalism and the sense that Christianity is deeply intertwined with Korean history and aspirations which has contributed to the remarkable growth of the Christian church in this land.

The Question: Why Church Growth in Korea?

The growth of the church in Korea has always been problematic when one considers the state of Christianity as a whole in Northeast Asia. Nowhere, except Korea, is the percentage of Christians over 10 percent. If one considers the Nestorians, Christianity was first established in China in the year 635.³ Yet the present number of Christians is estimated at a mere 5,000,000 out of a total population of over one billion. Christianity was first introduced to Japan by Francis Xavier in 1549.⁴ Although this was over two hundred years earlier than the coming of Christianity to Korea, the number of Christians in Japan today is estimated to be around one percent.⁵ Christians in Hong Kong make up 10 percent of the population, but it must be kept in mind that Hong Kong was previously a British colony and the high percentage of Christians is directly related to this fact. In Taiwan the number of Christians is placed at four percent with a significant number of these being non-Chinese aboriginal people.

In light of these statistics one cannot help but ask the question: Why church growth in Korea? How is Korea different from China and Japan? Although Nestorian Christianity came early to China, the main missionary advances came from the West in the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, thus coinciding with the encroachment of the colonial powers. The interference of the Vatican in the Chinese Rites Controversy brought the early Catholic mission to an abrupt end, and extraterritoriality, gun-boat diplomacy, and unequal treaties spelled eventual doom for the later Protestant mission. In China, and to a lesser extent in Taiwan, Christianity

came to be identified with the negative elements of colonialism. This, coupled with an officially atheistic communist government which came to power in 1949, severely hampered the growth of the church in China.

The situation in Japan was different due to two factors, the changes brought about during the Meiji Era (1868–1912) and the transformation of the indigenous religion of Shinto. The Meiji Restoration enabled Japan to change from a feudalistic nation into a modern industrial state in just forty years. Japan was strong enough both to resist the encroachments of the western colonial powers, and perhaps more significant, to become a colonial power itself. The indigenous religion of Shinto proved to be an almost insurmountable barrier to Christianity, for Shinto was deeply embedded in the Japanese ethnic and cultural consciousness. The folk religion of the pre-Meiji period was transformed into the imperial state Shinto of the post-Meiji period. When the power of the modern military-industrial state was wedded with the cultic devotion of Shinto, the result was a strong resistance to the acceptance of Christianity.⁶

We see, therefore, that both China and Japan have proved to be unreceptive to Christianity with the consequence that the church has experienced a relatively slow rate of growth in these countries. Korea, on the other hand, underwent a process of historical development very different from either China or Japan. To begin with, the colonial power that came to dominate Korea was not from the West, but rather from the East. It was Japan which colonized Korea, so there was no association between colonialism and Christianity in the Korean mind. Furthermore, Korea had no indigenous religion comparable to Shinto. Neo-Confucianism, which had the rituals of a civil religion, was originally from China. Buddhism also came from outside the country by way of China. Shamanism was more of a loose organization of folk beliefs and practices than a highly structured religious tradition. This meant that Korea provided more fertile soil than either China or Japan in which the seeds of Christianity could grow.

Seen in this light the question: "Why church growth in Korea?" becomes much less problematic. At the same time, fertile soil is not enough; newly planted seeds must be watered, cultivated, and carefully tended if they are to mature into plants that bear fruit. If we are to fully

answer the question: "Why church growth in Korea?" we must look beyond the general historical situation and consider the answers that are traditionally given to this question.

Some Traditional Answers to the Question

Visitors to Korea frequently ask Korean Christians this very same question: "Why church growth in Korea?" The answers received often center around religious factors such as divine providence, the dedication of Korean church workers, the practice of prayer and fasting, and the frequency of revival meetings. One observer puts it this way: "There is no adequate human explanation of the fact that there are more Christians in Korea than in neighboring Japan or Taiwan The conversion of one person or one million people is the work of God's mercy and grace."⁷ For reasons known only to divine providence, Korea has been responsive to Christianity.

At the same time, many would say that the reason for the outpouring of this divine mercy and grace upon Korea is because of the dedication of Korean Christians. Not only do many parents still pray that a son or daughter will enter the service of the church, but Koreans spend a great deal of time in prayer and Bible reading and evangelization. It is quite common to see shop employees read their Bibles during free moments and to meet people passing out tracts on street corners and in bus and railway stations. Korean Christians also spend much time in prayer and fasting. Dawn prayer services are held in virtually all churches, as are Wednesday evening prayers and all-night prayer meetings on Fridays. Many Christians spend extended periods of time praying and fasting at prayer houses located in the mountains. Pastors frequently engage in a forty-day period of fasting just prior to special evangelistic campaigns or annual revival meetings. All churches and Christian institutions hold annual revival meetings where faith is renewed and new converts are brought into the church. For many, these religious factors provide a sufficient answer to the question: "Why church growth in Korea?"

It must be admitted, however, that most of these religious factors became significant after Christianity was firmly established in Korea. Indeed, much of the current emphasis upon prayer developed out of the great revival of 1907, and the annual revival meetings are an attempt to

keep alive the spiritual momentum generated by the earlier revivals.⁸ These religious factors, while of great importance, are not the cause of church growth, but rather are the fruit of seeds planted by past generations of Christians.

Probing a bit deeper we find other factors at work in the socio-historical process. To begin with, the period of rapid church growth came with the establishment of Protestant Christianity in Korea in 1884. This came only after a century of Catholic presence in Korea, much of it under conditions of severe persecution.⁹ The first Catholics to come to Korea were a Father Gregario de Cespedes and a Japanese priest named Fukan Eion, who came in 1593 to attend to the spiritual needs of Christians in the Japanese army.¹⁰ This was, of course, during the Hideyoshi invasions so that any connection whatsoever with the Japanese was totally rejected by Koreans. From the Korean perspective, therefore, this first contact was an utter failure.

Although Korea was closed to foreigners—and known as “the Hermit Kingdom”—Catholic ideas did enter Korea via China from Koreans who came into contact with the Jesuits in Peking. Eventually a church was established in 1784 but it encountered almost immediate persecution.¹¹ There was strong opposition on the part of the Neo-Confucian gentry due to the refusal of Catholics to participate in the Confucian ancestral rites. This was, of course, due to Vatican interference in the famed Rites Controversy in China. Numerous persecutions followed in which thousands were martyred, including a number of missionaries who had clandestinely entered the country.

George Lak-Geon Paik, a noted Korean historian of Christianity, offers three criticisms of the Catholic presence in Korea: (1) The laity were untutored in Scripture; (2) there was too great an emphasis placed on the ecclesiastical structure; and (3) Catholics became involved in political activities which were perceived to be traitorous to the Korean state.¹² It was the third factor which was decisive and James Huntley Grayson goes on to say that “probably the strongest criticism which may be made against the Church is that it allowed itself to become entangled with foreign powers, and thus ran afoul of strong feelings of national pride and independence.”¹³ Entanglements with both Japan and the Vatican (which was allied with European powers such as France) served to

hinder the growth of the Catholic Church.

Thus the first century of the Catholic Church in Korea was characterized by a series of persecutions in which thousands died. It is estimated that between 1801 and 1876 over 10,000 Catholics were executed because of their refusal to follow the traditional Confucian ancestral rites.¹⁴ The Church was therefore placed in a position of opposition to the royal court. Catholics were forced to live in isolated rural villages, sometimes deep in the mountains, and they were unable to found any institutions such as schools, universities, or hospitals. The Church played no official role in Korean cultural life, and in the latter years of the Chosun Dynasty when some Neo-Confucian scholars became influenced by Catholic ideas, and in several instances even became converts, these scholars were either executed or sent into exile.

At the time of the Independence Movement against the Japanese, the position of the Catholic Church was ambiguous at best. Already severely weakened by years of persecution, "the Korean Church did not take active part in the independence moment and other movements to protect national sovereignty."¹⁵ There were some lay people who participated in independence related demonstrations, but they did so as individuals. Students from the seminaries in Seoul and Taegu who participated in the March 1, 1919 Independence Movement were punished by their superiors and some were expelled, and the ordinations that were scheduled for 1919 were canceled.¹⁶ On the other hand, the well-known patriot Ahn Chung-Gun, who shot the Japanese official Ito Hirobumi at the Harbin railroad station in 1909, was an ardent Catholic. In the end, however, "the Japanese authorities ruled that the prayer at the Shinto shrine is a national ceremony, and on the basis of this rule the Holy See permitted Korean Catholics to offer prayer at the Japanese shrine."¹⁷ Thus the Catholic Church in Korea found itself in the paradoxical position of forbidding the practice of the Confucian ancestral rites, which were at the heart of Korean culture, during its first century in Korea, and allowing the practice of bowing at the Japanese Shinto shrines, which sought to suppress Korean culture, during the first half of its second century in Korea. Neither of these positions was conducive to the rapid growth of the Church. Thus in 1945 the number of Catholics in Korea was estimated to be a mere 183,606.¹⁸

The turning point for the Catholic Church in Korea came in the 1960s. During this decade the Vatican Council II was held, the Korean hierarchy was officially sanctioned, three archdioceses were formed, an emphasis was placed upon education in the Church, ecumenical relations were improved, and a joint Catholic-Protestant Korean Bible was published.¹⁹ At long last the Catholic Church in Korea had "come of age" and was now accepted as a major institution within Korean society. This in turn enabled the Church to play a leading role in the human rights movement during the 1970s and 1980s.²⁰ As a result the Church experienced rapid growth, so that by 1992 the number of Catholics was estimated to be approximately 3,000,000. Indeed, one observer points out that as of 1996 there were at least ten churches in Seoul which had over 10,000 members.²¹ Current unofficial data suggests that the Catholic Church in Korea is experiencing a sustained, steady rate of growth, and that this is due, in part, to the continued involvement of the Church in social issues such as the labor movement, farmers' organizations, and human rights.

Protestant work in Korea had its beginnings in Manchuria where missionaries John Ross and John McIntyre worked together with five Koreans (Lee Ung-Chau, Baik Hong-Joon, Kim Jin-Ki, Lee Sung-Ha, and Su Sang-Ryoon) to translate the New Testament into Korean.²² This Korean translation of the New Testament was brought into Korea and circulated prior to the coming of the missionaries and the establishment of the church in 1884. At the same time, another Korean by the name of Yi Su-Jong went to Japan on a diplomatic mission and while there became a Christian after reading the Sermon on the Mount on a scroll in a Japanese Christian's home. Yi was baptized by a Japanese pastor and then worked with Henry Looms of the American Bible Society who was stationed in Yokohama. Together they translated the four gospels into Korean. Pioneer missionaries H. G. Underwood and Henry Appenzeller brought copies of this translation when they landed in Korea in 1884.

We find, therefore, that portions of the Bible in Korean translation were in circulation, that Korean Christians had made contacts in Korea itself so that there were Protestant Christians there, and that there were communities of Korean Christians in Manchuria and to a lesser extent in Japan. Thus "the development of the church in Korea from the first

depended upon the efforts of the Koreans themselves. Before any foreign missionaries actually engaged in evangelism on Korean soil, Christianity had been brought there by local evangelists."²³

The early Protestant missionaries made it a policy to win the favor of the royal court. This was accomplished initially through medicine, and they were granted royal permission to open a hospital. Later this permission was expanded to include educational institutions. Writes one observer, "It is a simple fact . . . that the Protestant missionary movement never received any official opposition from the Korean central government."²⁴

One of the reasons for this openness to Protestant Christianity was the desire for modernization. At the time that Protestant Christianity entered Korea the old order was passing.²⁵ The Neo-Confucian gentry were in disarray due to corruption, factionalism, and an inability to come to terms with change. Buddhism was in decline and had largely withdrawn from the affairs of society. Shamanism had never developed a social conscience and was primarily centered on personal concerns.

There was a vacuum in Korean society and Protestant Christianity came at just the right time to fill it. This was truly a time of *kairos* for Christianity in Korea. The title of pioneer missionary Horace G. Underwood's book *The Call of Korea: Political—Social—Religious*, underscores the breadth of the early missionary efforts in Korea.²⁶ Medical work included the introduction of vaccination for smallpox, the establishment of a hospital for contagious and infectious diseases in Seoul, and the dedicated service of missionaries in treating victims of a cholera epidemic and the victims of the Battle of Pyongyang in 1894. Educational work included Bible study groups, church-related schools and Sunday schools, primary schools and academies, theological seminaries, and colleges and universities. Coupled with this was an emphasis upon literacy making use of the Korean hangul phonetic alphabet rather than the difficult Chinese characters. At first this was resisted by the Neo-Confucian gentry, who complained that "even women could learn to read," but over time it resulted in hangul being accepted by society at large. Today Korea has one of highest literacy rates in the world due to the acceptance and use of hangul.

Protestant educational work was particularly strong among women.

Women were taught to read and write and this in turn enabled them to make fuller use of their abilities and unique gifts. Ewha Woman's University, the largest women's university in the world, had its beginnings in this early educational work among women. Out of this came the "Bible women"—women who dedicated their lives to evangelism and social service throughout Korea. Although constrained by conservative theology and Neo-Confucian social custom, both of which were patriarchal, this educational work among Korean women raised their status and made a significant impact upon society at large.

Still another historical factor in the growth of the church was the adoption of the Nevius principles. Dr. John Nevius was a Presbyterian missionary in China who over a period of five years published a series of articles and two small books which set out a number of principles for effective missionary work. In 1890 he came to Korea at the invitation of a number of missionaries and presented his principles. The Nevius principles have been summarized as self-support, self-government, and self-propagation, but in reality were considerably more complex than that.²⁷ Also included was an emphasis upon Bible classes, the training of national church workers, and development of a program of lay training in evangelism. Of particular significance was the emphasis upon missionary itineration where "the missionary was to itinerate widely, with a Korean helper, but avoided accepting pastorates of Korean churches."²⁸ This was in marked contrast to the Catholic mission, where foreign priests often served local congregations. It is significant that the Presbyterian Church of Korea was organized and ordained its first pastors just twenty-three years after the arrival of the first missionary in 1884. This was due in part to the adoption of the Nevius principles.²⁹

In addition to these socio-historical factors, there were also cultural factors that contributed to the growth of the Korean church. The first of these was a sympathetic relationship between the Neo-Confucianism of Korean society and the theological conservatism of the early missionaries. This sympathetic relationship was so pronounced that James Huntley Grayson asserts that "in the altered political conditions of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Korean Confucianism became an ally rather than an enemy of Protestant Christianity."³⁰

Neo-Confucianism was the official ideology of the Yi Dynasty

(1392–1910). The philosophy of Chu Hsi became the established orthodoxy of Korean social and political thought from which no deviation was allowed. “Neo-Confucian ethics was becoming the basis of political principles, gradually but so firmly that the people’s thinking was fixed in a rigid Neo-Confucianism in short time. This brought about the narrow-mindedness which we find in the institutions and culture of the dynasty.”³¹ As the legal scholar Hahm Pyong-Choon puts it, Yi Dynasty intellectuals had a “predilection for ideological orthodoxy.”³²

This ideological orthodoxy was reinforced through the educational system which was under the firm control of the Neo-Confucianists. The only texts used were the Confucian classics which were committed to memory by the students. These in turn formed the basis for the examination system by which men were prepared and approved for positions in the state bureaucracy. It was believed that right knowledge led to the development of virtue which in turn brought about right action.

The early Protestant missionaries to Korea were men and women of Puritanical zeal and Wesleyian fervor whose theology would be described today as fundamentalist. Like the Neo-Confucianist gentry, they too were strictly orthodox, resistant to new theological ideas, and used only one text—the Bible—as the basis for their thought.³³ Writing in 1934, Presbyterian missionary Samuel A. Moffett made the following observation concerning the new theological ideas that were beginning to find their way into the Korean church:

Today in the Church we occasionally hear that the Church will have to make a change; that it must become up-to-date; that if the Gospel is preached in the old way, people won’t like it; that in a new day, the old-fashioned Gospel does not fit. We would be wise to preach a new Gospel in the new day—so we are told Today some modernists criticize me as being too conservative. But the old Gospel brought salvation, while the new does not. When we preached the old Gospel that Paul preached, there were great results There are those who go about talking of a new theology, a new Gospel, today, but let us beware of them. Even though the Korean missionaries all die or leave the country, let the brethren of the Korean church continue to preach the same Gospel as forty years ago³⁴

Needless to say, this theological conservatism of the early missionaries

was similar to the cultural conservatism of the Neo-Confucian gentry.

The result was that Neo-Confucianism and theological conservatism interacted with each other in a number of ways. Both were patriarchal and denied leadership positions to women. Both emphasized authoritative texts and rote memorization based upon the texts. Both believed that this would bring about the attainment of virtue. While the Neo-Confucians looked upon Chu Hsi as their teacher, the early missionaries looked back to the preaching of Paul. While the Neo-Confucianists attempted to shut out foreign influences, the missionaries tried to keep out higher criticism and the new theology.

It is significant that a number of the early converts and leaders in the church were sons of Neo-Confucian scholars and had studied the Chinese classics. Among these were Yi Sang-Chai (1850–1927), Yi Seung-Hoon (1864–1930), and Kil Sun-Choo (1869–1935). Kil Sun-Choo, for example, had studied the Chinese classics, and following his conversion to Christianity studied the Bible with the same degree of intensity and dedication. He became one of the most effective Bible teachers in Korea, and while in prison for his part in the March 1, 1919 Independence Movement, memorized the entire book of Revelation.³⁵

A second cultural factor that influenced the growth of the church is shamanism. The Neo-Confucian gentry and the early missionaries both strongly rejected shamanism as heterodox. Yet shamanism is a fact of Korean religious life which basically involves a belief in the spirit world and in certain people, spirit mediums, who are able to contact these spirits and communicate with them. Korean shamans serve as exorcists, fortune tellers, healers, and givers of advice. Because the shamans go into an ecstatic trance-like state in order to establish contact with the spirit world, there is a great deal of emotional activity involved. In Korea shamans are usually, although not always, female.³⁶

The significance of shamanism for church growth is twofold. To begin with, a number of practices with their origins in shamanism have carried over into Christian faith and practice. These include all night prayer meetings; the establishment of prayer retreat houses in the mountains; the belief in and practice of exorcism in cases of emotional, mental, and severe physical illness; and the expression of intense emotional states while praying. In addition, there is the commonly held belief that

one receives spiritual and material blessings in direct proportion to one's financial giving. It has been frequently observed that the shaman's advice to a client improves as the amount of money given is increased. This same idea has been carried over into the churches.

More important for the growth of the church, however, has been the relationship between shamanism and the role of women, both in society and in the church. Traditionally, women were excluded from Neo-Confucian ancestral rites. Indeed, for the most part Neo-Confucianism was centered upon the males, and women had very little direct control over their lives. It was through shamanism that women had their emotional and religious needs met, and it was through shamanistic ritual that they carved out a niche for themselves in society where they could have some degree of control over their own lives. When Protestant Christianity was introduced into Korea it made a place in the church for women, but the leadership positions and the power remained firmly in male hands. The women thus transferred their shamanistic practices into the church to ensure themselves a position in this new structure. Youngsook Kim Harvey explains how this took place, especially in the revival of 1907 in which many of the participants were women:

To individuals with little control over their lives, shamanism offered avenues for direct negotiations with the supernatural. This mode of religious behavior proved an advantage to the missionaries. Stylistically, it predisposed the Koreans to Pentecostal, fundamentalist Protestant Christianity, and the Christian concept of the Holy Ghost was compatible with the shamanistic concept of spirit possession. There were other parallels. Shamans and their followers believed in the exorcism of spirits and Christians accepted Jesus' capacity to exorcise evil spirits; both healed through prayer. The concept of *hananim*, by which Koreans represent the embodiment of supernatural power, was adopted by the Protestant missionaries as suitable for expressing their idea of God.³⁷

Although the early missionaries and the churches officially rejected shamanism and denied its influence, ethnographic research suggests that the influence was both profound and widespread.³⁸

We find, therefore, that even as Neo-Confucianism and shamanism were contradictory yet complimentary in Korean cultural life, they retained

this same uneasy but necessary relationship in the Christian church.

There is one other cultural factor that deserves mention, and that is that the Koreans are one people ethnically, linguistically, and culturally. In recent years there has been a shift in emphasis among church growth theorists from countries or nations to what are commonly called people groups. People groups are often identified by their ethnicity, language, or culture. Many countries are made up of numerous such people groups, some highly resistant to the introduction of Christianity and others which show a high degree of receptivity. Studies have shown that mass revivals and mass conversions to Christianity almost always take place in a specific people group that shares a common language, culture, and ethnic identity. Korea is unique in that it is highly homogeneous, and there is no doubt that this has been a contributing factor to successful church growth, for the entire nation was, and is, a clearly identifiable people group.

The religious, socio-historical, and cultural factors outlined above all contributed to the growth of the church in Korea. Taken together they formed a unique combination that served to greatly enhance the growth of the church. Taken separately or in various combinations, however, these same factors can be found elsewhere either in people groups within one or more nations or within given nations as a whole.³⁹

Although the question: "Why church growth in Korea?" becomes less problematic, these religious, socio-historical, and cultural factors do not provide a completely satisfactory answer. While these traditional answers provide pieces in solving the puzzle, the final solution remains elusive.

Two Paradigms for Korean Church Growth

One of the highlights of the church in Korea, and an event to which constant reference is made, is the great revival of 1907. In fact the revival began in 1903 and slowly spread across the country. The climax came, however, early in 1907 in the city of Pyongyang when the men's Bible class met for two weeks. This particular class had an average attendance of between eight hundred and a thousand. When the revival came the results were as astounding as they were unexpected. Hundreds confessed their sins, wept openly, engaged in fervent prayer, and asked God for forgiveness and renewal.⁴⁰ Like wildfire the revival spread and

increased in intensity until all of Korea was affected. Even the missionaries became involved.⁴¹ Before it was over thousands experienced an intensity of religious emotion that had previously seemed impossible.

The revival of 1907 did not happen in a vacuum; Korea was the arena for the Russo-Japanese War. As the victor in that war, Japan annexed Korea, and the Korean people were aware for the first time that Japan had no intention of withdrawal. Korea was stripped of her dignity as an independent nation and humiliated by being at the mercy of foreign powers. Thus "it should come as no surprise that during this time of national crisis the church experienced a revival which led to a massive movement for indigenous evangelization."⁴² This revival movement was also an expression of national catharsis whereby the feelings of hatred toward the Japanese were transferred to others and confessed, thus releasing pent up feelings and emotions. Martha Huntley, a missionary journalist, writes at length concerning this, and her comments and citations bear repeating:

It has been widely acknowledged that the Great Revival was a spiritual renewal of Christian believers rather than a movement to convert non-Christians. But beyond its influence on the church, the revival had a national impact which was made manifest later, during the Independence Movement of 1919. Canadian missionary William Scott recognized the national implications of the revival when he wrote, "Scenes similar to those that accompanied the revival in Pyongyang were witnessed in churches everywhere. It is probable that much of the agony of confession came not only from a sense of individual unworthiness but from a deep seated conviction that every Korean bore a responsibility for the tragedy that had befallen the nation. The practice of prayer in unison, though causing a babel of sound, was a means of expressing corporate guilt as well as an opportunity for sensitive souls to pour out pent up emotions which national pride and personal reticence would otherwise keep bottled up within. The utter helplessness of the nation and the individual made it easy to throw oneself unreservedly upon a God whose supreme revelation came in the bearing of a cross for the sins of all God broke through the disillusionment and despair of countless Korean individuals and led their minds from the uncertainties of human institutions to the eternal stabilities."⁴³

The revival of 1907 was, therefore, a kind of collective national catharsis during a period of national crisis.

Just prior to the revival there was an outbreak of anti-Americanism in Korea due to the recognition on the part of the United States of Japanese control over Korea. The missionaries strongly resisted any involvement in politics and counseled the Koreans to be submissive, forgiving, and focus on personal repentance rather than revenge.⁴⁴ One missionary, speaking in 1908, said: "We have assured the people that their duty was to obey the Japanese and to do so with a 'sweet mind' and not to work for independence, and we have in no way tried to discredit or hamper them in their reforms. I have spent hours explaining to church officers and teaching men advantages of Japanese rule, and I cannot think of one who has been kept from it."⁴⁵ Another missionary, Donald Allen Clark, explained his position in these words: "The church is a spiritual organization and as such is not concerned with politics either for or against the present or any other government. Literally hundreds of times in the past we have stood by when our people have been suffering persecution and we have refused to speak one word to any magistrate that might free them."⁴⁶ It was the firm conviction of the majority of the missionaries that the affairs of the church took priority over the destiny of the nation.

The events following the revival were highly significant for the Korean church. These included the Million Souls Movement evangelistic campaign which was only partially successful, and a movement toward unity among the foreign mission boards which was a complete failure. However, the successes far outweighed the failures. Korea was divided into regions where each foreign mission would work, thus eliminating needless duplication of effort and competition. In September of 1907 the Presbyterian Church of Korea became fully independent. There was also a renewed development of Methodist work. In addition the complete translation of the Bible was published in 1910. From 1907 until 1910 there was a steady growth of the church as well as a developing missionary movement. Missionaries were sent to the island of Cheju and to Korean communities in Manchuria, Vladivostok, and Shantung Province in China. Allen Clark writes that "these were thrilling and important years in the development of the Korean church. . . . The Korean church was benefited because, in a time of political crisis, it was engaged in an

absorbing campaign which, amid the defeated temporal, raised aloft the spiritual and eternal."⁴⁷

In the great revival of 1907 and in the events immediately following we can see the ecclesiastical emphasis of the missionaries. Their concern was to build up the church through evangelism. All of the "successes" were church oriented. Even the educational institutions, which became centers of resistance to Japanese rule, were primarily oriented toward evangelism. In the words of James E. Fisher: "We may say, therefore, that the primary aim of mission education in Korea is to bring as many as possible of those who come under the influence of this education to a full acceptance of the Christian religion as the true and completely adequate guide for human life."⁴⁸

Harold Hong asserts that there has always been a "heavy shadow of ecclesiasticism" among Korean Christians. He writes that "Everything has been Church-centered. By the word 'Church' I mean the 'ecclesia,' the called-out Church, the literal Noah's Ark. The loyalty to the institutional Church has been tremendous."⁴⁹ Similar thoughts are echoed by Kim Chai-Choon: "The Church was understood as something like a 'Noah's Ark,' saving men from the world. Thus the outlook of churchmen tended to become extremely other-worldly, with a strong legalistic and mystical bias. The evangelical message was simplified to something like: 'Come to church; believe in Jesus; and go to heaven'."⁵⁰ Kim goes on to point out that "This kind of approach, to a certain extent, brought satisfaction to the Korean people, during the colonial period, since they had little opportunity to participate in their national or cultural life. But from the independence movement of 1919 the foundations of such time of the fundamentalism began to be shaken . . ."⁵¹

"The March First 1919 Independence Movement was a pivotal event in modern Korean history," wrote Donald N. Clark in his 1986 study *Christianity in Modern Korea*.⁵² Although the movement failed to gain the immediate independence of Korea from Japan, it signaled the beginning of a renewed sense of nationalism among the Korean people. On March 1, 1919 a group of thirty-three Korean religious, cultural, intellectual, and political leaders met at a restaurant in downtown Seoul and affixed their signatures to a document proclaiming independence from Japanese rule. Fifteen or sixteen of those signing were Christians, fifteen

were members of Ch'ondo-gyo, an indigenous religion growing out of the Tongkak Rebellion of the 1890s, and two or three were Buddhists.⁵³ At the same time thousands of ordinary citizens and students staged a rally at Pagoda Park in Seoul and then marched through the streets shouting, "Long Live Korea!" Similar rallies and street demonstrations were held in every major Korean city and even in many small towns and villages. The Korean flag, which was forbidden by the Japanese, was displayed by young and old all across the land.⁵⁴ Needless to say, the Japanese—and the foreign missionaries—were taken completely by surprise.

This Independence Movement was planned and executed in complete secrecy. Furthermore, it was totally non-violent. Most significant, though, was that the Independence Movement of 1919 was carried out by the Koreans themselves. There was no foreign encouragement or support. This was truly a nationalistic movement. The Japanese response was both swift and brutal. In the aftermath of the movement 7,509 Koreans were killed, 15,961 were wounded, and 46,948 were arrested. In addition 715 houses and 47 churches were destroyed.⁵⁵

Although 37,000 of those arrested were acquitted, over 9,400 were given prison sentences and of those 2,033 were Protestants with 1,461 being Presbyterians, 475 being Methodists, and the others being Salvation Army and smaller denominations. Indeed, the list of those arrested reads like a "who's who" of the Korean church.⁵⁶ It was obvious that from the Korean point of view the church was no longer a Noah's Ark! It was equally obvious to the Japanese that Protestant Christians were not only deeply involved in the Independence Movement; they were among the leaders and instigators of the movement.

The Independence Movement of 1919 did not develop in a vacuum, for there were at least nine independence groups in operation between 1905 and 1915.⁵⁷ Many of these groups attracted young Christians and frequently held their meetings in churches and church-related schools.⁵⁸ In addition there was the famed Conspiracy Case of 1911 in the southern port city of Sunchon in which 123 Christians, most of whom were associated with a Presbyterian Bible school, were accused of plotting to assassinate the Japanese governor-general. At the trial they retracted their confessions, claiming they were tortured, and most were later

acquitted. It was obvious that the trial was a bungled attempt to neutralize the political witness of the church.

Although the Independence Movement of 1919 was non-violent, it was followed by at least thirteen violent incidents between September 1919 and December 1926.⁵⁹ These included bombings, hijackings, attacks on police stations, and assassinations, some successful and others unsuccessful. As a whole, however, "the movement was aimed more at expressing the nation's basic self-realization than at resorting to armed revolt."⁶⁰

Christian resistance flared up again in the 1930s and 1940s when Koreans were required to bow at the Shinto shrines.⁶¹ This became a crucial issue in the church-related schools and many were closed as a result. Korean Christians were far from united in dealing with this issue. There were those who accepted the Japanese argument that the Shinto shrines were non-religious. Under duress from Japanese police, the 1938 general assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Korea voted to counsel their members to accede to the Japanese position. There were many, however, who strongly resisted and refused under any circumstances to compromise their faith. One of these was the Rev. Chu Ki-Ch'ol who died in prison. Rev. Chu was a theological conservative of the "old school" who remained aloof from involvement in politics. Yet his conservative, even fundamentalist, faith resulted in a radical political act.⁶² "It was a resistance against the absolutist and totalitarian power in the strongest terms of faith."⁶³

How shall we understand these two very different events, the revival of 1907 and the Independence Movement of 1919? And furthermore, how did the Independence Movement of 1919 influence the growth of the church? One way of understanding these two events is to think of them in terms of paradigms. There are two aspects to a paradigm, the sociological and the epistemological.

In the first case, a paradigm may therefore be defined as the total body of theories, philosophical premises, and values enshrining the area and procedures of a certain scientific group in normal research. In the second case a paradigm may be seen more specifically as the source of a certain methodology recognized by a group, as that which defines the area of problems for scientific activity and provides the criteria by

which solutions may be found. In both cases, however, the term paradigm denotes a recognized scientific vision—a vision, for example, inculcated in students in the course of their studies and often reinforced later in their professional practice.⁶⁴

When one paradigm begins to falter and is threatened by a competing paradigm, “that model is invariably reduced to clearly formulated rules and laws; and at the same time strong claims are made, with firm conviction, for the reliable authority of the recognized paradigm.”⁶⁵

When a paradigm change occurs, it is much like a religious conversion. There is not only a change in one’s theoretical and problem-solving outlook; there is “also a shift in what are seen as truly relevant problems.”⁶⁶ Furthermore, divergent paradigms cannot be integrated. After a period of struggle the old paradigm is usually replaced by a new one. Significantly, “paradigm choices are . . . founded more on the promise a paradigm holds for the future than on the results already achieved through it.”⁶⁷

In the revival of 1907 we see the ecclesiastical paradigm of the missionaries at work. The major concern is for the strengthening of the institutional church through the spiritual renewal of its members and the gaining of new converts through the evangelization of Korea. Everything is directed toward the fulfillment of these two goals. When this paradigm begins to falter we find missionaries exhorting the brethren to preach the same gospel that was preached forty years ago.

In the Independence Movement of 1919 we see a new paradigm of nationalism at work. This paradigm is championed by the Korean Christians themselves. They speak a different language, seek to solve different problems, and boldly look toward the future. Kim Yong-Bock summarizes this paradigm of nationalism in the following words:

The March First Independence Movement was an axial historical movement in the sense that the movement gave the people of Korea a new language, a new historical language; with this new language came the power of new historical perception and new historical imagination. Messianic in character, utopian, and futuristic, this is the language of historical transformation, more than the language of political revolution—ideology; it was more than purely religious language. Certainly it was not the language of the Confucian

orthodoxy, nor is it the language of the Western missionaries. The language belongs to the people of Korea and to history of the people under oppression.⁶⁸

While the missionaries were busy with the Million Souls Movement, the Koreans were planning the Independence Movement. One paradigm sought to build upon the successes of the past; the other to construct a new future.

Korean Church Growth—A New Paradigm?

From the perspective of church growth both paradigms were necessary, but it was the paradigm of nationalism that was decisive in the case of Korea. The reason for this is that “Christianity could be identified with national feelings involving a continuity with tradition.”⁶⁹ The strong Christian involvement in the Independence Movement of 1919 meant that the church was fully involved in Korean history.

The missionaries “struggled with the business of being in but not of the world Just as the missionaries struggled with the problem of being in but not of the world, they were in the position of being in but not of Korea.”⁷⁰ Had the ecclesiastical paradigm prevailed, in all likelihood the church too would have been in but not of Korea. Certainly the church would have survived and perhaps even experienced a degree of numerical growth. But it would have remained a foreign church, a church that had not really participated in the historical struggle of the Korean people. It would have been a church outside the cultural mainstream, without deep Korean roots.

Two of the churches that are often the subject of church growth studies are the Yong-nak Presbyterian Church with over 55,000 members and the Yoido Full Gospel Church with over 700,000 members. One is a mainstream evangelical church, the other a charismatic Pentecostal church. According to Donald Clark, nationalism has played a significant role in the growth of both churches. He writes:

If, as it is sometimes proposed, the cause of Korea’s present malaise is not the North Korean threat or the ordeal of modernization but the discrediting of the old Confucian wellsprings of value, then churches such as Yongnak—and there are many, both Catholic and Protestant—may be succeeding because they offer an alternative

tradition that seems to the church members themselves to belong to them, with roots in their own history. This seems like a paradox in a church so heavily influenced by foreign missionaries at various stages. The explanation lies in the fact that missionaries never could become Koreans and, as foreigners and with few exceptions, have never been able fully to share in the experiences of their Korean co-workers.⁷¹

With reference to the Yoido Full Gospel Church, Clark writes: "Much of the praying focuses on daily problems, and daily problems invariably involve money. It also involves praying for security from a North Korean attack and for preservation of the South Korean state. There is a patriotic fervor and an emphasis on Korea as Asia's first Christian nation, God's chosen people and instrument. The power of positive thinking, mixing religion and patriotism, has reached Korea and has found a following."⁷²

In one instance there is an identification made between the Christian church and Korean history. In the other instance there is an identification made between the biblical motif of being God's chosen people and the Korean nation. Here are two, albeit vastly different, expressions of the paradigm of nationalism in the Korean church.

In a 1969 "Postscriptum" to his work *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, Thomas S. Kuhn modified his definition of paradigm as follows: "A paradigm is not a theory or a leading idea. It is an entire constellation of beliefs, values, techniques and so on shared by the members of a given community."⁷³ In applying Kuhn's modified definition of paradigm to theology, Hans Kung writes: "In other words, several theologies are possible with a single paradigm."⁷⁴

Lee Jung-Young points out that one of the central theological ideas that has captured the minds of the Korean people "is that Korea is the center of spiritual renewal and that Koreans will be the instruments through which the world will be saved...."⁷⁵ The rapid growth of the Korean church has tended to strengthen this nationalistic belief and it has been further enhanced by the historical connection made between Israel and Korea as God's chosen peoples. Many of the efforts made in church growth, evangelism, and international mission operate on this premise. The emphasis is on what Koreans are doing and how the church will be God's primary instrument for evangelism and mission in the future.

At the other end of the theological spectrum there is minjung theology and those who are deeply involved in the struggles for peace and justice on the Korean peninsula. National reunification is a major priority and a conscious attempt is made to show the continuity between previous struggles such as Tonghak Rebellion and the Independence Movement of 1919 and the struggles of the present day.⁷⁶

In the Korean church both the conservative and progressive sectors have used the language of the paradigm of nationalism. The Christian church is intertwined with the destiny of the Korean nation and the two cannot be separated. It is this paradigm exemplified in the Independence Movement of 1919 that has made the growth of the Korean church possible, for both conservatives and progressives proudly proclaim that they are *Korean* Christians. Unlike so many other countries of Asia and the world, Koreans need not reject their culture and history upon converting to Christianity. The church in Korea has been baptized in the fire of persecution and struggle, not because it was opposed to Korean culture and tradition, but rather because it sought to preserve Korean culture and champion the aspirations of the Korean people in the face of oppression.

But what of the future? The 1960s and 1970s marked the high point of church growth in Korea.⁷⁷ It was during this period that such mega-churches as the Yoido Full Gospel Church, the Young Nak Presbyterian Church, the Kwanglim Methodist Church, and the Sung Rak Baptist Church experienced unprecedented growth.⁷⁸ Korean Christians believed that theirs' was a unique situation, and from a historical perspective they were correct. By the late 1980s and early 1990s, however, there were signs that church growth was slowing, and indeed, some church officials even spoke of a slight decrease in church growth, or at least a plateau in the growth rate. Accurate statistics were hard to come by, but anecdotal evidence and the undercurrent of conversation at various church meetings suggested that the "boom days" were coming to an end.⁷⁹

At the same time, the 1980s and 1990s saw several events that quite literally shocked the churches to the core. First, there were a number of heterodox groups which came into being and which drew considerable membership from the established churches. In the late 1980s the nation was shocked one Sunday morning by the news that police had raided the

compound of one such group, the Evangelical Baptists (which were neither evangelical nor Baptist). The bodies of fourteen defecting members were found above the ceiling in the main building and over the next several weeks more bodies were found buried at various remote locations in the country. In 1992 another group called the Tami Mission claimed that Jesus was going to return on October 28. Members quit their jobs, sold their homes, deserted the military, and dropped out of school. When Jesus did not return as scheduled, the founder of the group was arrested, and it was discovered that most of the profits from homes that were sold had been placed in time deposits in a number of banks. The churches realized that quantity was not enough; they also had to focus on quality.

Not only were there lapses in theological doctrine; there were lapses in moral and ethical behavior as well. In June of 1984, when currency controls were still in place in Korea, the pastor of one of the largest churches in Seoul was caught attempting to smuggle \$200,000 through Kimpo Airport. In June of 1995 the Sampoong Department Store collapsed with the loss of over 500 lives. The owner of the store, who had paid numerous bribes for faulty construction work and building permits, and who refused to close the store after safety engineers warned of a possible collapse, was none other than a leading elder in one of Seoul's well-known mega-churches. Again the churches were forced to face the reality that quantity in numbers did not guarantee quality behavior.

As a result there was a strong focus upon religious education that included both doctrine and ethical teachings. Most Protestant churches developed new curriculum materials for use in the churches, and theological schools began offering undergraduate majors as well as graduate degrees in religious education. Religious education was understood to be not only for young children, but for youth and adults as well. The churches began to make a low key but significant shift in their emphasis from quantity of members to the quality of the theological beliefs and the ethical practices of those who were already members of the church. Although many were loath to admit it, it was also becoming increasingly obvious that the uniqueness of the Korean situation in the past was no guarantee against the universal and globalized trends of the future.

Two events served to illustrate this in a dramatic way. The first was the formation of the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 1995, and the

second the collapse of the Korean economy and bailout by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in 1997. Both of these events placed Korea firmly within the general world order, and the churches were forced to face, for perhaps the first time, that Korea and Koreans were not all that unique after all. As a result Korean society is now facing the same problems faced by industrialized nations throughout the world: economic restructuring, corporate downsizing, unemployment, family breakdown, juvenile delinquency, a rising crime rate including an increase in violent crime, changes in sexual ethics, the use of illicit drugs, an increase in the rate of suicides, and an aging population. The divorce rate in Korea, for example, has risen from 11 percent in 1990 to a staggering 47 percent in 2002, a rate of divorce which is higher than the United Kingdom, Denmark, or Hungary.⁸⁰ Furthermore, Koreans are now constructing nursing homes for the elderly, something that was unthinkable twenty years ago.⁸¹

Is the Korean church beginning a paradigm shift in terms of church growth? Evidence suggests that the answer is affirmative and the new paradigm is focused primarily upon quality of life. What began as an emphasis upon quality in theological doctrine and ethical practice has now been enlarged to include a concern for the stresses and strains of modernization. At a number of church-related universities, such as Hanil University and Presbyterian Theological Seminary in Jeonbuk Province (where the writer is a member of the faculty), there are now more students studying social welfare and social work than there are studying theology.⁸² An increasing number of pastors who have been out in the parish for five to ten years are now returning for graduate degrees, not in theology as was common in the past, but in social welfare and social work. Increasingly the topic of conversation among the students is not evangelization and church growth, but how to counsel the divorced, how to provide activities for the aged, and how to provide economic aid to the unemployed. Another frequent topic is corruption and power politics, not only in society in general, but within the churches themselves.

Writing in 1986, Donald Clark suggested that one of the reasons for the growth of the Korean church was that it provided an alternative to old Confucian social values.⁸³ It was an alternative that took root in Korean society in a way that was unique in all of Asia. It was also,

however, an alternative that came into Korea hand in hand with the process of modernization, as Donald Baker has pointed out so well.⁸⁴ As the Korean church enters the third millennium it is now having to deal with the sometimes bitter fruits of the modernization process, and is discovering much to its dismay that these bitter fruits are just as globalized as the California oranges and British Columbia apples that are flooding the Korean market. Baker was quite correct when he wrote that "Korea's turbulent history over the last century has forged a link between modernization and Christianity which has forever altered religion in what was once the Land of the Morning Calm."⁸⁵ It would appear that now it is the turn of modernization to alter Korean Christianity from a religion focused on nationalism and church growth, to a religion focused on living a quality life of faith and practice in an increasingly globalized world.

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3. Lee Shiu-Keung, *The Cross and the Lotus* (Hong Kong: Christian Study Centre on Chinese Religion and Culture, 1971), 2.
4. Richard Drummond, *A History of Christianity in Japan* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1971), 36. See also James M. Phillips, *From the Rising of the Sun: Christians and Society in Contemporary Japan* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1981).
5. Mark R. Mullins, *Christianity Made in Japan: A Study of Indigenous Movements* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1998), 156.
6. See Helen Hardacre, *Shinto and the State* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990).

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10. Kim Duk-Whang, *A History of Religions in Korea* (Seoul: Daeji Moonhwa-sa, 1988), 272.
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12. Cited by James Huntley Grayson, *Early Buddhism and Christianity in Korea: A Study in the Emplantation of Religion* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1985), 83. Paik was writing from a Protestant perspective.
13. *Ibid.*, 83.
14. Choi, "The Catholic Church in Korea," in *The Catholic Church in Korea*, 6.
15. Choi Suk-Woo, "Korean Catholicism Yesterday and Today," in *The Founding of Catholic Tradition in Korea*, ed. Yu Chai-Shin (Mississauga, Ont.: Korea and Related Studies Press, 1996), 153.
16. *Ibid.*
17. *Ibid.*, 154.
18. O Kyong-Hwan, "Korean Catholicism Since 1945," in *The Founding of Catholic Tradition in Korea*, 163.
19. Choi, "Catholic Church," 9–10.
20. O, "Korean Catholicism," 164–166.
21. *Ibid.*, 175. Although Catholics do not have any mega-churches as Protestants do, they are not averse to proudly citing the numbers of unusually large congregations. Because of the parish structure of Catholic churches, it is highly unlikely that Catholics will ever have anything like a mega-church with tens of thousands of members.
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 27. For a fuller exposition of the Nevius Principles see Charles Allen Clark, *The Korean Church and the Nevius Methods* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1930), especially pp. 16-35. It is interesting to note the Nevius Principles were applied in China by the post-1949 Communist government following the expulsion of all Christian missionaries and have been institutionalized in the Protestant Three Self Movement.
 28. Samuel Hugh Moffett, *The Christians of Korea* (New York: Friendship Press, 1962), 60.
 29. Not all Koreans are positive in their evaluation of the Nevius Principles. See Chun Sung-Chun, *Schism and Unity in the Protestant Churches of*

- Korea (Seoul: Christian Literature Society of Korea, 1970), 90–93 where he criticizes the Nevius Principles for being both theologically conservative and ecclesiastically patriarchal.
30. Grayson, *Buddhism and Christianity*, 139.
 31. Hong Yi-Sup, *Korea's Self-Identity* (Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 1973), 22.
 32. Hahm Pyong-Choon, *The Korean Political Tradition and Law: Essays in Korean Law and Legal History*, second edition (Seoul: Royal Asiatic Society/ Hollym International Corp., 1971), 84.
 33. These early missionaries were men and women of their time and should be evaluated accordingly. Chung Sung-Chun points out that most of the Presbyterian missionaries were from the more conservative wing of the church and were influenced by the Old Side/New Side schism of 1741–1758 and the Old School/New School schism of 1837–1869. Needless to say, the conservatives were represented by the “old” in both of these schisms. The latter of these schisms was resolved during the lifetimes of the earliest of the Presbyterian missionaries to Korea.
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 36. See Youngsook Kim Harvey, *Six Korean Women: The Socialization of Shamans* (St. Paul, MN: West Publishing, 1979) for a series of accounts of how women become shamans. See also Laurel Kendall, *The Life and Hard Times of a Korean Shaman: On Tales and the Telling of Tales* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1988) and Hyun-key Kim Hogarth, *Kut: Happiness Through Reciprocity* (Budapest: Akademiai Kiado, 1998).
 37. Youngsook Kim Harvey, “The Korean Shaman and the Deaconess: Sisters in Different Guises” in *Religion and Ritual in Korean Society*, ed. Laurel Kendall and Griffin Dix (Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California: 1987), 152. Harvey shows the parallels between shamanistic rituals and the women’s prayer meetings and between shamans and deaconesses. She points out how both survive by offering solace in times of severe stress and by not challenging the established social order (p. 167). She also poses the intriguing question: “One wonders if the Christian prayer meeting and the shamanistic ritual are but different expressions of the same needs.” (p. 150)
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41. One missionary was forced to leave Korea when a Korean woman publicly confessed to having had an illicit relationship with him.
42. Grayson, *Buddhism and Christianity*, 139.
43. Huntley, *To Start a Work*, 420. See also William Scott, "Canadians in Korea: Brief Historical Sketches of Mission Work in Korea" (unpublished manuscript, 1975), 57.
44. Blair and Hunt, 63–65. According to Paik, *History of Protestant Missions*, 414, "What was the attitude of the missionaries toward the Japanese and Koreans? As far as we can discover in the private letters of the missionaries, a large number favored and cooperated with the Japanese and made one effort to quiet the restlessness of the churches." There were, however, exceptions among the missionaries, who, in varying degrees, supported the Koreans in their struggle for independence. See Kim, *A History of Religions in Korea*, 381 and Samuel H. Moffett, "Protestantism: Its Influence on Modernization in Korea," in Yi, *Modern Transformation of Korea*, 200–201. Both Kim and Moffett list those missionaries who supported the Korean cause. Homer B. Hulbert, a Methodist missionary, served as a royal emissary to Washington in 1905–1906 and to The Hague Peace Conference in 1906–1907 where he presented the Korean position. Both of these missions were unsuccessful. Although forced to leave Korea by the Japanese, his book *The Passing of Korea*, published in 1906, served as an eloquent statement of Korean independence. Hulbert died in 1949 at age 86 during a visit to Korea and is buried in the Seoul Foreigners' Cemetery. His epitaph reads: "I would rather be buried in Korea than in Westminster Abbey."
45. Cited in Paik, *The History of Protestant Missions in Korea*, 415.
46. *Ibid.*, 415–416.
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50. Kim Chai-Choon, "The Present Situation and Future Prospect of the Korean Church," in *Korea Struggles for Christ*, 32.
 51. Ibid.
 52. Donald N. Clark, *Christianity in Modern Korea* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America/New York: The Asia Society, 1986), 9.
 53. Peter H. Lee and others, ed., *Sourcebook of Korean Civilization, vol. 2: From the Seventeenth Century to the Modern Period* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 430. There is some confusion concerning the number of Christians and Buddhists signing the document. Lee cites sixteen Christians and two Buddhists. Kim, *A History of Religions in Korea*, 378 also states that sixteen Christians signed the document, as does Wanne J. Joe, *A Cultural History of Modern Korea*, ed. Hongkyu A. Choe (Seoul/Elizabeth, NJ: Hollym, 2000), 808. Other scholars such as Donald Clark, *Christianity in Modern Korea*, 10 and James Huntley Grayson, *Korea: A Religious History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 200–201 cite fifteen Christians, which would mean that three Buddhists signed since there is common agreement that fifteen members of Ch'ondo-gyo signed. For a brief background to the Declaration of Independence as well as the text of the document and the Three Open Pledges which accompanied it, see Lee, *Sourcebook*, vol. 2, 430–435.
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 58. For a discussion of the Christian influence upon the various independence groups see Carter J. Eckert, Lee Ki-Baik, Young Ick Lew, Michael Robinson, and Edward W. Wagner, *Korea Old and New: A History* (Seoul: Ilchokak Publishers for Korea Institute, Harvard University, 1990), 247–251, 262–263, and 315. They point out the importance of Christian educational institutions as places where issues relating to independence could be discussed in relative safety. In addition a number of the early leaders of independence groups were either Christians or were influenced by Christian ideals and ideas.
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 60. Ibid, 227.
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62. See Ch'u Ki-Ch'ol. "My Five-Fold Prayer," in *Testimonies of Faith in Korea*, ed. Sang Chang, David K. S. Suh, Park Keun-Won and Kim Yong-Bock (Geneva: World Alliance of Reformed Churches, 1989), 94-98.
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 66. *Ibid.*, 54. According to van Huyssteen, 58, "Paradigms are basically incommensurable because paradigm switches imply a conceptual transformation, both sociologically and epistemologically. Consequently, competing paradigms no longer speak the same scientific language, no longer observe the same date, do not ask the same questions, do not solve the same problems, and do not construct valid methods of proof in the same manner."
 67. *Ibid.*, 58.
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 75. Lee Jung-Young, "Christian Indigenization in Korea," *Asian Quarterly of Cultural & Social Affairs* 18, no. 1 (Spring 1986): 17.
 76. *Ibid.*, 17-18. See also Suh Nam-Dong, "Historical References for a Theology of Minjung," in *Minjung Theology: People as the Subjects of History*, ed. Commission on Theological Concerns of the Christian Conference of Asia (London: Zed Press/Maryknoll, NY: Orbis/Singapore: Christian Conference of Asia, 1983), 155-182; and Donald N. Clark, "Growth and Limitations of Minjung Christianity in South Korea," in *South Korea's Minjung Movement: The Culture of Politics and Dissidence*, ed. Kenneth M. Wells (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1995), 87-103. The term *minjung* ("the masses of people") is taken from two Chinese characters, *min*, meaning "people" and *jung*, meaning "the masses."
 77. Grayson, *Korea*, 204.
 78. Cho Yonggi's first church in downtown Seoul grew from 1,218 members to

- over 10,000 members in the early 1960s. In the 1970s Cho founded the Yoido Full Gospel Church with 12,556 members. By the early 1980s this church counted a membership of 500,000. See Daniel J. Adams, *Christ and Culture in Asia: Explorations from Korea* (Quezon City, Philippines: New Day Publishers, 2002), especially Chapter 9, "The Life and Ministry of Cho Yonggi in Theological Perspective," 160–187. The Young Nak Presbyterian Church started with just 14 members following the Korea War and by the early 1980s had close to 50,000 members. Mega-churches in Seoul and other major cities experienced similar rates of growth during this same period.
79. Not only Protestants, but Catholics as well, are echoing these same concerns. In 1987 approximately 10 percent of the total number of Catholics in Korea were nominal Christians who did not attend church and another 13 percent were those whose residence could not be identified. See O Kyong-Hwan, "Korean Catholicism Since 1945," *The Founding of Catholic Tradition in Korea*, 163.
 80. Lian Fitzpatrick, "Getting Out: Asia's Divorce Boom," *Time*, April 5, 2004, 35–40.
 81. When the writer first came to Korea in 1980, he was told by a colleague, "Koreans will never face these social evils that you have in the West because we believe only in conservative theology and receive God's blessing, and we will never, ever put our elderly parents in nursing homes. We Koreans are different from the West." Two of the recent retreats sponsored by the Presbyterian Church of Korea for foreign mission co-workers in the late 1990s have either been held at new church sponsored facilities for the elderly or included field trips to such facilities.
 82. As of April 1, 2004 there were 470 students in the undergraduate theological department and 630 students in the social welfare/social work department.
 83. Clark, *Christianity in Modern Korea*, 24.
 84. See Don Baker, "Looking for God in the Streets of Seoul: The Resurgence of Religion in 20th Century Korea," *Harvard Asia Quarterly* (Autumn 2001), [<http://www.fas.harvard.edu/~asiactr/haq/200104/0104a002.htm>], 5/30/02.
 85. Ibid.

The Expedition to Northern Korea, Autumn 1898

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The history of Korean studies in Russia goes back more than one hundred years, but unfortunately the contribution of Russian researchers to the field has been often overlooked. A good example of this is an exhibition held at the Museum of Ethnography of Seoul in 2002, in which no Russian material appeared in a presentation of photographs of western travelers to Korea. One of the purposes of this article is to correct this oversight by presenting some of the material on Korea at the oldest museum in Russia, the Peter the Great Museum of Ethnography (Kunstkamera) in St. Petersburg, under the aegis the Russian Academy of Sciences.

Among the Korean materials at the Peter the Great Museum¹ are a number of photographs taken at the end of the nineteenth century. These include pictures of Korean palaces and views of Seoul taken by the first Russian consular officer in Korea, K. I. Weber, who served in Korea for more than twelve years and was close to the family of King Kojong. The collection also includes photographs taken by Russian travelers who traversed much of China, Korea, and Japan. In these pictures we can see views not only of Seoul and neighboring towns, but also of remote Korean villages. These photographs are of special interest to researchers for they afford a glimpse into various aspects of Korean life.

In this light, the H-2042 photo collection is of special value. The photos are mounted in an album with a green cover bearing the inscription "KODAK SOUVENIRS." The album, measuring 20 x 26 cm., contains 24 pages (12 sheets). Mounted on each page are four quite small

photos (7 x 9.5 cm.) with descriptive titles in black ink. There are 96 photos in total. On the flyleaf is the inscription: "To Peter Kazimirovich Javorovsky. With kind regards. Sergey Kishensky. October, 4, 1900." From this inscription, and from the captions under the photos, it would seem that this Sergey Kishensky was the original owner of the album, and took most of the pictures.

This album became a subject of my research through a combination of the information in it and the mystery it contains. Its information lies in its diverse photographs of Korea at the end of the nineteenth century, its natural environment as well as its cities, countryside, and people. And the mystery: who were these Russian travelers, and what were they doing in Korea? This article will attempt to answer these questions.

It is unknown how the album ended up in the Peter the Great Museum. From an inventory made in 1977, we learn only that the pictures were taken during an expedition to the northern part of Korea in the autumn of 1898 under A. I. Zvegintzov, and that the famous Russian writer N. G. Garin-Mikhailovsky took part, ostensibly to gather folk tales and ethnographical information. It is important to note, however, that Garin-Mikhailovsky was not only a prolific writer, but also a skilled railway engineer who helped build railways in southern Russia.

From an investigation of the pictures and accompanying inscriptions, coupled with additional information gleaned from museum documents, it has been ascertained that the expedition included at least fourteen men, of whom the following have been positively identified: A. I. Zvegintzov, N. G. Garin-Mikhailovsky, S. P. Kishensky, S. N. Siromyatnikov, E. N. Kozlov, N. A. Korf, and P. Bistryakov. All of these men appear in the photos except Garin. The poses, equipment peculiarities, and inscriptions under the pictures allow us to additionally conclude that Zvegintzov, Kishensky, Siromyatnikov, and Korf headed the expedition, while Kozlov and Bistryakov worked under their supervision. A number of Koreans also appear in the photos. Some, dressed to European manner, were likely translators; the rest, attired in traditional white Korean garments and black hats (*kat*), were probably locally hired porters.

It appears that the expedition was comprised of a total of more than 30 people, who we may divide in four general groups: Russian members of the expedition (a total of 14); Korea interpreters (a total of 8); Korean

porters and laborers attached to the expedition (indeterminate number); and local Korean people.

Although the inscriptions accompanying the photos contain the names of various villages, rivers, and mountains, it is difficult to identify these on a modern map. This is due to the complexity of the photographer's handwriting, and to the haphazard method of transcription he used to record Korean place names. (He was writing of course long before the invention of any standardized system for Korean transcription.) It is nevertheless possible to identify the names of some of the places the expedition visited, for example the towns of Kyeongheung, Chongseong, and Wonsan, and the river Tuman. From these clues we can get an approximate idea of the expedition's route.

This is the extent of information that may be derived from the album itself. To form a clearer picture of the expedition, it is necessary to turn to other sources.² The first is an article by A. I. Zvegintzov entitled "Trip to Northern Korea," which appeared in *News of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society* in 1900. From this we learn that in early 1898 Zvegintzov led an expedition to the northern part of Korea for the purpose of conducting a variety of inspections (geological, botanical, engineering, etc.).³ Although the author does not say so, it would seem logical to assume that the Imperial Russian Geographical Society (IRGS) organized the expedition. The IRGS, after all, played an important role in organizing numerous expeditions to remote areas in and around the Russian empire, including expeditions between 1897 and 1899 to investigate the flora, fauna, and geographical features of the Far East.⁴ However, neither the IRGS's scientific reports nor its financial records contain any information on an expedition to northern Korea led by Zvegintzov in 1898. Why is that?

The beginnings of an answer can be found in B. B. Glinsky's *The Prologue of the Russo-Japanese War*,⁵ which draws upon the archival material of Minister of Finance S. J. Vitte, an influential figure in economic and political circles who played a significant role in developing programs to strengthen Russia's position in the Far East. Glinsky refers to the expedition not simply as a geographical inspection of the region, but as being mainly concerned with the wood concession of Korea, belonging to a Vladivostok merchant named Brinner. (The wood concession

was a source of much discussion and dispute in the Russian government at the turn of the century.⁶) The expedition, Glinsky writes, was organized without any consultation with Vitte, to investigate Korea's northern forests and the possibility of establishing trade links with the region. Glinsky's treatment of the expedition is on the whole rather negative, and certainly different from its portrayal in Zvegintzov's article in *News of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society*. According to Glinsky, the expedition appears to have been connected with secret activities organized by the Russian government in the Far East.

Following the return of the expedition, several members wrote reports and made presentations before the Imperial Russian Geographical Society and the Society of Adherents of Military Knowledge, describing their travels and the information they had collected. Among this published material are three works by N. A. Korff, which can be found in the Russian National Library:

N. A. Korff, ed., *Northern Korea. Collection of Routes. Results of the Autumn Expedition of 1898* (St. Petersburg, 1901). [Marked "Confidential"]

N. A. Korff, ed., *Northern Korea. Positions and their Descriptions. Results of the Autumn Expedition of 1898* (St. Petersburg, General Headquarters Publishing House, 1901). [Marked "Confidential"]

N. A. Korff, "Population of Korea," *News of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society*, volume 40 (1904).

Judging from these sources it would appear that the expedition was not organized by the IRGS after all, but rather by the Russian government, with the intention not just of conducting a scientific investigation of the territory, but also of gathering information to help the government develop its policy in the region.

From the above-mentioned books and additional documents in the Russian State Historical Archive,⁷ I was able to piece together a more detailed account of the expedition. It was jointly organized by the Ministry of State Property, which supervised the development of new territories, and the Military Ministry, which needed information on

northern Korea and the surrounding region, particularly the territory between Vladivostok and the coastal town of Port Arthur, which Russia had acquired from the Chinese in March of 1898. Due to budget restrictions, a small expedition was originally planned. The five leading members were: expedition leader Lieutenant A. I. Zvegintzov; vice-inspector of forest wardens Tikhonov; mountain engineers S. Kishensky and S. N. Syromyatnikov; and Sergeant Seojev of the Cossack troops.⁸ After consultations with the Ministry of Railways and the Military Ministry, however, the expedition's budget was increased to allow for the inclusion of engineers to explore the possibility of building a railway between Vladivostok and Port Arthur. As a result the expedition came to include the following additional members: officer for special assignments N. A. Korf; engineers Garin-Mikhailovsky, Safonov, and Borminsky; Dr. Akifev; and Sergeant Bekir Gamazov.⁹ All financial support for the expedition came from the Ministry of Court.

These two groups, the original five members and the group of six added later, traveled to Korea by two different routes. The first group left St. Petersburg at the end of May, 1898. They sailed from the port of Odessa on the Black Sea on June 25, and arrived at Vladivostok on Russia's Pacific Ocean coast on August 3. The second group proceeded by an overland route. Due to problems encountered on the road (in particular the death of their horses) they did not arrive at Vladivostok until September 5.¹⁰ The start of the expedition was then further delayed by the unusual duration of the rainy season that year. Finally, on September 22, the party left the village of Novokievskoe near the Russian-Korean border. It consisted of 11 Russian military officers and civilian professionals, 26 Russian assistants, several local translators, and a large number of locally hired porters and laborers.¹¹

Because of the late start, there was not much time left for the expedition members to conduct their investigations. The ruggedness of northern Korea would further hamper their work. It was thus decided to divide the expedition into two groups in order to cover as much ground as possible. The first group, consisting of the railway engineers, followed the course of the Tuman and Amnok rivers. The second group, consisting of environmental and geographical specialists, journeyed into the interior of the Korean peninsula.¹²

The expedition remained in Korea for 94 days. The engineers concentrated their investigations around the Tuman and Amnok rivers, the vicinity of Mt. Paektu, and the territory between Vladivostok and Port Arthur. The forest warden and mountain engineers investigated the woods of northern Korea as far as time allowed. The officers brought back a wealth of data, and enough information to produce a detailed map of the region. By the time it was finished the expedition had cost a total of 250,000 rubles. All participants were recognized with awards, medals and monetary gifts upon their return home.

As previously mentioned, several expedition members presented reports before various societies describing their travels and observations, and even published some of their work, marked "confidential."¹³ One such book was *The Military Outlook of Northern Korea*, published in 1904, following the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War, containing information collected during the 1898 expedition, and including a large-scale map of Korea based in part on expedition data.¹⁴

It should be mentioned that these expedition members considered their trip to Korea as duty to their country, a service for their Fatherland. They carried out their tasks professionally as Russian officers were expected to do. They executed their work with enthusiasm, care, and responsibility, collecting not only geographical data but also information on ethnography, language, and folklore—everything they came across during their travels. In other words, although the expedition was sponsored by the government in part out of self-interest, the travelers maintained during their journey a much wider outlook. As a result, we can find not only the issued reports and publications of these statistical data, but also a few unofficial works.

One such unofficial work was a collection of Korean fairy tales compiled by N. G. Garin-Mikhailovsky, one of the expedition's engineers, one of first publications in Europe of Korean oral literature. The diary Garin kept during the expedition is another invaluable source, depicting the atmosphere of the expedition, and illustrating in a lively and picturesque manner the ways of the Korean people. He kept a record of the work the expedition was doing, of conversations with local people, and of the attitudes of the Koreans they met. Garin's diary also describes the route taken by the group he headed, the railway party that followed the

Tuman and Amnok rivers. From his description it was very hard going. The terrain was rough, impassable in places, and his party was attacked by Chinese bandits. The two parties, Garin's engineers and the second group investigating the forests of the interior, had planned to meet once their work was done, but this proved impossible due to the difficulties of traveling in this mountainous region. The members of the second party thus are mentioned only in the first few pages of Garin's diary.

Although numerous reports of the expedition were subsequently published, they did not include any of Kishensky's photographs, likely because photographs did not fit into the accepted format of a formal report. These photos have thus remained largely forgotten for more than a century. With regard to subject matter they can be divided into the following categories:

1. *Expedition members* (18 pictures)
2. *Landscapes:*
 - cities and villages (23 pictures)
 - nature (25 pictures)
3. *Local population:*
 - authorities (6 pictures)
 - population (17 pictures)
 - women (7 pictures)

For researchers of Korean culture, the pictures in the "Local population" category are of particular interest for the insights they offer into the everyday life and customs of the people of northern Korea at the end of the nineteenth century, just as great changes were coming to the peninsula. We see in the photos such things as a funeral procession, craftsmen at work, men hunting with falcon and hawk, village folk and peasants, Korean officials and their families, revealing depictions of Korean women—and the courtesy and sympathy with which the Korean people treated their visitors from Russia.

The 1898 expedition to northern Korea was an important meeting between two nations who subsequently became neighbors. The photographs taken by expedition members, the material they collected, and the

books and articles they subsequently wrote are additionally a valuable source of information on Korea more than a century ago. It is my hope that this article will attract the attention of researchers in Korean studies to this important resource, and more generally to the contribution made by Russian travelers to the study of Korea, especially its northern part.

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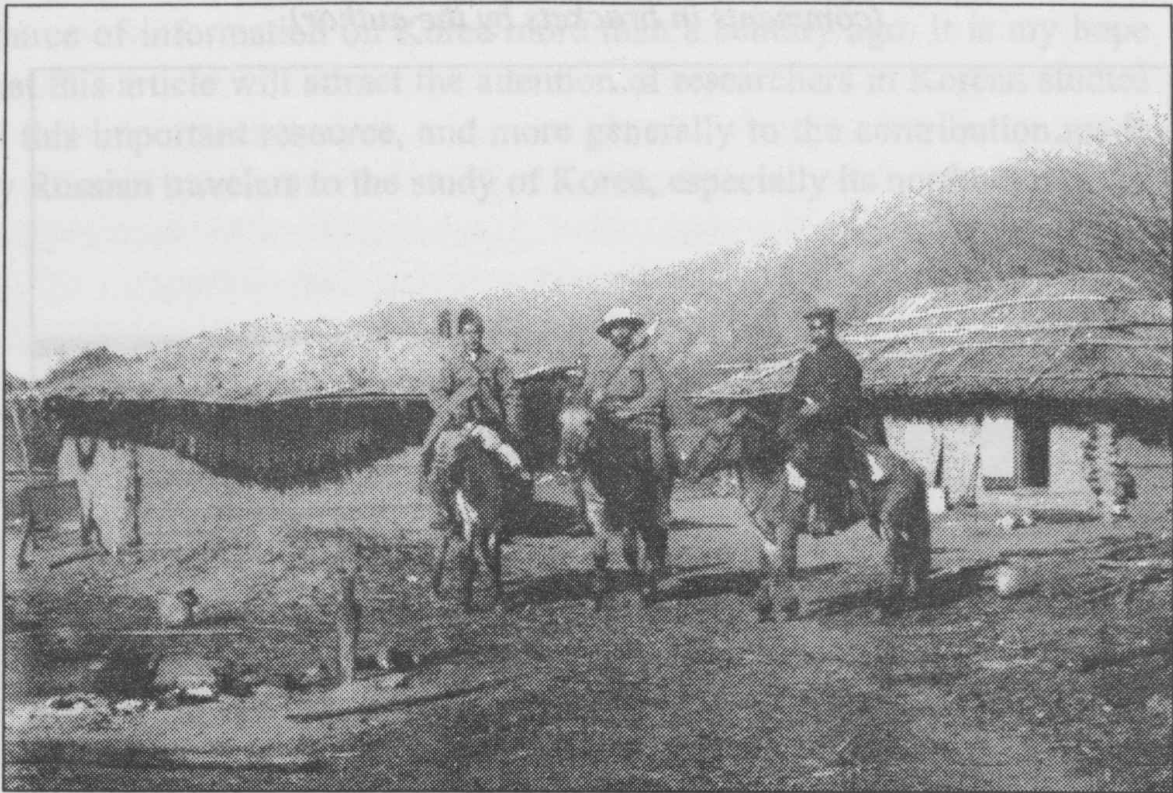
Samples from the H-2042 collection, with original titles
(*comments in brackets by the author*)



(0497) Kyeongheung city and view of the Tuman river.



A mountain stream.



Lieutenant A. I. Zvegintzov, expedition leader (center), his personal interpreter (left), and Sergeant Seoev of Cossack's troops (right).



Preparation for departure.



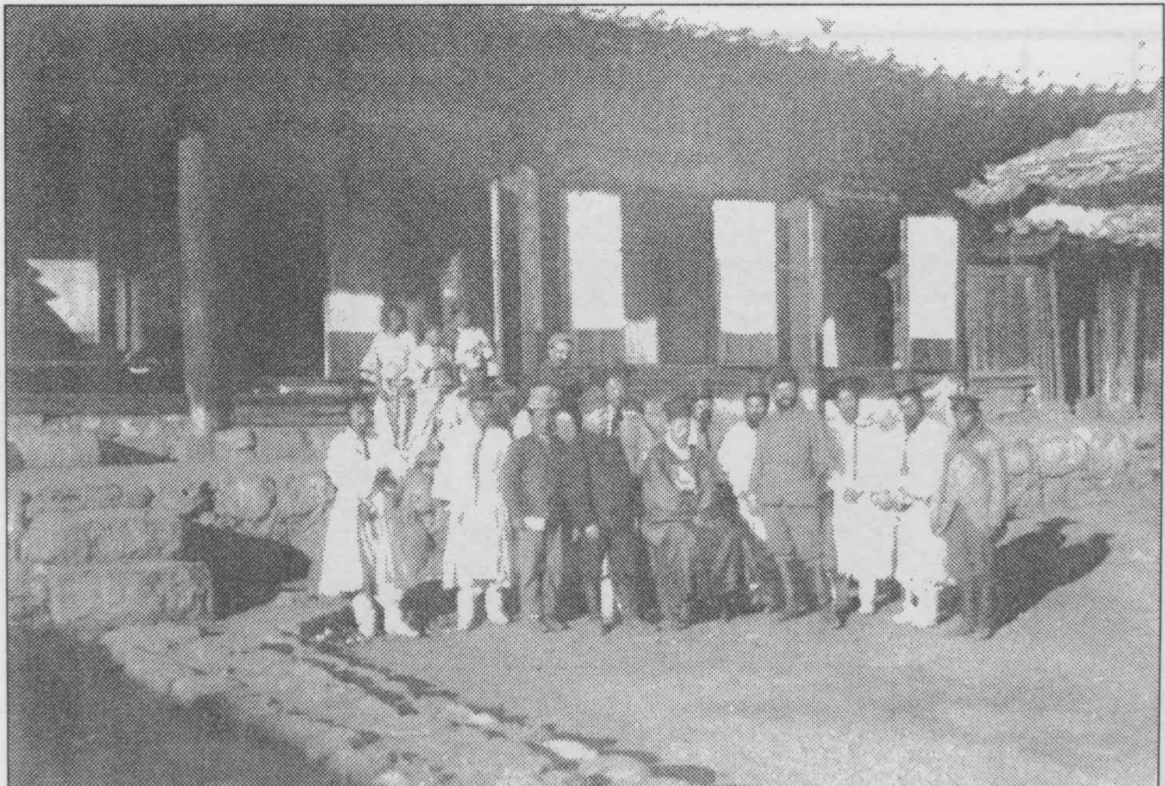
N. A. Korf's research unit (Korf is in the center, with pipe).



A funeral procession.



Two village women.



Governor of Kapsan city, his suite, and expedition members.



A group of Koreans on the street.

Additional evidence is provided by the Sung Chinese chronicle from that period, and will attempt to answer the following questions:

1. Was King Konji a brother of Paekche King Gaero?
2. Was "Konji" his original Pukche name?
3. What is the significance of King Konji's title Jeon Anwon, "left-wise lord"?
4. Under what circumstances did he also become Paekche king Dongwong?
5. Why was King Konji successful at defeating Shilla armies?

Was King Konji a brother of Paekche King Gaero?

Sanguk Sagi records King Gaero as the son of King Gaero, King Dongwong as the son of King Konji, and King Muryong as the son of King Dongwong. It added a note that King Muryong could be King Gaero's uncle on his mother's side. The Chinese Sung chronicle, on the other hand, records the name of King Muryong as Mo-Deh with the family name Mo while King Dongwong has the family name Yeo. The family relation as recorded in *Sanguk Sagi* therefore seems inconsistent.

Japan's Connection to Korea (Part III): A Series of Three Essays

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1. KING KONJI WAS WA KING KOH

Introduction

In a previous article I argued that King Konji was Wa king Koh in the middle of the fifth century A.D.¹ Here we elaborate upon this thesis with additional evidence from *Nihongi*, *Samguk Sagi*, and the Sung Chinese chronicle from that period, and will attempt to answer the following questions:

1. Was King Konji a brother of Paekche king Gaero?
2. Was "Konji" his original Paekche name?
3. What is the significance of King Konji's title *Joah-heyeon*, "left-wise lord"?
4. Under what circumstances did Mata become Paekche king Dongseong?
5. Why was King Konji enshrined at Asukabe Shinto shrine?

Was King Konji a brother of Paekche king Gaero?

Samguk Sagi records King Munju as the son of King Gaero, King Dongseong as the son of King Konji, and King Muryong as the son of King Dongseong. It added a note that King Munju could be King Gaero's uncle on his mother's side. The Chinese Sung chronicle, on the other hand, records the name of King Munju as Moh-Doh with the family name Moh while King Muryong has the family name Yeo. The family relation as recorded in *Samguk Sagi* therefore seems inconsistent.

In *Nihongi*, King Konji is recorded as King Gaero's brother in the entry for King Yuryaku's reign in 461 A.D.: "Lord Kasuri [Gaero] of Paekche intimated to his young brother, Lord Koniki [Konji] saying: 'Do thou go to Wa, and serve the Emperor.' Lord Koniki answered and said: 'I pray thee give me one of thy consorts, and then I will take this mission.' Lord Kasuri accordingly took one of his consorts who was pregnant and having given her in marriage to Lord Koniki, said: 'If she should be delivered on the journey, I pray thee place (the child) on board a ship, and cause it to be at once sent back to this country.' The pregnant consort gave birth to a child on the island of Kakara in Tsukushi. Upon this Lord Koniki straightaway took a ship and sent Lord Shima [i.e. the child] to his country (in 461 A.D.). He became King Muryong. The people of Paekche call this island Chudo (Master Island)."

We note here a few remarkable facts such as the date of birth, 461, for Lord Shima, or the future King Muryong as the son of King Gaero. All these facts were confirmed by the funerary inscription in the tomb of King Muryong at Gongju. It is also worth considering why the lady, nine months pregnant, risked her life embarking on an arduous journey to Wa Japan. There are two possible reasons. First, her parents in Wa Japan were both near death and she wanted to visit them for the last time. Second, one is the urgent political and military circumstance facing King Gaero and his country Paekche. Paekche was laid in ruins by the invading Koguryo army in 396 and was thereafter under threat from it. Perhaps King Gaero wanted his son to be born in Wa Japan and raised there in safety. We now know that King Gaero once ruled Wa Japan as Lord Sai, and he felt security by entrusting his young prince to his own brother Lord Koniki, who ruled Wa Japan as King Koh.² These considerations lead us to believe that Wa king Koh was Lord Koniki, the younger brother of King Gaero.

Was "Konji" his original Paekche name?

The names of several Paekche kings are mentioned in *Nihongi*, for example "Toki" for King Jeonji, "Kasuri" for King Gaero, "Koniki" for King Konji, "Mata" for King Dongseong, and "Shime" for King Muryong. With regard to Toki, Ryu Ryeol argues that Jeonji (腆支) stands for Toki or Teoki, which is the original name.³ Among the Huns in the north of

China, there was a post with a name Toki, which means wisdom. Or following the example of the name Tagari in the Inariyama sword inscription, it could mean a head person. In any case, Toki stayed in Wa Japan allegedly as a hostage for eight years before returning to Paekche in 405 to ascend the throne as King Jeonji.

The second name Kasuri for King Gaero⁴ in the above list is intriguing. According to our findings, Kasuri stayed in Wa Japan from at least 443, when he sent a mission to Sung China, until 445, when he returned home to become Paekche king Gaero. His stay in Wa Japan as lord was how his original Paekche name was remembered and recorded there. The Idu rendition of his name, "Gaero," may have been derived from the first and last syllables of his name, "ka" and "ri," following the custom of making the names of kings with two Chinese characters. *Samguk Sagi* records his name at a younger age as "Kei-si," which likely was taken from the first two syllables of his name, "ka" and "su." At any rate King Gaero must have stayed in Wa Japan, for his original name Kasuri came to be recorded in *Nihongi*.

Now we have to deal with the name of Lord Konji recorded as Koniki in *Nihongi*. In Paekche usage, Koni Orugu stands for the mother of a king, where Koni-ki means "grand" and Orugu means "queen."⁵ Koni-ki thus could mean a grandparent. This Koniki's son Mata became King Dongseong in 479, while his nephew Lord Shima became Wa king Bu around 477 and returned to Paekche to become King Muryong.

That Koniki's brother was Wa king Sai, as recorded in the Sung chronicle, and later became Paekche king Gaero, while his nephew became Wa king Bu and later Paekche king Muryong, makes it plausible that Koniki himself was also for a time Wa king Koh, in accordance with the Paekche tradition of the succession of kings.

What is the significance of King Konji's title "left-wise lord"?⁶

According to the chronicle of Sung China, King Gaero's request for the title of Jeong-ro general for left-wise-lord Yeo Konji was granted in 458. We note here that the title left-wise-lord was one conferred upon Konji by King Gaero. To understand the significance of this title, we have to refer to the political institution of the Huns, the nomadic horse riding people to the north. The king of the Huns⁷ had territory under his

direct rule with ministers, while outlying territory to the left of his central land was ruled through the "left-wise lord," while territory to the right of his land was ruled through the "right-wise lord." Paekche arose together with Koguryo from the kingdom of Buyeo, which shared a nomadic tradition with the Huns. So we believe Paekche shared some of the political institutions of the Huns. Thus the appointment of Lord Konji as the "left-wise king" signifies that he was the ruler of feudal land or Tamro of Paekche in Wa Japan, which lies to the left of Paekche.

The Sung chronicle records that Crown Prince Koh of late Wa king Sai sent a tributary mission some time after 451. And in 458, the appointment of Lord Konji as the left-wise king of Paekche immediately after King Gaero ascended the throne of Paekche in 455. This series of events suggests that Lord Konji or Koniki became the ruler of Wa Japan as successor to his brother King Gaero, the Lord Kasuri referred to in *Nihongi*.

Under what circumstances did Mata become King Dongseong?

By 458 King Konji had already been appointed as the left-wise king, ranking only second to the great King Gaero and indicating he was the ruler of Tamro of Paekche or Wa Japan. This Tamro occupied a limited area called Kawachi in the vicinity of present-day Osaka. In 461, King Konji was entrusted to raise his brother King Gaero's son, born on Kyushu. *Nihongi* records that King Konji or Koniki already had five children of his own. In 478, Paekche was overrun by the invading Koguryo army, which put to death the whole royal family, including King Gaero, the crown prince, and the king's mother. King Gaero's uncle Moto thereupon took over and moved the capital from Wirye to Komanaru (Gongju), only to be assassinated two years later. His son was murdered by 479. By this time Lord Sama became Wa king Bu, succeeding his late uncle, Wa king Koh.

Although *Samguk Sagi* records that Lord Konji died as a minister in Paekche in 479, this is unlikely since he was the highest ranking person next to Gaero only to become a minister. When the Paekche throne became vacant in 479, Lord Sima or Wa king Bu was only nineteen and probably his court advised him to send his older cousin Mata to become the king of Paekche.

According to the Sung chronicle, both Wa king Koh and Wa king Bu

requested the title “regent general” (使持節都督) for Wa, Paekche, Silla, Imna, Kara, Jinhan and Mahan. This suggests their desire for the entitlement to rule these lands in case Paekche was overthrown. Now that we know both kings became Paekche monarchs later in their lives, we may perhaps better understand the above request in the political situation facing Paekche. Paekche had been under constant threat from Koguryo, and risked being overthrown. So in the worst case, Paekche might come under the rule of Koguryo and they wanted to retain the claim for the lands of the above mentioned seven countries, which were under the rule of Paekche. For the same reason, Wa Japan perhaps insisted upon the legitimacy of their royal claim by urging the succession of Crown Prince Koh or Koniki. This in turn suggests that Lord Sima was the brother of Lord Koniki.

Why was King Konji enshrined at Asukabe Shrine?

It is known that many Shinto shrines were built to provide religious rituals to commemorate the enshrined ancestors and other spirits near the burial grounds of the deceased ancestors at the beginning. The descendants of King Konji or Koniki maintained the tradition by building Asukabe Shinto shrine at Habikino City to commemorate their ancestor King Konji. It was once a large and important shrine. But now, as the result of a decision made by the Meiji government in the late nineteenth century for obscure reasons, it stands dilapidated and without even a Shinto priest in charge.

The area surrounding Asukabe Shrine attests to the prosperity and power of the Asukabe families, with numerous Paekche style side-opening tombs in the vicinity. In fact the Asukabe prospered in this area between the sixth and ninth centuries, until they moved away. This is known not only from the evidence of the tombs, but also from documents. They have built also a family temple Johrin on the Aska hill nearby. There are many well-known personages listed as Konji's descendants in the new compilation of family registration of 815. An example is Asukabe no Miyatsuko, listed as a descendant of King Koniki, the son of Paekche king Biyu. Incidentally we note that since King Gaero is also a son of King Biyu, Gaero and Konji or Koniki are brothers as recorded in *Nihongi*. In the records of *Nihonji*, Asukabe and Kudara or

Paekche are used almost synonymously.

Another well-known descendant of the Asukabe is Tanabe Fuhito. "Fuhito" refers to a class of scribes among the descendants of this Paekche family. One of the more famous scribes is the legendary Wani who, according to *Nihongi*, introduced Chinese characters and texts into Japan. The descendants of Wani and Tanabe prospered in the Furichi area, which includes Habikino City. They were collectively called "Fuhitobe of Kawachi," and exercised great political and economic power.

Conclusion

Paekche was under constant threat from its powerful neighbor Koguryo to the north. Perhaps this is one reason why King Gaero sent his pregnant consort to Wa Japan, his feudal land, where she gave birth to Prince Shima, the future King Muryong. As we examined, King Konji, also referred to as Koniki, turned out to be the brother of King Gaero. Since the Sung chronicle records that King Konji had the feudal title of the "left-wise king" as appointed by Paekche, we may conclude that King Konji was Wa king Koh. This same chronicle and *Nihongi* also provide clues that Wa king Sai (later King Gaero) was succeeded by Wa king Koh (Koniki, the brother of King Gaero), and that Wa king Koh was succeeded by Wa king Bu (later King Muryong).

The Asukabe Shimto shrine stands to this day, witness to the glory of the Asukabe clan, which served later for centuries as hereditary scribes for Japan in the Kawachi area, the homeland of Wa Japan, which was ruled by Paekche feudal lords.

2. WA KING SAI BECAME PAEKCHE KING GAERO

Introduction

Many studies have been made of the state epistle sent by Wa king Bu to Sung China in 478 A.D. and its implications for understanding the history of Paekche and Wa Japan. Soh Jin-chol has suggested that Wa king Bu was the son of Great King Gaero, and became King Muryong upon his return to Paekche in 502 A.D.⁸ Since the chronicle of Sung China recorded that Wa king Bu was the son of Wa king Sai, it may

additionally be argued that Wa king Sai became Paekche king Gaero, to be consistent with the statement that Sai/Gaero was Bu's father.

In this essay the following evidence will be examined to support this contention:

1. The phrase "feudal land" (封國) in the epistle of Wa king Bu.
2. The phrase "my late father Sai" (亡孝濟) in the epistle.
3. The phrase "Ancestor Su" in King Gaero's state epistle to Wei China.

"Feudal Land"

The first phrase in Wa king Bu's epistle is "feudal land". The reason for using it may have been simply that Wa Japan was a tamro, or feudal land, of Paekche. The epistle mentions Jo Nyeh, which is often interpreted as one word meaning "ancestor,"⁹ but may be more properly understood as "ancestor Nyeh."

In an earlier article I suggested that Jo Nyeh referred to the Paekche's feudal lord of the tamro at Koma, near present-day Kongju in Korea's Chungcheong province.¹⁰ He was a member of the powerful aristocratic family of Paekche and an in-law of the royal family. Facing a massive attack by the Koguryo army led by the famous King Gwanggaeto in 396 A.D., he fled to Japan and established a new kingdom called Yamato in what is today the Kinki region on the island of Honshu. However, we didn't know how he managed to arm, supply, and transport his army until our new interpretation of the *Inariyama sword with inscriptions* of the names of eight generations. In this new interpretation, we found that Lord Dasagi was ruling the area called Dasagi near present-day Hadong in Korea. The vicinity of Dasagi provided a convenient port of departure. Being the lord of Dasagi, one of Paekche's tamro, he was able to provide all the needed logistics and he must have joined forces with Jin Nyeh in his scheme for the war of conquest in Wa Japan.

There still exists a legend that the Koguryo army in 396 passed through Balgumi port near Dasagi on the way to invade Wa Japan.¹¹ It is likely that this legend refers to the Paekche army of Lord Dasagi and Jin Nyeh going to Wa Japan. Jin Nyeh could have secured ships, horses, food and drink and other supplies, enough for them to invade and wage war in Wa Japan, thanks to Lord Dasagi being in control of the area of

departure on the southern coast. Furthermore, this provided an occasion for the military family of the Inariyama sword to join Jin Nyeh on his way to Wa Japan and occupy the new territory for Paekche in the Saitama region just north of Tokyo, where the Inariyama tumulus is located.

Ho was appointed as the lord of Kasabara by Paekche after two generations in Wa Japan. Ho's ancestors all allegedly served Paekche and addressed Gaero as the great king bypassing Wa king. Ho's and Jin Nyeh's ancestors were lords under Paekche, ruling tamros in Paekche. This points to the fact that Wa kings were their equal under Paekche. A Wa king therefore was a tamro lord under Paekche, which explains why Wa king Bu referred to his land as a "feudal land" in his epistle to Sung China. The land of his father Wa King Sai was also a feudal land.

The presence of Wa king Sai in Kinki, Wa Japan, probably facilitated his contact with Ho's family and their activities in the northeastern part of Wa Japan. By the time Wa king Sai returned to Paekche to become king on 455, the Ho family referred to in the Inariyama sword inscription conquered the Kasabara area near present-day Tokyo. Eventually Ho was appointed as the Hoekgeo, or lord, of the Kasabara territory by Paekche king Gaero. It is explicitly stated in the I. T. sword inscription that Ho and his ancestors served Paekche for generations in disregard of Wa kings Sai, Koh, and Bu, who ruled the Kinki region near Osaka and quite close to Ho's land near Tokyo. This suggests that Wa king Bu's land was part of Paekche as stated in his epistle, as was the land of Wa king Sai, whose father King Biyu of Paekche must have appointed him Wa king.

Eventually Ho was appointed as Hoekgeo or feudal lord of the Kasabara region in recognition of the unflagging loyalty of his family towards Paekche for eight generations, as proudly declared in the inscription on the Inariyama sword. There is no way that Ho's family could have served Wa kings for eight generations, since the Wa state was established only since the end of the fourth century A. D.

"Late Father Sai"¹²

It is known that Wa kings sent emissaries to Sung China as follows:

- Wa king Sai sent missions in 421 and 425.
- Wa king Jin sent a mission in 438.

- Wa king Sai sent missions in 443 and 451.
- Crown Prince Koh, of late Wa king Sai, sent missions in an unknown year.
- A Wa king sent a mission in 460.
- Koh's brother Bu became Wa king to succeed the late King Koh, and a mission was sent in an unknown year.
- A Wa king sent a mission in 477.
- Wa king Bu sent a mission in 478.

From these records it can be inferred that Jin was a brother of San, and Koh and Bu the sons of Sai. The relationship between Jin and Sai remains unknown.

The phrase "Mang-go-Sai" in the epistle of King Bu is commonly interpreted as "late father Sai." Soh Jin-chol suggests an alternate translation of "unless Paekche falls" on the grounds that traditional etiquette required that a dead father's name may not be explicitly mentioned to an emperor.¹³ In any case, it is clear from the Sung chronicle that Wa king Sai, or Jeh, was the father of Wa king Bu. Since we know Wa king Bu to be the son of King Gaero, it seems incompatible with the Chinese record that Bu was a son of Sai or Jeh. However, *Samguk Sagi* records that Gaero became king of Paekche in 455, while Wa king Sai according to Chinese records must have died some time between 451 and 460. This would seem to suggest that Wa king Bu was the son of King Gaero as well as Wa king Sai, since Wa king Sai became King Gaero upon his return to Paekche, just as Wa king Bu became King Muryong upon his return.

There are three pieces of evidence that support this idea. First, *Nihongi* records that King Gaero was called Kasuri-no-Kishi, where Kasuri is the proper Paekche name, while Gaero is the Idu transcription of Kari, a shortened version.¹⁴ "Kishi" is a Paekche word meaning king. This can be inferred from other examples such as the Idu name Jeonji for Toki, Konji for Konki, and Sama for Sema. All of these members of the Paekche royal family lived in Wa Japan for some time. This record indicates that King Gaero also stayed in Wa Japan.

Second, in 461, the king sent his lady, who was nearly nine months pregnant, to Wa Japan along with the king's brother Konji. As had often happened in the past, a pregnant woman was sent to her own home to

give birth. Most likely this was the case with Gaero's lady, who had her family in Japan and most likely they were married in Japan.

Finally, it may be noticed that the Chinese chronicle does not record the relation between Wa king Jin and Wa king Sai, and there was a change in their family name from Jin to Yeo for kings. So we suspect there was some political upheaval in the succession of the throne. Someone in the direct line of Paekche's royal family must have taken over as ruler of Wa after King Jin. At the time Biyu was the king of Paekche, whose son was Gaero.

There is one hitch in this argument. The Sung chronicle records that Wa king Sai died and the crown prince sent a state epistle some time between 451 and 460. Since King Gaero ascended the Paekche throne in 455, his former position as Wa king Sai must have ceased before that year. Perhaps this fact misled the recorder in the Sung chronicle to assume that King Sai had died.

"Ancestor Su"¹⁵

In 472 A.D., King Gaero of Paekche sent an epistle to Wei China requesting military assistance in the event of war against Koguryo. The first sentence in this epistle states the historical connection between Paekche and Koguryo, sharing as they did a common founding king and a close relationship in their early years.

According to *Samguk Sagi*, both Koguryo and Paekche had common roots at Puyeo, an ancient country in the northeastern part of China. The founding king Jumong of Koguryo was recorded as having been born from an egg laid by the daughter of Habaeck, the water goddess, and seeded by the sun spirit. Jumong was raised in the court of King Keumwa of Puyeo. He became a famed archer and a wise man, and as a result earned the jealousy of several Puyeo princes. Suspecting their intrigue against him, Jumong fled to Biryu to found a new kingdom, Koguryo, in 37 B.C. He remarried here and had two sons, Biryu and Onjo. Jumong's son from his first marriage at Puyeo subsequently joined him in his new kingdom. This prompted Onjo and Biryu to move south to Wire in the vicinity of present-day Seoul to establish a kingdom of their own, Paekche, in 18 A.D. This is how Koguryo and Paekche came to have a common ancestor, King Dongmyong or Jumong, and why both

maintained ancestral shrines to him. This close relationship, however, was eventually severed by conflicts and territorial disputes.

One of the most important clashes between Koguryo and Paekche is related in the passage of the epistle involving Jo Su, or Ancestor Su, who was King Geunchogo of Paekche, who inflicted a mortal blow to a Koguryo king. We note here that the idiomatic phrase Jo Nyeh is mentioned in Wa king Bu's epistle as the phrase Jo Su in King Gaero's epistle. This is why Nyeh is interpreted as referring to a personal name. The letter describes the hostility between the two countries, including a battle at Pyongyang in which Koguryo king Gogugwon was killed. Koguryo, bent on revenging the death of their king, assaulted Paekche in 396, capturing its capital city and 58 of its fortresses. Paekche survived the attack, but continued to fight off the aggressive Koguryo from then on. Koguryo moved her capital from Jiban on the Yalu River to Pyongyang in 427. This urgent situation prompted Gaero to send his epistle to Wei China in 472 seeking military support, which the Chinese declined to send. We note here common sentiments of hostility against Koguryo in the letters of both Gaero and Bu. Since Wa Japan had no common border with Koguryo, this hostility against Koguryo can be understood only in the context of the relationship between the royal families of Paekche and Wa Japan.

Conclusion

By studying the contents of Wa king Bu's epistle, particularly phrases like "feudal land" and "late father Sai," it may be concluded that Wa king Bu's father was Wa king Sai, who later became Paekche king Gaero. King Gaero's epistle also reveals a strong hostility towards Koguryo in common with the sentiments expressed in King Bu's epistle. It may be suggested that these sentiments could be aroused only because Bu's father was Paekche king Gaero, formerly Wa king Sai. In fact four kings of Paekche, Jeonji, Gaero, Dongseong, and Muryong, lived in Japan for some time and later become Paekche kings. No wonder Paekche is called *Kudara*, "great land," in both ancient and contemporary Japanese.

3. KING NAMJEH OF THE SUDAHACHIMAN MIRROR WAS A PAEKCHE LORD

Introduction

In 1834 a Japanese farmer unearthed a bronze mirror in a field in Wakayama prefecture and gave it to the Sudahachiman Shrine for safe-keeping. It was later designated a national treasure and is now at Tokyo National Museum. The mirror bears an inscription which has proved to be a valuable source in the study of the history of the Paekche kingdom of Korea and Wa Japan. According to Fukuyama the inscription reads:

癸未年八月日十大王年男弟王在意柴沙加宮時
斯麻念長壽遣開中費直穢人今州利二人等
取百上同二百早作此鏡¹⁶

This article will examine the significance of the following keywords in this inscription:

1. Daewang nyeon (大王年), "Great King Year"
2. King Namjeh (男弟) or Ooto
3. Oshisaga (意柴沙加)
4. Sama (斯麻)
5. Gaijung Bichi (開中費直)
6. "Man of Yeh" (穢人)

Daewang Nyeon (大王年), "Great King Year"

"Great king" is a literal translation of the Korean *daewang*, meaning an overlord who commands feudal lords. This expression *daewang* is also inscribed on the Inariyama sword, where the "great king" referred to Gaero of Paekche as *huaka* or overlord.¹⁷ The owner Ho of this Inariyama sword proclaimed in the inscription that he and his seven ancestors served King Gaero and his kingdom for more than two hundred years, evidently ignoring the Wa Japan court, while five ancestors served Paekche as military lords in the Kara region of Korea, and the last three generations served her in the Saitama region of Japan.

Since the sword was forged in 471 A.D., and Yamato Wa Japan was

established around 397, it was impossible for these ancestors to have served Wa Japan for at least two hundred years. Since we know that Kings Gaero and Muryong of Paekche served respectively as Wa kings Sai and Bu, it is likely that the expression "great king" referred to on the bronze mirror is King Muryong. The mirror was most probably made in 503, since Sama of the inscription became Paekche king Muryong, abdicating the throne to a member of his royal family in Wa Japan upon his return to Paekche in 501.

King Namjeh or Ooto

Many of the members of the Paekche royal family who stayed in Wa Japan had Paekche names as well as two-character Chinese names, as recorded in *Nihongi* and *Samguk Sagi*. Examples are Jeonji for Toki, Gaero for Kasuri, Konji for Koniki, Muryong for Sama, and Namjeh, the name used for O-Oto in *Nihongi*. It has been suggested by some that Namjeh is the Idu transcription of O-Oto or "male-brother", while others claim it was a ruler's title as in the case of the male ruler as the political partner of Shaman ruler Hiniko of the Wa state in the third century.¹⁸ In any case, King Namjeh or O-Oto is unanimously identified with King Keitai. Since Paekche king Muryong was Wa king Bu, Ooto or King Keitai must have been a member of the Paekche royal family.

King Konji, who was Wa king Koh, is recorded to have had five sons by 461 in Japan and his second son Mata became Paekche king Dongseong. So one of his sons could be well qualified as the successor of Wa king Bu who went to Paekche in 501 to assume the throne. Actually King Muryong had a son Saga in Wa Japan who died young, but not before having a son Pobsa, the ancestor of the Yamato clan as recorded in the compilation of the family registry in the year 812.

Oshisaga (意柴沙加)

This palace name still remains as the place name Osaga in Sakurai city, Nara. One of the sons of King Bitatsu (reigned 572–585 A.D.) was named "Oshisaga no Hikohito Ohime", which included the place name Oshisaga. This prince, a great grandson of King O-oto or Keitai, had a son who became King Joh-meï (629–641) and was buried in the Oshisaga Mausoleum. These facts indicate that this royal family thrived

with the homestead at Oshisaga for a long time from earlier than 503 to 641. But *Nihongi* describes O-oto as having moved around for twenty years prior to settling down at the above-mentioned palace.

Sama (斯麻)

The epitaph found in King Muryong's tomb bears the name Sama, matching the records in *Nihongi*. The records tell us the story of Sama being born on an island offshore from Kyushu in 601. As we found, Sama was raised in Wa Japan and served as its king for over twenty years until he returned to Paekche to ascend the throne. Sama or King Bu of Wa Japan sent a state epistle to Sung China in 478. Analyzing the sentence in the letter that his father and brother died suddenly and kept three years mourning period and now he is ready with army to revenge their deaths at the hands of Koguryo army, which sacked the Paekche's capital at Wirye near Seoul in 475, Soh Jin-chol deduced that Wa king Bu must be none other than Sama, the son of King Gaero.¹⁹

In 479, King Samgeun of Paekche was assassinated and the second son Mata of the late King Koh (Konji) returned to Paekche to become King Dongseong, who was a cousin of King Bu or Sama. After marvelous achievement as a king, Dongseong was also assassinated. This time Wa king Bu returned to Paekche to become King Muryong, making Paekche stronger and more prosperous than ever before, with control over 22 tamros or territories. Now it was time for some other royal family members of Paekche in Wa Japan to succeed the vacated throne. So it was O-oto, or King Keitai, who must have been one of Sama's cousins.

Kaijung Bichi (開中費直)

This is an intriguing word. The last ideogram "jik" (直) turns out to be equivalent to "chi" (值) or value, which can be translated as "atahi" in Japanese. This word "bi-chi" is replaced by "bi" alone and later by "chi" (直), which is read "atai".²⁰

Now Atai becomes a kabane or clan title. This clan now enjoyed the prerogative of political power directly related to royalty and handled finance and its related documents. It is interesting to note that readings or writings of ideograms evolve in a peculiarly Japanese style unlike Korean Idu. An example would be Dai Wa (大倭), which was the name

originally used to represent Wa Japan. The ideogram Wa (倭) was replaced by another Wa (和) and later the word Dai Wa (大和) was read as Yamato, the original place name of Wa Japan's territory. Soon Wa (倭) or Wa (和) was read as Yamato. It now became common practice to read many ideograms by seemingly arbitrary Japanese sounds.

As to the first word Kaijung, it is generally understood to represent the place name Kawachi written as 河内. In the time of Wa Japan in the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries, Kawachi in the Osaka region was the political, military, and economic power base of the country. This is well documented not only in various historical records but also by abundant archeological finds, including numerous ancient tombs related to the Paekche people which dot the Kawachi countryside.

“Man of Yeh” (穢人)

The Yeh people had an interesting history of migration. Their migration began with the establishment of the Changhai commandery in northeastern China after their acknowledgment of Han Chinese suzerainty in 128 A.D. Some of these people must have moved to the Pyongyang area since a seal was found in the area bearing the title of Lord Yeh at Bu Country of Lolang Commandery. Another seal, bearing the title of Yeh chief of hundred households of Jinsolseon, was later found near Yongil in Kyongsang province.

A stele from 524 was found near Bongpyong village, Ulchin county, bearing an inscription that a campaign by Silla was directed against the rebellious Yeh people.²¹ It so happens that one of the most prosperous groups of settlers from the Korean peninsula to Wa Japan were called the Hata people, whose original home is believed to have been at Patara near Ulchin. Perhaps these Hata people also belonged to the Yeh clan, since Patara and Bongpyong are in the same region.

These Yeh people fled heavy taxation and political oppression to establish a new home in Japan. Both Paekche and the Yeh had conflicts with Silla, which may be why they could co-exist so well in Kawachi in Wa Japan. Versed in the high culture of China since early in their history, the Yeh were skilled not only in the use of Chinese ideograms, but also in agriculture, sericulture, and metallurgy. This is how these Yeh people, including the Hata clan, in collaboration with Paekche royalty in Wa

Japan, became prosperous and powerful in Kawachi.

Probably Kawachi Atai was familiar with bronze metallurgy as well and this is why he was sent to make the bronze mirror. This bronze mirror is found to have been modeled after another mirror excavated from another tomb in Yao city, Osakae.²² Kimi Shuri (今州利) seems a common Paekche name, as there are several similar names recorded in *Nihongi*.

Finally, we may present our translation of the inscription on the Hachiman bronze mirror:

In the year 503, as a grand king, I, Sama, have dispatched Kimi Shuri of the Kawachi Atai clan and two others to fabricate this bronze mirror with two hundred fine chips of bronze for the longevity of King Ooto.

Conclusion

By understanding these six keywords, we reach the following conclusion with regard to the inscription on the Shitahachiman bronze mirror. We conclude that Sama, the Great King of Paekche, ordered this bronze mirror made for King Namjeh, who had ascended the throne of Wa Japan, succeeding Sama. We conjecture the Oshisaga palace of Ooto to be the place where Sama was raised in Kawachi. We believe Ooto is a cousin of Sama, in consideration of the strict tradition of kingly succession among Paekche royalty. Sama had a son called Saga who passed away young, but had a son Pobsa. Pobsa or Hohshi in Japanese was listed as the ancestor of the Yamato clan, which kept producing some royal members including the mother of fiftieth King Kanmu. So this line of the Paekche royal family is continued down to this day in the royal family of Japan.

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Life at Port Hamilton during the “Preventive Occupation,” 1885–87

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On April 15, 1885, under the pretext of a perceived threat of Russian occupation of Port Hamilton, a British force of three heavy ironclads sailed into Port Hamilton and began a two-year “preventive occupation.” Much has already been written on the political and historical aspects of this action, but very little has been done on the living conditions of the garrison and the troubles they faced. This article will look at some of those issues.

Although British Government documents were consulted,¹ along with various books and articles (some of them published in *Transactions*), a large part of the material comes from Chinese and Japanese contemporary newspapers which tend to give accounts, although somewhat opinionated, that are only briefly alluded to in other sources.

When the British first arrived at the island group they were faced with three immediate needs (excluding defense): food, water and shelter. We will examine each of these and other aspects of life at Port Hamilton, including entertainment, disease and death.

Food and Livelihood

When the British first arrived at Port Hamilton they found that the islanders had very little food. In fact, in the beginning the British paid their 300 Korean laborers with rice and corn.² Later, as the food situation improved, payment was renegotiated and the Koreans each received 75 Korean *cash* per day, not only for their labor but for the loss of their livelihood from fishing, which they claimed was destroyed after the British drove away all the fish with their gunnery practice and fortification

construction.³ The British vice-admiral was less than impressed and thought that the Koreans were lazy and did no fishing, instead allowing the Japanese to harvest the ocean.⁴ As for agriculture, he was convinced that the Koreans only raised enough to pay their taxes.

In addition to the fish, it is interesting to note that the waters around Port Hamilton were thought to contain pearls. A newspaper account claimed that "pearl oysters abound in these waters, and some very fair specimens of pearls have been already picked up among the natives."⁵ Almost a year later an American schooner, appropriately named the Pearl, arrived at Port Hamilton and challenged the right of the British to prevent the ship from harvesting pearls in the waters around Port Hamilton. The Pearl had a concession signed by the Korean government allowing it to harvest pearls anywhere along the Korean coast except for Cheju Island. Eventually an agreement was reached between the vice-admiral and the captain of the Pearl, and the American schooner left Port Hamilton in search of pearls elsewhere.⁶

Not only was there very little grain on the island when the British arrived, there was virtually no livestock,⁷ forcing the British to import everything from cattle, sheep, pigs, and goats, to geese and other fowl. It was soon discovered that not all animals fared well on the islands. The sheep were not able to survive because they could not digest the tough bamboo grass,⁸ and though the fowl did fairly well, they were harassed by hawks and crows.⁹

Cattle, however, did do well on the island and were quickly brought from Nagasaki and probably Pusan. The Japanese were approached by the British to transport cattle and supplies with their steamships to Port Hamilton,¹⁰ but the Japanese government declined, probably because of its desire to remain neutral in a war between Russia and England. In addition, Port Hamilton was not an open port, and by transporting goods for the British, problems between Korea and Japan might have arisen. The British were forced to charter British steamers in addition to using their warships to transport goods.

Loading cattle was not an easy task. The cattle were often forced to swim to the ship to be hoisted aboard; unloading was done in reverse. For the most part, the animals fared well on their journey to Port Hamilton, but during the severe storms in the summer of 1885, two

British warships transporting livestock noted that the bullocks had a "bad time" on the way over.¹¹

Once the animals arrived at Port Hamilton they were off-loaded on Sodo Island where the fleet's slaughterhouse was located. Because there was very little water on Observatory Island where the garrison was located, the cattle were kept on Sodo and tended to by Koreans until the animals were needed, then slaughtered and butchered. Although I have no evidence, I believe the cattle were butchered by the British and not the Koreans. Later accounts from other parts of Korea indicate that the Europeans had a strong aversion to the methods Koreans used in butchering and preparing meat.

There were other animals as well: a couple of cocker spaniels are evident in some of the pictures, employed as hunting dogs and companions. Evidently geese were also present and perhaps used as sentries,¹² and chickens undoubtedly added to the garrison's diet with their eggs and flesh.

Water

Water was a main concern for the garrison. When the British first arrived on Observatory Island where the garrison was located, they were surprised to find that it was uninhabited. The reason soon became clear. The island had some water, but most of the streams dried up during the summer and those that did not were determined to have unsafe water. The garrison solved this problem by keeping one gunboat on station to condense water which was then dragged up the hill to the barracks.¹³ In addition, several large tanks were removed from the warship HMS Audacious and used to store emergency water. Later, Vice-Admiral Hamilton requested that the condensers aboard the Opossum, a 'contagious' hospital ship stationed in Hong Kong, be removed and shipped to Port Hamilton for the garrison's use. Whether this request was granted or not is unknown.

Here is an example of how severe the water problem was. In June 1886, Vice-Admiral Hamilton, concerned about the safety of his garrison, ordered grenades supplied so that the barracks could be destroyed in case of fire. It was deemed impossible to fight the fires with the limited amount of water available.

Shelter

Shelter was a grave concern for the garrison. It consisted of about 100 marines in addition to the sailors aboard their ships. When the first marines arrived on the island they lived in small tents pitched on the bare slopes of a hill overlooking the anchorage, exposed to the powerful winds that roared through the harbor.

During the first couple of months of the occupation, a great deal of timber was transported to Port Hamilton, but it was mainly used in building defenses (booms), and the support buildings. These support buildings consisted of a small shack used as the telegraph operator's hut, two small warehouses, and a gun cotton magazine.

Telegraph service was established in late May 1885 when a cable was laid between China and the garrison. The two telegraph operators were quartered aboard the warship HMS Merlin until their prefabricated hut was transported to the garrison from Hong Kong. Their equipment was initially kept in a small shed.¹⁴

In late July a severe typhoon struck the islands, ripping the tents and threatened to dash the warships ashore. The vessels had to keep their steam up and be double anchored just to maintain their positions. After the storm it was apparent that the garrison needed stronger and more permanent housing, and work began on the ten or more wooden barracks. Most likely the buildings were put up by the British with the assistance of the Koreans. Although these structures were clean and much sturdier than the tents, they were not weatherproof. The buildings leaked, allowed the cold air and the elements to enter, and needed to be caulked. They were also inadequately heated; during that first winter "the officers and men lived completely in their great coats to keep themselves warm and dry."¹⁵ Off-handedly the vice-admiral noted that the hardships of the winter had toughened his men and officers, but he didn't wish to see them endure another winter under such conditions.

After the telegraph cable was damaged and rendered inoperable, the telegraph office was converted into a kitchen/mess hall for the garrison. The building was too small and the stove inadequate for the number of men that the mess hall served. A 'contagious hospital' was also planned for the garrison, but it is unclear whether it was built, especially after Port Hamilton proved not conducive to the general health of the garrison.

The garrison commander tried to improve the living conditions for the men by ordering additional heaters, and also made a contract with Mr. Tah Lee, a Chinese man, to repair and strengthen the barracks.¹⁶ So severe were the conditions that a newspaper noted: "The spot on Observatory Island on which the huts for the present garrison of Marines are built, is exposed to gales so violent at times that the huts are held down by heavy chains passed over the roofs and anchored to the ground."¹⁷

Entertainment

Life on Port Hamilton was extremely boring. Because of its isolation there was little in the form of entertainment, especially in the later part of the occupation when the Russians were no longer feared. The enlisted men often put on plays and musicals to amuse themselves and their officers. Perhaps some of their inspiration came from the "Port Hamilton Circulating Library." A supply of books, described as "somewhat ancient light literature," was donated by the foreign community at Nagasaki and then delivered by British warship to the men at Port Hamilton, who viewed the books as a "god-send to the whole fleet."¹⁸ Once the Russian threat faded, the men were rotated back to Shanghai, Chefoo, or Nagasaki for shore leave.¹⁹

The officers "shouldered spade and pick" and built a tennis court during the first months of the occupation, and often spent their leisure time playing tennis.²⁰ But many desired a more manly sport. A group of these officers accordingly got together and formed the "Port Hamilton Game Club," a rather grand name considering there was no wildlife on the islands except crows, hawks, and poisonous snakes.²¹ They pooled their money to introduce live pheasants, brought to the islands from China. One of the officers chosen to buy and import the pheasants was a "Wast Country Sportsman" who brought back eighteen birds to help begin the operation—unfortunately seventeen of the birds were males.²² Despite this early mistake, the birds and subsequent shipments did fairly well and quickly reproduced. By October 1886, more than 200 pheasants had been imported,²³ and quickly reproduced so that the islands were almost overstocked with the birds, "as the natives do not touch them, their only enemies being the egg-stealing crows in the spring, and the kites and hawks that migrate over to the islands in the autumn."²⁴

In addition to the pheasants, quail were found in great numbers, and were hunted by the men while the pheasant were still quite rare. A British officer who hunted throughout the Far East had this to say about hunting quail on Port Hamilton: "In the month of October, there is an annual invasion of quail; and with a smart dog, it is quite possible to make exceedingly good bags of these little birds; as many as five hundred having been shot by one gun, in part of a season."²⁵

Others took the opportunity to work with their hands. Some of the marine officers took great pleasure in establishing little farms complete with vegetable gardens, and took great pride in their small farms of pigs, goats, sheep and fowl of all kinds.²⁶

Relations with the Koreans

The British naval base was located on the center island, Observation Island, which was uninhabited by Koreans, who, except for working with the sailors, had very little contact with them. The sailors and marines were under a "strict non-intercourse system" with the Koreans, not only in an effort to prevent any incidents from occurring, but also as a preventive measure against disease.

The Korean women were extremely shy, and rarely seen by the British. "At the approach of a European, the women all hide themselves, whether fearing the evil eye or from being maltreated by the Europeans in the past is not known."²⁷ The fleet surgeon noted "Any woman one chances to meet darts away like a hare, and one is lucky to get more than a glimpse of a pretty face, a short jacket and a kind of ballet-girl petticoat disappearing through a hole in a wall."²⁸

The British were appalled at the Korean islanders' sanitation. A trip to the villages, in the words of one British officer, was "not a pleasant undertaking." The villages were filthy and reeked of the garbage and offal that was left to rot in the streets in the hopes that it would be eaten by the stray dogs or washed away by one of the storms.

The Korean islanders enjoyed drinking, a fact noted by Cyprian Bridge in his report of 1875. A. G. Wildley, fleet surgeon for the Port Hamilton garrison, also commented about the Koreans' penchant for drinking: "It is a lamentable fact that by sunset the majority of the islanders are drunk with saki, mirthfully or otherwise." Yet, despite their

frequent drunkenness, I could find no accounts of trouble erupting between the Koreans and British.

Another vice that the Koreans had was tobacco. Tobacco was introduced to Korea in the late sixteenth century, probably by the Japanese. Hendrik Hamel noted that even children four or five years of age smoked it, and that it was rare to encounter people who did not.²⁹ British officers who visited the villages were often followed by a dozen Korean boys who pestered them in broken English for tobacco. If they were refused, the youths cursed at the officers in "volleys of British oaths" that they had undoubtedly learned from previous visitors.³⁰

There is no question that the Koreans were intelligent. When James Scott negotiated land leases with the local magistrates he was a little surprised that they had "considerable knowledge of political affairs affecting Corea," and they also sought to avoid paying taxes to the Korean government.³¹ As mentioned above, there were several Koreans that were able to learn English as a result of their intercourse with the British. One Korean who was employed as a scavenger in the British camp for less than a year learned enough English to speak and write well enough to be understood by his employers.³²

Although there are many accounts from early Westerners about Koreans stealing and lying, there is only one reference to theft during the British occupation. A British officer, Captain Powlett, stated that the Koreans had "thieving propensities"³³ but did not elaborate. It seems strange that the British would not have noted it if it was such a common occurrence.

Many of the Englishmen, especially the officers, had very negative impressions of the Koreans. Some described them as "lazy," "a filthy race," and "far from acceptable guests on board a man-of-war." Captain Powlett even noted superiorly: "There is no room for civilization and barbarism to exist side by side."³⁴

Despite the negativism that the British had for the Koreans, the Koreans seemed to have had good feelings for the British. According to Vice-Admiral Hamilton, a Korean magistrate thanked Captain Powlett for the good relations between their two people, "asking at the same time for more work" for his people. When the British left in January 1887, they claimed that the islanders were sad to see them leave.

Disease

Many of the Korean islanders had smallpox and cholera, and epidemics in 1885–86 were especially virulent in which thousands of Koreans across the country and a few foreigners lost their lives.³⁵ A popular illustrated weekly newspaper had a front page depiction of a British officer's day on shore at Port Hamilton that demonstrates the fear these sailors had of contracting disease. In one frame he is shown holding a bunch of medicinal herbs in front of his nose and warding off a group of half-naked Korean children with a stick because there was "Small Pox among the natives." The next frame shows him cowering at one end of a boat as the Koreans transport him back to his garrison.³⁶ It was probably because of this enforced segregation that the British were able to avoid the brunt of this disease. However, this remains open to interpretation.

In late August 1885, at the height of the cholera season in Korea, the HMS Audacious sailed from Port Hamilton and visited Yokohama, Japan. It was noted that several of the officers were extremely sick and one officer, Capt. Liardet of the marines, died of malarial fever and was buried in Kobe, Japan. Lieutenant Hawker died en route and was buried at sea.³⁷ Naval Instructor A. T. Knight and three other officers were confined to the Naval Hospital for treatment of sunstroke and fever—Knight died shortly after being admitted.

These were not the only fatalities. Just a few days later the HMS Cleopatra also suffered an outbreak of fever aboard ship. P. T. M. Hughes, the assistant paymaster, was suddenly stricken with fever, slipped into unconsciousness, and died. A week later Acting Sub-Lieutenants E. A. Day and A. P. Camber were similarly stricken with fever. Their fates are unknown.³⁸

There is no conclusive proof that these men fell ill while at Port Hamilton, but the *North China Herald* did note: "It was naturally thought that Port Hamilton would be a healthy place, but, possibly from undue exposure up there, the officers seem to have suffered somewhat severely." Also: "[I]t has been matter for some wonder that during the warm summer months so many ships should have been cooped up in the confined harbours of Port Hamilton and Nagasaki, instead of being detached to the other port[s]."³⁹

Death

Death is a constant companion for members of the military, and the garrison at Port Hamilton was no exception. Nine men died and were buried at Port Hamilton during the British occupation,⁴⁰ some due to natural causes, but most to accidents.

Perhaps the best known accident involved Private Ward, a young British marine. On May 16, 1886 an enterprising Japanese fisherman arrived and set up camp with five Japanese women on Observatory Island to dry his fish. Even though it was well established that the Japanese had used the island in the past, this particular fisherman seems to have had more than fishing on his mind. Word soon spread amongst the young sailors and marines that female company could be purchased. On the first night, three young marines, not having been with women for some time, tried to sneak over to the Japanese camp, but were discovered and caught. The guard was increased, but early on the morning of May 18, twelve marines launched two boats and tried to make their way to the Japanese camp. They were soon discovered missing and a search was started. When they were spotted, another boat was sent out to intercept them and bring them in. The companionship-starved marines, seeking to evade capture, inadvertently capsized their boat, dumping six of them into the water. Five of the marines were rescued, but the sixth, Private Ward, was unable to swim and with the "considerable weight of silver dollars in his pockets" drowned.⁴¹ An initial search failed to turn up the body and the garrison commander offered a five-dollar reward for its recovery. Eventually the body was recovered and the hapless youth laid to rest.

Other accidents occurred in the line of duty. In July 1885 the warship *Cleopatra* was transferring coal from the steamship *Merionethshire* at night. The *Cleopatra* used its new electric light to aid in the operation, but due to an electrical problem, the resistance box suddenly burst into flames at two in the morning. Fortunately the crew was able to extinguish the fire with a water hose after about twenty minutes.⁴² There were no casualties or injuries, but not all accidents ended as well as this one did.

In early March 1886, a training accident aboard the *HMS Albatross* claimed two British sailors' lives. The *Albatross* had just finished target practice with its Nordenfeldt guns in the vicinity of Port Hamilton. The

sailors, in a rush to store their equipment and return to port, inadvertently left a live round in one of the guns in the bow. None remembered it. As the ship was returning to port a rope struck the charging handle of the gun and the round went off, mortally wounding two men and severely injuring a third. The third man eventually recovered, but William J. Nubbay, a sailor, and Charles Dale, a ships' boy only 17 years old, soon died of their wounds and were laid to rest.⁴³

On June 11 another weapon firing accident occurred, this time aboard the *Cleopatra*. The ship was engaged in prize firing when one of the guns suddenly discharged while being loaded. Private Oliver, a marine, was killed instantly and Lance Corporal Green had part of his right arm blown off and suffered severe head injuries. Imperfect sponging was thought to be the cause of the accident.⁴⁴ The *Cleopatra* returned to Port Hamilton and the unfortunate marine was buried at five o'clock the same evening. The doctors did what they could for Lance Corporal Green, including amputating his arm above the elbow, but the wounds proved too serious and he died the following day and was buried.⁴⁵

The last Westerner to die at Port Hamilton during the "preventive occupation" was buried on June 26. W. M. Bowles, a stoker aboard the *HMS Champion* died of an aneurism while at his station.⁴⁶ There were three others who were buried at Port Hamilton whose causes of death are unknown. They are Frederick C. Skinner, a ship's boy aboard the *HMS Audacious*, John D. Mackett who is listed as a writer aboard the *HMS Pegasus*, and Samuel Smith, Third Engineer aboard the steamship *Merienethshire*, which had been contracted by the British government to transport goods to the garrison.

Conclusion

The British finally ended their occupation of Port Hamilton in February 1887. The buildings were advertised for sale in newspapers in Nagasaki and Shanghai, but as one paper noted: "Tenders are still 'wanted' for the purchase of the British Government property at Port Hamilton. Notwithstanding the fact that every inducement and facility have been offered to intending purchasers by the British naval authorities, we believe that not a single offer has been received."⁴⁷ Eventually all that could be moved and salvaged was loaded aboard steamers and

transported away. The British left behind more than 700 bricks, which they abandoned to the Koreans, and the telegraph cable, which they later sold to the Eastern Extension Telegraph Company and was moved to Shanghai in July 1887.

And, of course, they left the graves of nine Englishmen.

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2. According to James Scott: "On the arrival of our fleet in April last, the villagers were in a most destitute condition, their supplies of food being almost exhausted. Labour was therefore paid for in rice, 9 lbs. being allowed to each workman." (James Scott to Consul-General Aston in Seoul, Aug. 31, 1885, in *Correspondence*. See also Vice-Admiral Sir W. Dowell to the Secretary to the Admiralty, May 28, 1885, in *Correspondence*.)
3. Scott to Aston, Aug. 31, 1885, in *Correspondence*.
4. This seems in contradiction of what Cyprian Bridge wrote about his journey to the islands in 1875: "A few small fishing-craft were standing into the bay, their white or pale-blue pennons fluttering in the gentle breeze from slender staves erected in their high-pitched sterns." Captain Belcher stated: "Their occupation seemed to be solely fishing and that they had a tolerable fleet of well-found substantial boats." (Sir Edward Belcher, *Narrative of the Voyage of the H.M.S. Samarang* (London, 1848), 352.
5. *North China Herald*, Aug. 7, 1885.
6. Robert Neff, "The American Pearl in Choson," *Korea Times*, Sept. 18, 2004.
7. Cyprian Bridge noted in 1875 when he visited the island that the only domesticated animals were pigs and dogs.
8. Captain Powlett to Vice-Admiral Hamilton, April 7, 1885, in *Correspondence*.
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10. Scott to Aston, Aug. 31, 1885, in *Correspondence*.
11. *North China Herald*, July 31, 1885.
12. *The Graphic*, Feb. 12, 1887, in Whitwell, 54.
13. Powlett to Hamilton, April 7, 1885, in *Correspondence*.
14. Vice-Admiral Sir W. Dowell to the Secretary to the Admiralty, June 3, 1885, in *Correspondence*.
15. Vice-Admiral Hamilton to Admiralty, June 2, 1886, in *Correspondence*.
16. *North China Herald*, Aug. 6, 1886; *Japanese Gazette*, Aug. 4, 1886.
17. *North China Herald*, Oct. 6, 1886.

18. *Japanese Gazette*, Aug. 4, 1886.
19. When the *Nautilus*, an Austrian warship, visited Port Hamilton in June 1885, Captain Spetzler, the commander, noted that: "Most of the English forces were absent from Port Hamilton because they took in celebrating the honor of the so called "Seventh Imperial Prince" in Chefoo and Port Arthur and afterwards they went on to Nagasaki."
20. *North China Herald*, July 3, 1885; *The Graphic*, Feb. 12, 1887, in Whitwell, 54.
21. William Blakeney, *On the Coasts of Cathay and Cipango Forty Years Ago* (London: Elliot Stock, 1902), 163. The crew of the HMS *Actaeon* traveled to Port Hamilton in May 1859 and noted that the islands had many vipers—"one was caught measuring 6 feet 8 inches."
22. Christopher Cradock, *Sporting Notes in the Far East* (London: Griffith, Farran, Okeden & Welsh, 1889), 128; Robert Neff, "Port Hamilton Sportsman Club," *Korea Times*, May 1, 2004.
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24. Cradock, 128.
25. *Ibid.*
26. *The Graphic*, Feb. 12, 1887, in Whitwell, 54.
27. Vice-Admiral Hamilton to the secretary to the Admiralty, June 1, 1886, in *Correspondence*.
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29. Vibeke Roeper and Boudewijn Walraven, ed., *Hamel's World: A Dutch-Korean Encounter in the Seventeenth Century* (Amsterdam: Sun Publishers, 2003), 151.
30. *The Graphic*, Feb. 12, 1887, in Whitwell, 54.
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33. Powlett to Hamilton, April 7, 1885, in *Correspondence*.
34. *Ibid.*
35. Robert Neff, "Small Pox: Child Killer," *Korea Times*, Feb. 28, 2004; Robert Neff, "Cholera, the Rat Disease," *Korea Times*, July 10, 2004.
36. *The Graphic*, Dec. 11, 1886.
37. *North China Herald*, Sept. 11, 1885.
38. *North China Herald*, Sept. 25, 1885.
39. *North China Herald*, Sept. 11, 1885.
40. There are actually ten Englishmen buried at Port Hamilton, but one English sailor, A. B. Alexander Wood of the HMS *Albion* was buried on the island in 1903. Of the original gravestones only the stone for Nubbay and Dale remains, and the wooden cross for Wood; the others have long since fallen. The British government erected a memorial in 1998 upon which the names of the other men were listed in a rededication ceremony. (Whitwell, 27-28.)
41. Secretary of the Admiralty to Sir P. Currie, July 21, 1886, in *Correspondence*.
42. *North China Herald*, Aug. 7, 1885.

43. *North China Herald*, Mar. 24, 1886.
44. *North China Herald*, July 2, 1886.
45. *Japanese Gazette*, July 14, 1886.
46. *Ibid.*
47. *North China Herald*, Feb. 9, 1887.

The Origin and Development of Sericulture in Korea

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The Origin and Spread of Sericulture

Archaeological evidence indicates that sericulture, the cultivation of silk worm cocoons and the weaving of the silken threads into fabric, originated in China some time during the Neolithic period. At the Hunote site near the estuary of the Yangtze river, for example, seven thousand-year-old ivory cups have been found decorated with carvings of silkworms. At the Neolithic Qia site in Ganxi province, a terracotta jar was recovered with a depiction of silkworms on its surface, and at the Yangshao site (3500 B.C.) in Shansi province, a spool and cocoon, not in full, were found.

At the Hongshan site in China's Liaoning province, which has been dated to 2800 B.C., many carvings of silkworms have been identified on jade and marble. This region is especially interesting since the Korean people are believed to have come from here. According to Dr. Hux Degong of the Shantung Sericulture Research Center, the people of Tongyue in the regions of Shantung, Hubei, and Hunan, where the Lungshan, Hongshan and Chingyangshan cultures flourished, cultivated silkworms to produce silk textiles and played a crucial role in the worldwide spread of sericulture. In fact, the oldest extant silk material, dated to 5,500 years ago, was found at dwelling sites of the Tongyue people at Chingai, Hunan, on the lower reaches of the Yellow river.

Fragments of silk were found in a jar coffin of a child, a small carbonized square of tabby silk and a longer strip (30 cm. x 8 cm.) of reddish gauze silk. At the Qiansanyang site (2750 B.C.) in Cheung, Hunan, some fragments of silk rope and silk band were found.

The Origin and Development of Sericulture in Korea

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At the Hongshau sites in China's Liaoning province, which has been dated to 2000 B.C., many carvings of silkworms have been identified on jades and marble. This region is especially interesting since the Korean people are believed to have come from here. According to Dr. Hua Degong of the Shantung Sericulture Research Center, the people of Tongyee in the regions of Shantung, Hubei, and Hunan, where the Lungshan, Hongshan and Chingyengjian cultures flourished, cultivated silkworms to produce silk textiles and played a crucial role in the worldwide spread of sericulture. In fact, the oldest extant silk material, dated to 5,500 years ago, was found at dwelling sites of the Tongyee people at Chingtai, Hunan, on the lower reaches of the Yellow river.

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The earliest *geum* silk—silk fabric interwoven with colorfully dyed silk yarn—was found at Chaoyang in Liaoning province. This area was occupied by the people of Old Joseon, who included the Tongyee people, although the Chinese claim the area was under West Chou dynasty, which is unlikely. *Geum* silk was considered at the time to be as precious as gold. Rare extant samples of it are today equally prized for what they tell us about the development of sericulture in the Far East. Such samples include fragments of *geum* silk and tabby silk found in the tomb of a child at Moa mountain in Jilin, China. They have been dated to 300 B.C., and are believed to have come from the Korean kingdom of Puyeo, from which the later kingdoms of Koguryo and Paekche descended. According to the chronicle of Wei China, the people of Puyeo wore clothes made from painted silk, plain silk, and *geum* silk.

With regard to evidence of silk manufacture in Korea proper, perfectly preserved silk threads were found in a coffin in a tomb at Dahori, South Korea, dating from the first century B.C. This confirms references in the Wei chronicle to the people of southern Korea tending mulberry trees and silk worms and producing silk material. At various archeological sites near Pyongyang, tabby silk, gauze silk, and lacquered *sa* silk were found by Japanese excavators, who claimed that they were from the Lolang period under Han dynasty rule. However, from old place names within Korea proper such as *Jamdae*, meaning “silk place,” we may conclude that sericulture must have been a native Korean industry.

By the fourth century A.D. sericulture had spread to the west via the Silk Road. At first silk was referred as “ser,” and China itself as “Serindia.” “Ser” is believed to have come from the Mongolian word “sirghek,” and it has been suggested that the Korean word “silke” for a silk bundle shares the etymology of silk.

In China the export of silk worm cocoons was strictly forbidden. According to one legend, however, a Chinese princess smuggled a silk cocoon out of the country hidden in her headgear when she was married off to the western kingdom of Khotan. Evidence that this tale may actually be true can be seen in an engraved wooden block found by the explorer Stein in an ancient temple in Khotan, depicting a maid pointing at a cocoon hidden in the hair of a princess. A vessel filled with silk

worm cocoons is also depicted, as well as a silk thread spindle, suggesting that the princess smuggled not only silk cocoons out of China, but silk weaving technology as well. In any event knowledge of sericulture eventually was carried further west into the Roman Empire by monks sent to Khotan from Byzantium in the sixth century.

Sericulture in the Three Kingdoms Period

It was during the Three Kingdoms period that sericulture in Korea really flourished. Various silk textiles such as *gyun*, *si*, *joo*, *sa*, *neung*, *gi*, *geum*, and *ra*, as well as colorfully patterned and embroidered silks were produced in both government and private factories. These products and the underlying technology were eventually exported to Japan. In the Koguryo period, ramie and silkworms were raised and sericulture further encouraged, resulting in the development of a variety of products and dyeing techniques. The Chinese chronicle *Hanwon* records that such textiles as *geum* silk and cotton fabric were produced in Koguryo, while the Tang chronicle mentions that *ra* silk in various colors was used in Koguryo. In the Koguryo murals at Jiban, one can see paintings of *geum* silk decorated with patterns of the character for "king" (王).

Examples of blue and gold colored silk have been recovered in excavations. Another popular color was white, which was especially prized in China, while *ikat* was exported to Japan. Examples of Koguryo silk are still preserved in the Shosoin treasure house in Japan, including a silk banner embroidered with a beaded medallion pattern. This pattern, which originated in Persia and became fashionable worldwide between the seventh and ninth centuries with the growth in global trade, may be observed in Silla tiles and bricks.

In Koguryo, cotton material called *baekcheop-po* (白疊布) was produced for export to China. This shows that cotton material was produced in Koguryo well before Moon Ik-jeom brought cotton seeds from Vietnam to Goryeo in the fourteenth century.

In the Tang chronicle, it is recorded that the king of Paekche wore trousers of blue silk. The Japanese chronicle *Nihon Shoki* records that silk weaver Juag Anna of Paekche came to Japan and produced *kara nisiki* at Momohara in Kawachi prefecture, some of which is still preserved. *Nihon Shoki* also mentions the receipt of a gift from Paekche in

the fifteenth year of Kinmei's reign (554 A.D.) of *tapdeung*, which means "rug" in Persian. By this time Silla craftsmen were skilled at producing rugs and other wool materials. According to *Samguk Sagi*, the founding king and queen of Silla planted mulberry trees and encouraged sericulture; the resulting silk was used in the king's own crown. The chronicle also records that Queen Jindeok had silk decorated with poetry woven into the fabric to present to the Tang emperor. Recently fragments of such silk were found in a stupa at Bulguksa temple, and in the Heavenly House tomb.

The Goryeo Dynasty

During the Goryeo dynasty advances in textile technology were achieved through continuing trade with China. One innovation was the development of gold and silver tinted silk yarns woven into beautiful textiles. From the book "Three City Ode" by Choi Ja, we know that Goryeo aristocrats wrapped the columns of their residences in such rich silks, and laid colored carpets of it upon their floors.

At this time textiles were produced not only in government factories, but also in private workshops and Buddhist temples. The government established offices called garment bureaus, where variously titled craftsmen produced high-quality textiles for the royal family and aristocracy, and for trade with foreign countries. Extant samples of fabric from this period, amounting to more than three hundred pieces, have been found in stupas and inside Buddha statues, where they were placed as offerings, providing us with valuable clues not only into Goryeo sericulture technology, but also in fabric preservation. From these recovered pieces we know that Goryeo silk was of the finest quality, and that a wide variety of methods were used in its weaving, dyeing, embroidery, and decoration. Particularly striking are the weaving methods employed to produce beautiful patterns. With regard to these methods, Goryeo craftsmen are now known to have employed damask, gauge, compound weave, lampas, and weaving with supplementary weft and brocade.

The Joseon Dynasty

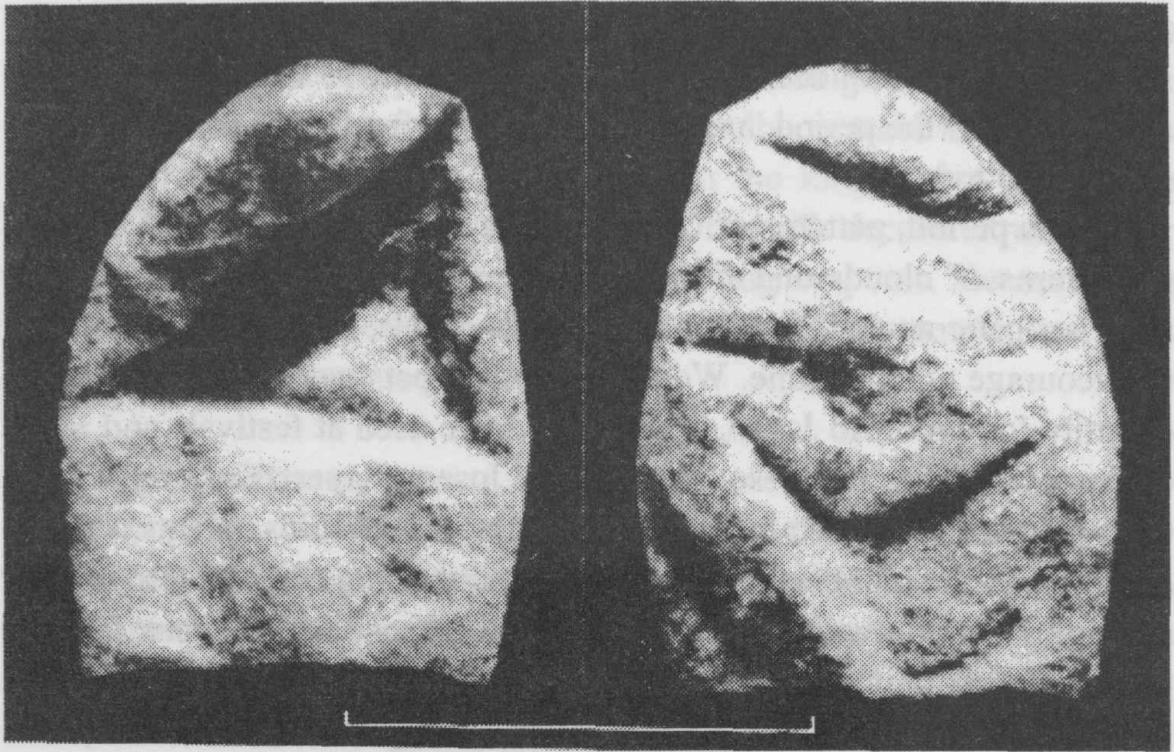
Sericulture was encouraged from the early days of the Joseon dynasty, with the publication of a "Commentary on Sericulture" in the fourth year

King Sejo's reign. Although subsequent invasions and upheavals devastated the kingdom and led to a decline in the production of luxury items, silk continued to be manufactured, as evidenced in material recovered from tombs of the period, and in contemporary family treasures that have survived to today.

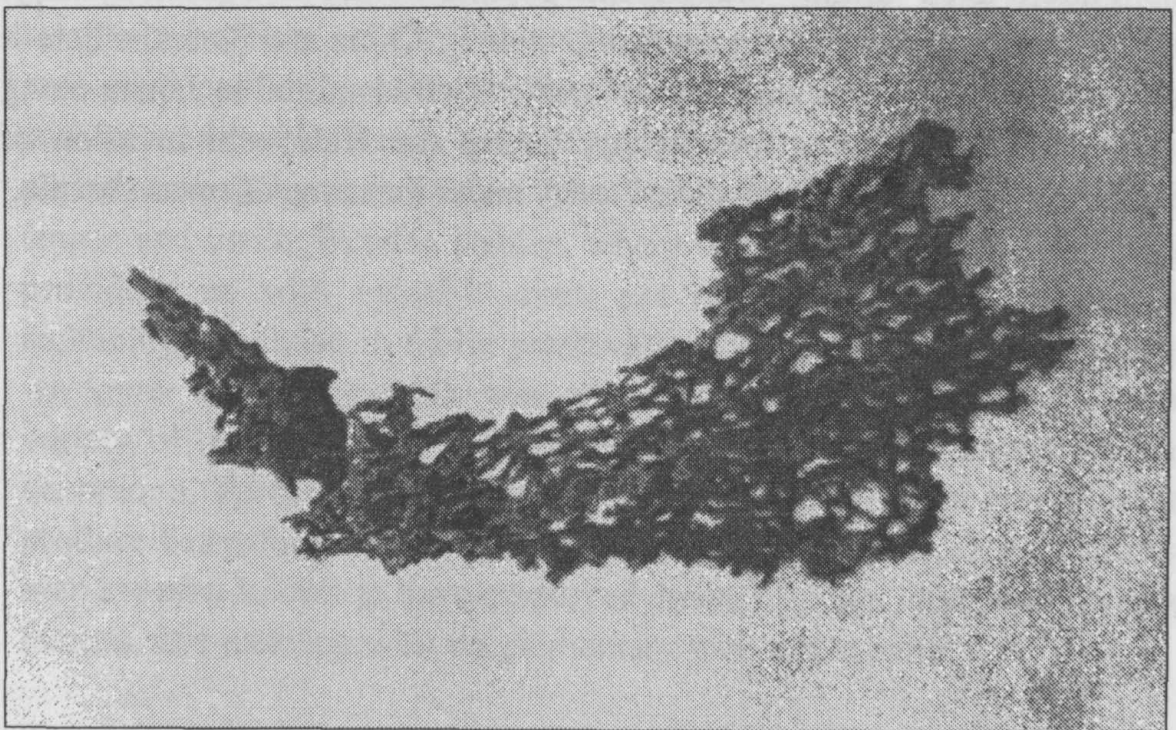
In this period, patterns of Chinese characters were often used, as well as patterns of clouds and flowers. These were designed not solely for their aesthetic appeal, but from Confucian ideals, and a pragmatic wish to encourage good fortune. Wool rugs and carpets were also produced in quantity for export to Japan, where they were used at festivals and in tea ceremonies. The Japanese call them "Joseon tapestries," and many examples still exist, featuring abstract designs of birds, plants, clouds, and mythical creatures such as may be found in no other country. Other examples depict tigers, magpies, and pine trees, which were favorite themes in folk paintings.

In Japan, many of the names used for imported Korean materials included the specific dynasty such as Silla, Goryeo or Joseon, evidence of the long and continuous import of textile materials from Korea.

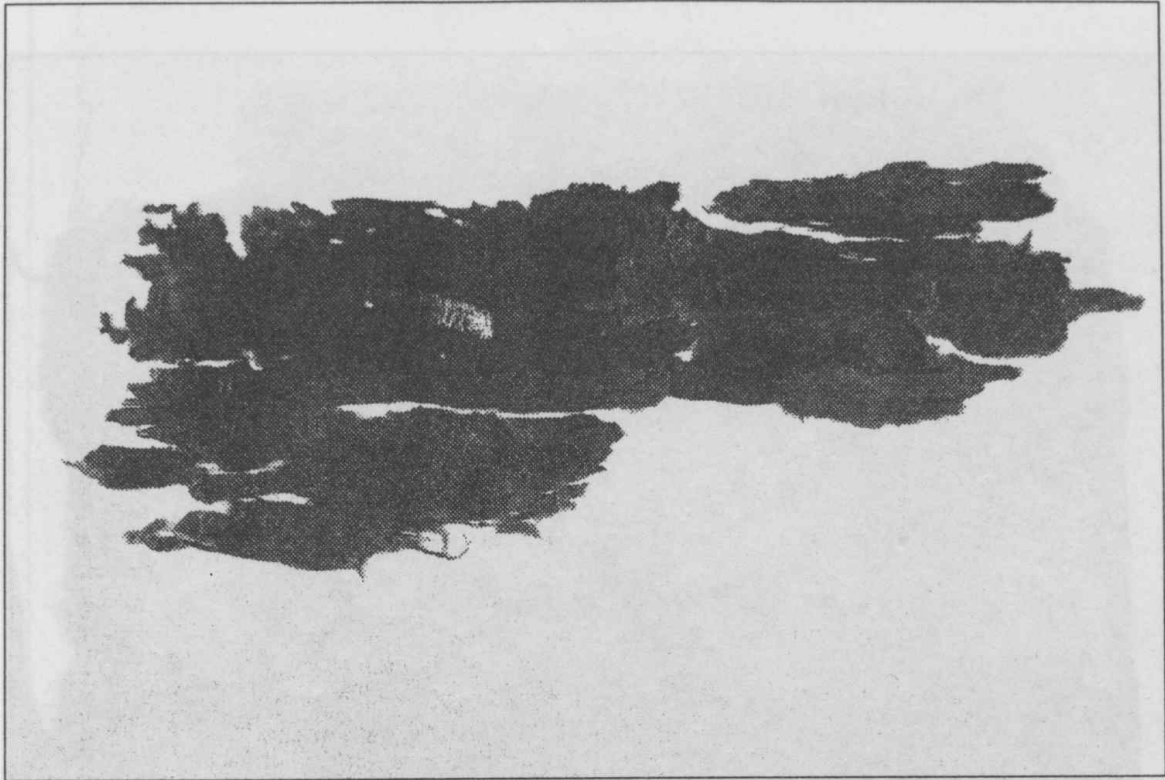
Pattern dyed "chintz" also became popular during the Joseon dynasty. Originating in India, it became fashionable in China and Korea, where it was known as *hua-po*, and was subsequently transmitted to Japan, along with its manufacturing technology, during the Hideyoshi invasion of 1592-98, where it is still produced today under the name of *sarasa* textile.



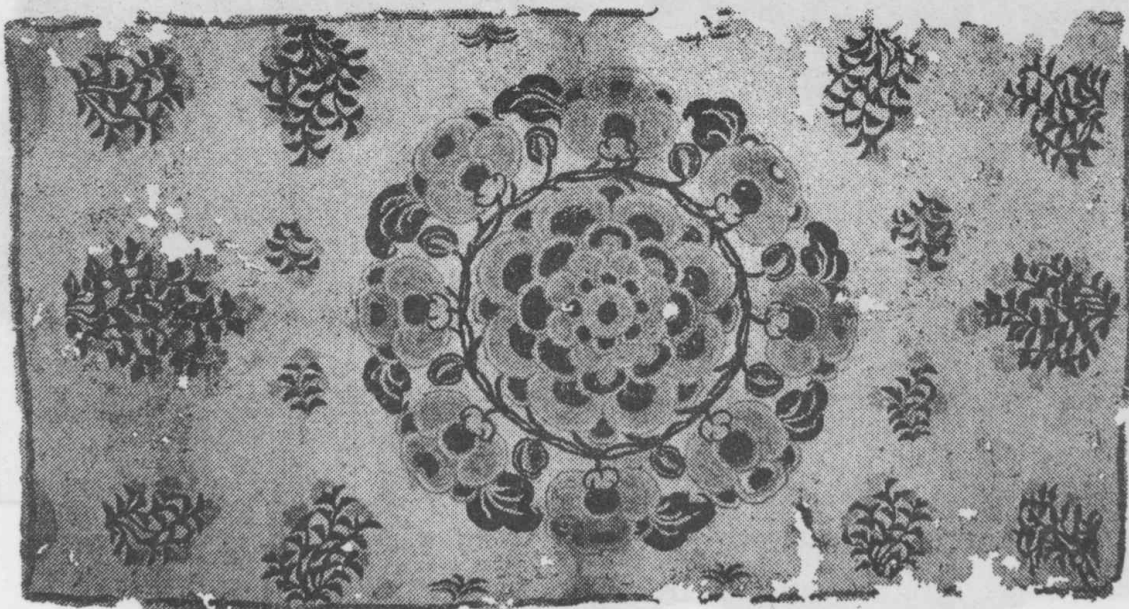
Silk worm cocoon, Xiying village, China, circa 3500 B.C.



Twined silk fabric, c. 2750 B.C., Qingtai village, Henan province, China.

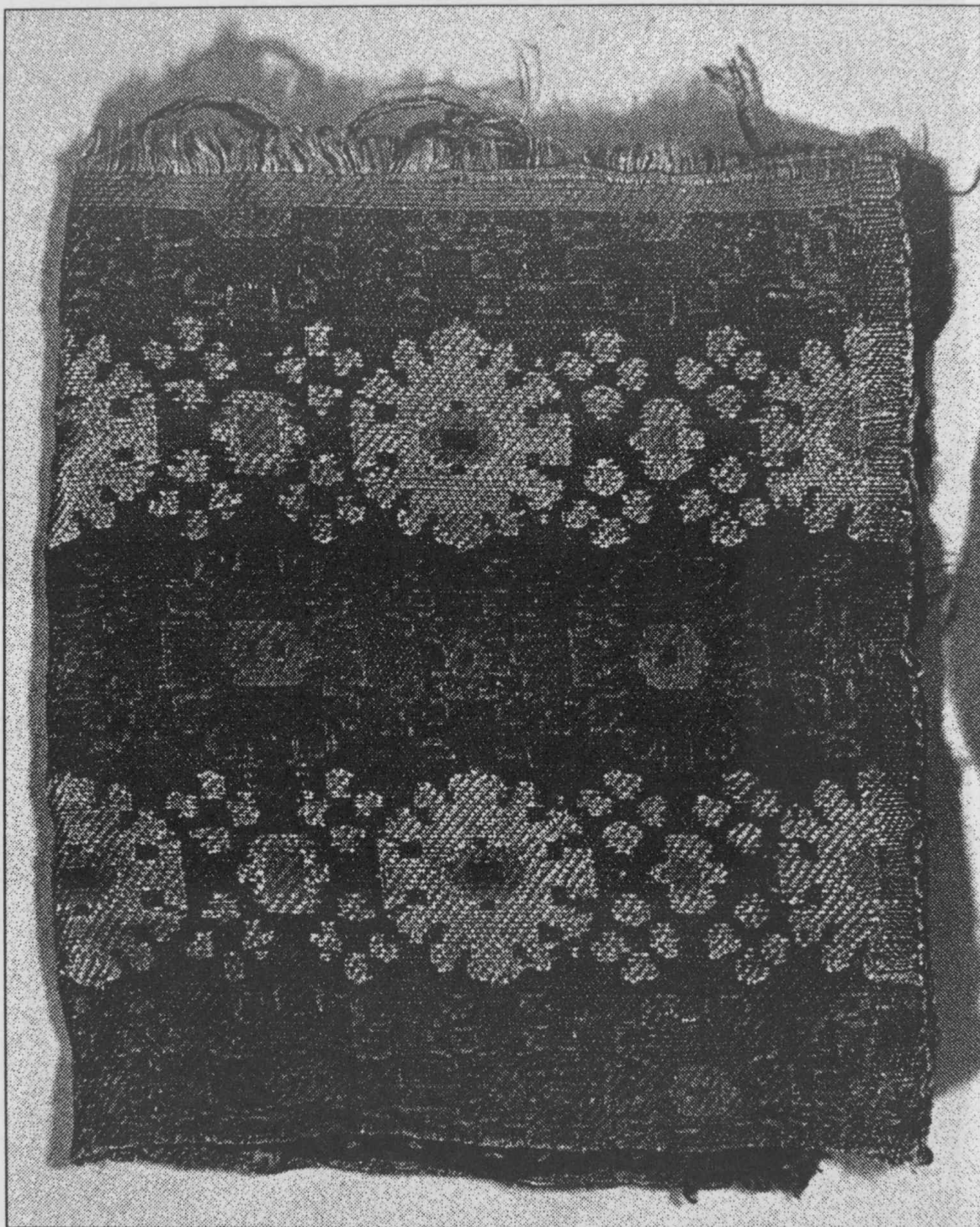


Geum silk fragment sewn with tabby silk, first century B.C.,
excavated from Mt. Moa in Jilin, China.

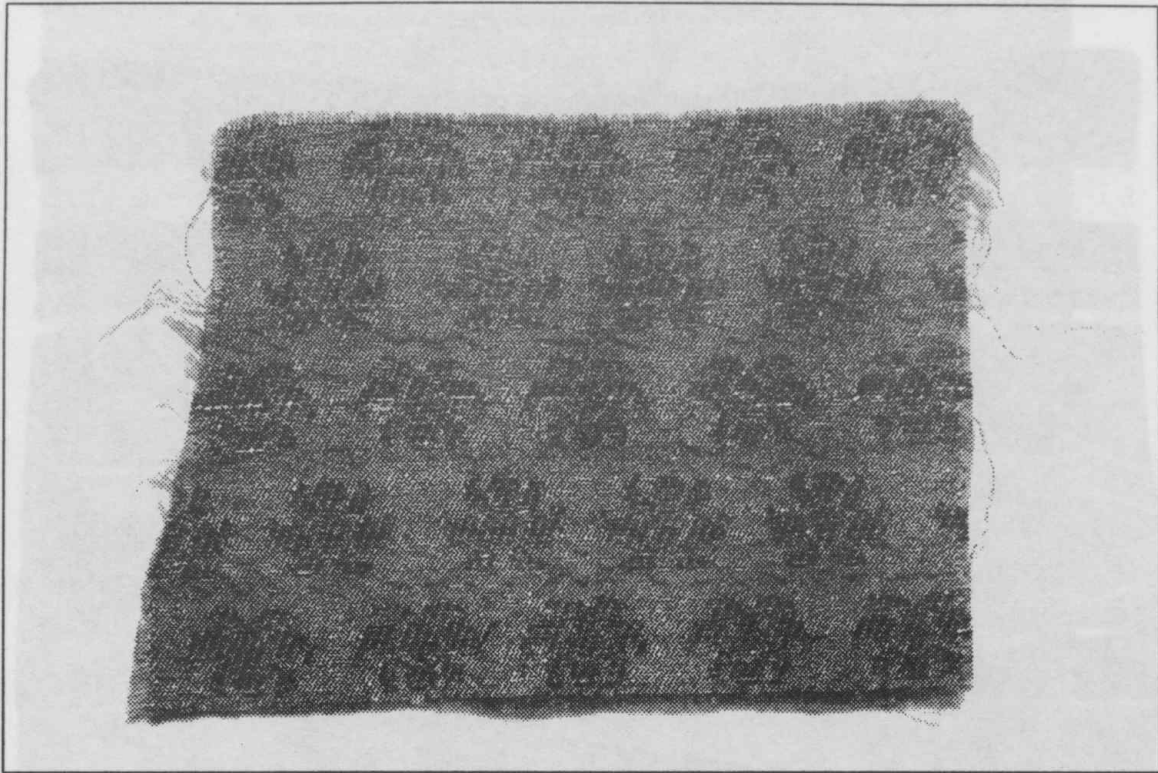


Felt rug, Unified Silla period (eighth century A.D.) Shoso-in, Nara, Japan.

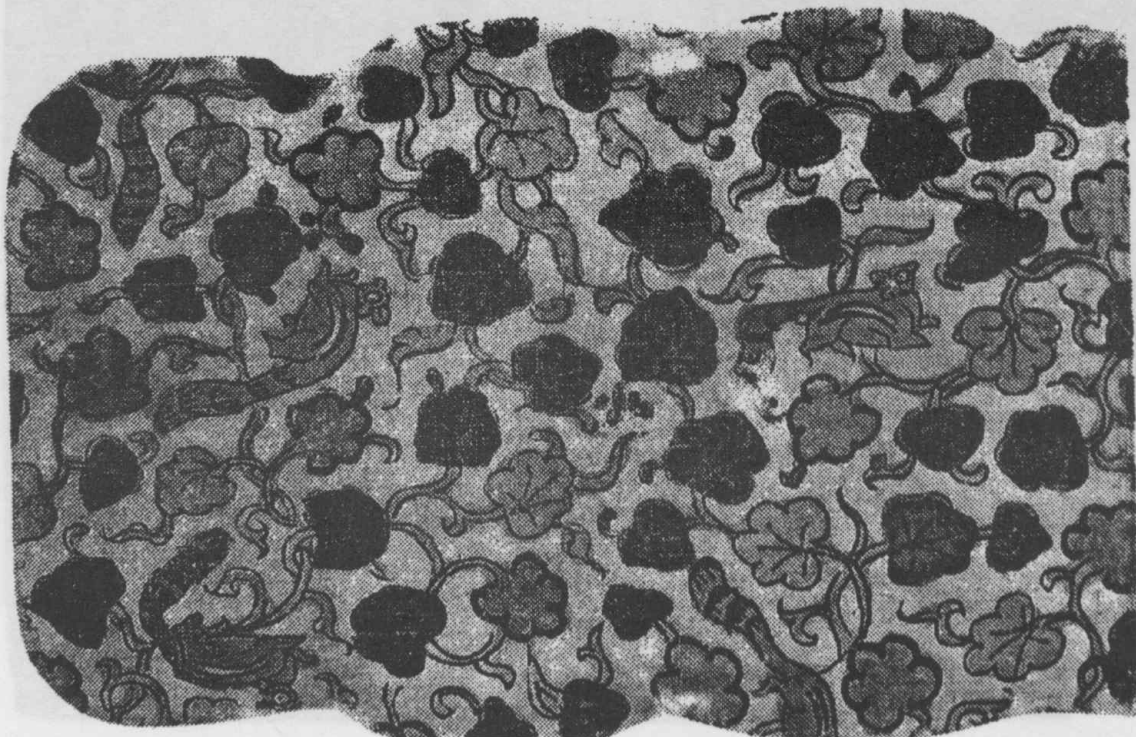
(Collection, Kyoto, Japan)



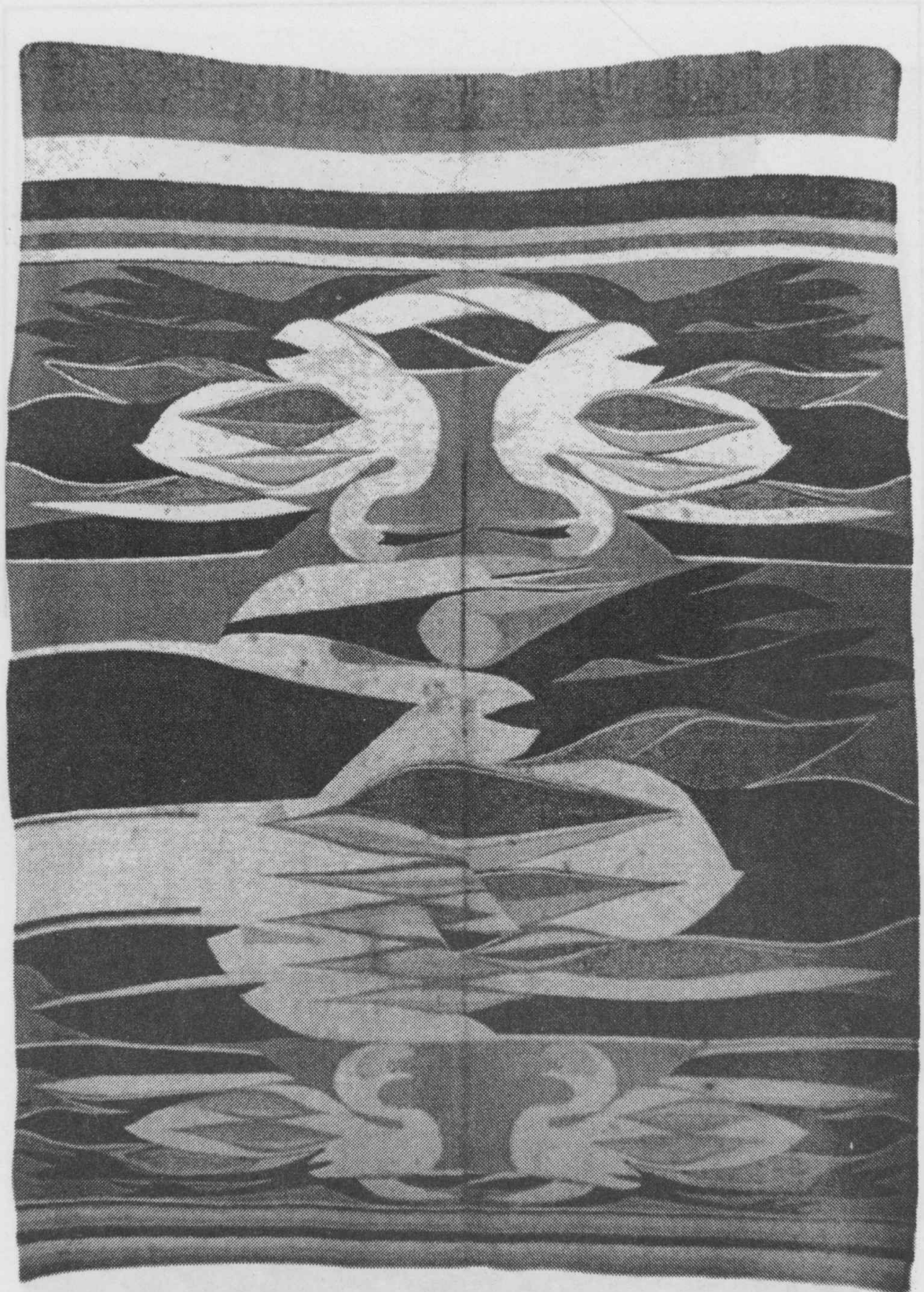
Geum silk with small floral motifs, Goryeo dynasty,
recovered from Bongsuree Pagoda.



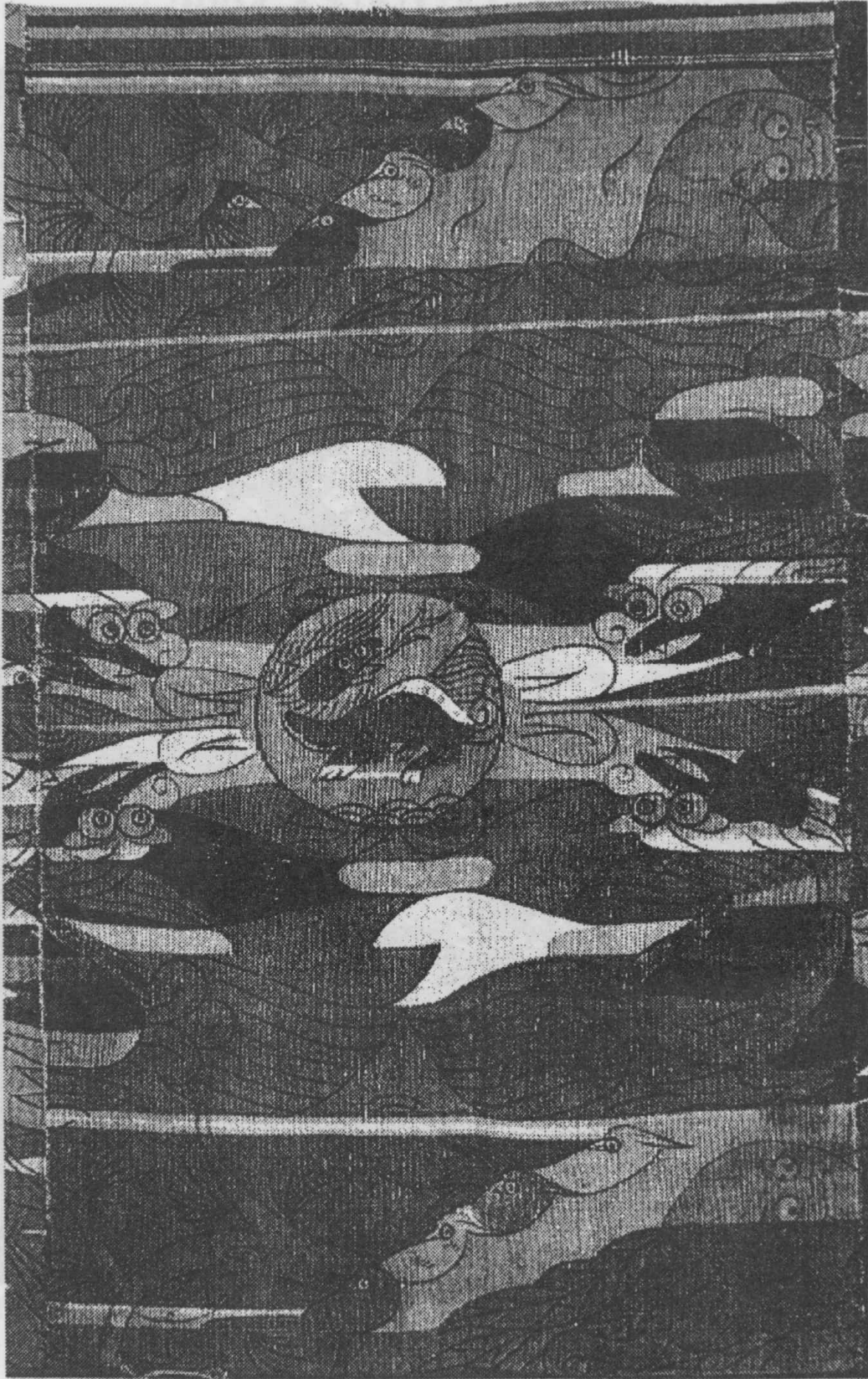
Jik-eun neung with flowers, Goryeo dynasty (c. 1346),
found inside a Buddhist statue at Moonsoo temple.



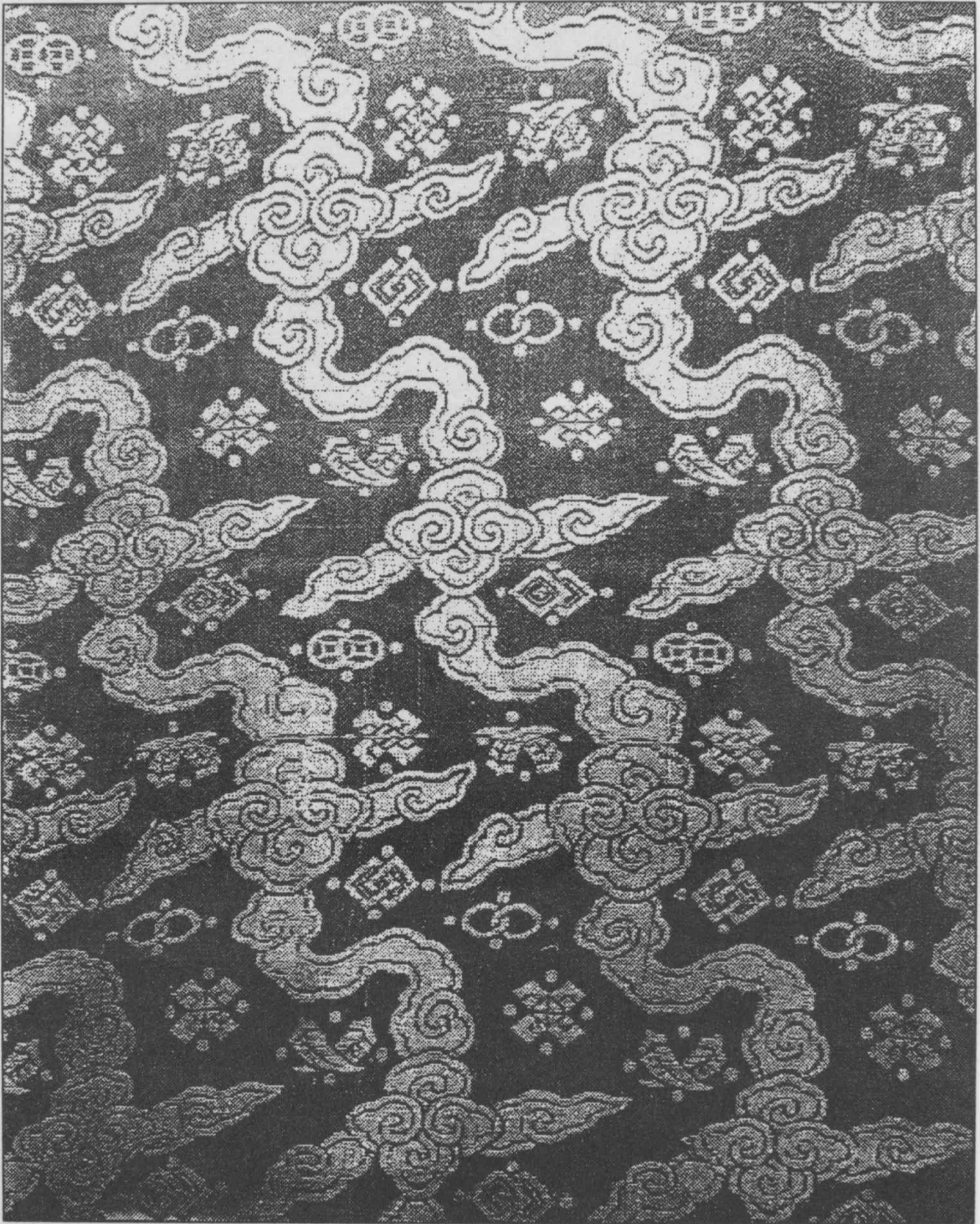
Squirrel and floral patterned chintz, early 19th century. (City Art
Collection, Kyoto, Japan)



Dhan with Birds, early 19th century Joseon dynasty. (Private collection)



Dhan with Magpies, Tigers, Pine Trees and Animals, early 19th century.
(Gion-Maturi, Kyoto, Japan)



Dhan with Clouds and Treasures, Late Joseon dynasty.
Excavated from Andong Kim's tomb.

2004 ANNUAL REPORT
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
KOREA BRANCH

President's Annual Report

It is my pleasure to report on the annual activities of the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in 2004.

At the end of the year we have a total of 812 members, including 75 life members, 539 members residing in Korea, and 198 overseas members. This represents a twenty percent decrease from the 2003 figure of 919 members. This decline in affecting our financial situation, and our committees are working to reverse this adverse tendency.

Probably the most significant event of the year for the RAS-KB was the government recognition of the legal status as a nonprofit organization. This will allow us to raise funds for various academic and para-academic activities. We are hoping to promote research activities in the area of Korean studies, to provide scholarships to students, and to encourage a variety of intercultural activities.

Publications for the year included volume 78 (2003) of the RAS's *Transactions*, and a new book in October by Dr. Elizabeth Underwood of Eastern Kentucky University: *Challenged Identities: North American Missionaries in Korea, 1884-1934*.

The annual garden party was hosted by American Ambassador and Ms. Thomas C. Hubbard and the Councilors and officers of the Society at the official residence of the American Embassy. Some 200 RAS members attended to enjoy the excellent food, friendly conversation, a book sale, and a cultural program featuring traditional Korean music and a demonstration of the Korean marital art known as *taekkyon*.

We suffered a slight shortage of funds again due to the decline in membership, tour participation, and the sale of books. We are confident, however, that the financial situation will improve since we are working hard to communicate more effectively through various channels with your positive participation in our cultural activities. In this connection, we are working to raise funds. We hope some members may be able to make a donation to the Society to promote cultural and scholarly activities.

As I reflect on the past year and look forward to the next, I would like to make special mention of the devotion of the Society's staff, its officers, and my fellow members of Council. I should also like to thank retiring council members, those who are continuing in office, and those who have been elected for the next session.

Finally, on behalf of the council and membership, I would like to pledge ourselves to remain true to the commitment of our Society's founders to the promotion of knowledge and understanding of Korean culture.

Respectfully submitted,

Kim Yong-duk

President, Royal Asiatic Society – Korea Branch

2004 RAS-KB Lectures

- January 14 “Kim Jong-il: Is He a Man We Can Do Business With?”
Mr. Michael Breen
- January 28 “You Are What You Eat: Korean Food, Korean People”
Mr. Andrew Salmon
- February 11 “Traditional Korean Performing Arts”
Ms. Kolleen Park
- February 25 “Port Hamilton (Komundo)”
Mr. Robert Neff
- March 10 “Korean Folk Paintings”
Mr. Kim Man-hee
- March 24 “Generational and Ideological Conflict in Korea”
Dr. Song Ho Keun
- April 14 “For Internationalization of Korean Literature”
Dr. Choi Yearn Hong
- April 28 “Perspectives on Church Growth in Korea”
Dr. Daniel J. Adams
- May 12 “The Historical Development of P’ansori and
Contemporary Style”
Dr. Jang Yeonok

- June 9 "Through the Ginkgo's Prism: Perspectives on Collaborative Art in Korea"
Prof. Al Zaruba
- June 23 "Korean Sources and References in Jack London's *The Star Rover*"
Dr. Chang Young-Hee
- August 25 "Traditional Korean Music Performance"
Mr. Lee Dong-Myong, Mr. Min Sung-ho,
& Mr. Alan Heyman
- September 8 "Feet of Seoulites: Urban Transportation from Streetcar to Subway"
Dr. Andrei Lankov
- September 22 "The Discovery of the First Paekche Capital at Gogal, Hanam City"
Mr. Han Jong Seop
- October 13 "The Autumn Expedition of 1898 to Northern Korea"
Mr. Denis Samsonov
- October 27 "Korean-American Business Encounters in the 1880s"
Mr. Jang Song-Hyon
- November 10 "Korean Buddhism: Its Legacy and Current Status"
Prof. Cho Eunsu
- November 24 "Why Help North Korea? Personal Reflections on a Decade of Humanitarian Aid Work"
Dr. Edward Reed
- December 8 "A Korean 'Painter with Needles': The Embroidery of Chung Young Yang"
Mr. Lee Talbot

2004 RAS-KB Tours

<i>Date</i>	<i>Destination</i>	<i>Attendance</i>	<i>Leader</i>
Jan. 4	Wontobong-san Tour	7	S. J. Bae
Jan. 17	Snow Country Tour	12	S. J. Bae
Feb. 7	Art Studio Tour	14	Brian Berry
Feb. 8	Sanjong Lake Tour	18	S. J. Bae
Feb. 12	Bukchon Tour	22	R. Kosta-Wagner
Feb. 22	Buddhism Tour	15	S. J. Bae
Feb. 28-29	East Coast Sunrise Tour	18	S. J. Bae
Mar. 7	Walking Tour of Seoul	25	P. Bartholomew
Mar. 13	Kiln Tour	18	S. J. Bae
Mar. 14	Tanyang & Kosu Cave Tour	12	S. J. Bae
Mar. 20	Suwon Tour	20	P. Bartholomew
Mar. 27-28	Cheju-do Tour	11	S. J. Bae
Apr. 3-4	Namhae-do & Chinhae Tour	18	S. J. Bae
Apr. 10	Cherry Blossom Tour	38	S. J. Bae
Apr. 11	Puyo and Kyungju Tour	12	S. J. Bae
Apr. 16-19	Honshu, Japan Tour	20	Y. D. Kim
Apr. 17-18	Maisan Tour	13	Dan Adams
Apr. 24	Chollipo Arboretum Tour	12	S. J. Bae
May 1-2	Kyongju Tour	10	Dan Adams
May 26	Buddha's Birthday Tour	35	S. J. Bae

<i>Date</i>	<i>Destination</i>	<i>Attendance</i>	<i>Leader</i>
May 30	Tonyang Rafting Tour	14	S. J. Bae
June 5-6	Inner Sorak Tour	15	S. J. Bae
June 12	RAS Annual Garden Party	200	
June 26-27	Odaesan & Kangnung Tour	8	S. J. Bae
July 8-14	Mongolia Tour	28	S. J. Bae
July 18	Tanyang Tour	7	S. J. Bae
Aug. 29	Tong-gang Rafting Tour	30	S. J. Bae
Sept. 4	Kiln Tour	7	S. J. Bae
Sept. 12	Chongpyong Boat Tour	10	S. J. Bae
Sept. 18	KTX Busan Tour	12	S. J. Bae
Sept. 19	Kangwha-do Tour	15	Y. D. Kim
Sept. 24-29	China Tour	11	S. J. Bae
Sept. 26	Seoul Walking Tour	27	P. Bartholomew
Oct. 1-3	Hongdo & Huksando Tour	7	S. J. Bae
Oct. 9	Bukchon Tour	25	R. Kosta-Wagner
Oct. 16	Embroidery Tour	11	Lee Talbot
Oct. 17	Odaesan Tour	10	S. J. Bae
Oct. 16-17	Andong & Hahoe Village Tour	12	Dan Adams
Oct. 23-24	Soraksan Tour	25	S. J. Bae
Oct. 30-31	Chirisan Tour	13	Dan Adams
Oct. 30	Songnisan Tour	14	S. J. Bae
Nov. 6-7	Kyongju Tour	14	Dan Adams
Nov. 12-14	Kumgangsan (North Korean) Tour	11	S. J. Bae
Nov. 20-21	Land of Exile Tour	11	S. J. Bae
Nov. 27-28	Inner Soraksan Tour	12	S. J. Bae
Dec. 11	Shopping Spree Tour	15	S. J. Bae
Dec. 26-31	North Vietnam & Cambodia Tour	14	S. J. Bae

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(as of December 31, 2004)

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