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Religious-Philosophical Articles is a double-blind peer-reviewed periodical with the international editorial board. It publishes articles aimed at deepening readers' knowledge and understanding on the history of religious-philosophical ideas, their development in nowadays and their place in the Latvian and European culture. It is published at least once a year in Latvian and English.

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Kaspars Kļaviņš

CONTEMPORARY REVIVAL
OF SPIRITUAL HERITAGE
AS A BASIS FOR FAITH IN THE FUTURE

The pace of globalisation, which by the end of the 19th century had become unstoppable and since then only accelerated, brought people ever more things invoking reaction. This had an effect on public safety, economic welfare, health, longevity and identity. Today, the "East" and the "West" are just theoretical constructs inherited from our past that exist amidst a vibrant mutual exchange of various spiritual teachings, religions, technologies, lifestyle models and even stereotypes. Deep-rooted traditions and historical experiences have undoubtedly affected the events unfolding nowadays, however, for a positive effect, people must have the capacity to successfully adapt their ancient heritages to new circumstances, instead of just "living through memory" or neglecting their cultural values for the future's sake. The political and economic challenges facing East Asia and Europe in the 20th and 21st centuries are very similar, but the solutions are different and depend on the specific situations of each individual state or region. Despite dramatic events – such as the spread of Christianity, foreign occupation, the Korean War, rapid industrialisation, social transformation – and the intellectual metamorphoses these processes precipitated, Korea is a positive example of how a nation – and humanity in general – can offer a harmonious, environmentally friendly and tolerant worldview. This worldview manifests itself in the nation's literature, philosophy, cinema and pop culture. Mental flexibility and

harmony are highly valued by Korean writers, publicists and philosophers. From the standpoint of long-term, resilient evolution, the study of the spiritual sources of this worldview is more important than the current fascination with Korea's technological accomplishments. The ability of Korean intellectuals to adopt foreign, imported ideas and at the same time reanimate the ancient spiritual teachings of East Asia – Daoism, Buddhism, Confucianism and indigenous Korean shamanism – is an example of the ability to keep spirituality alive.

A number of distinct aspects related to Korean spirituality and education in the context of cross-cultural communication were discussed at the 2nd online conference of the Baltic Association for Korean Studies (BAKS), which was held at the University of Latvia on 26 and 27 November 2020. The international conference organised by the University of Latvia covered a wide range of topics that sparked discussions among researchers, teaching staff and students: Korea's national religious movements, which invite comparison to the national romanticism of 19th-century Eastern Europe or 20th-century neopaganism in the Baltics; the effect of Christianity on Korean literature, which is reminiscent of the Moravian mission to Latvia and Estonia; issues of Korean expat identity, which helps us to understand the plight of people swept up in waves of emigration from the Baltic states; a comparison of historical interpretations in Korea and Lithuania as an interesting example of similar views of the past in Europe and East Asia; recommendations for teaching the Korean language at European universities as a tool for communication and a carrier of cultural information; the role of pop culture in the context of complex geopolitical relations; the integration of ancient cultural heritage into contemporary literature; the synthesis of local and foreign traditions in philosophy. The speakers represented a range of disciplines in the humanities from history to linguistics and literature, to accentuate the need for an interdisciplinary approach to comparative studies of culture.

The reports are available in the form of research articles in this special issue of the journal, which presents analogies between the societies of

East Asia and Europe in a new light for a better understanding of the "similarities" and "differences", and perhaps a forecast of the future of humanity from the dual vantage points of Korea and the Baltics.

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RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY
AS A BASIS FOR KOREAN CULTURE COURSES
AT UNIVERSITY LEVEL

This paper will examine one case of building an introductory Korean culture course syllabus, at the outset focusing mainly on philosophical and religious concepts. By examining this case and looking at the success of the course like this in its initial stages, further suggestions will be made for its improvement and conclusions provided as to whether shifting the major focus on religion and philosophy would be worthwhile in a course of this kind.

Keywords: *higher education, syllabus making, culture studies, Korean studies, Korean philosophy, Korean religion*

Introduction

Koreanology or Korean studies as a field of studies is spreading both geographically and expanding to different academic subsectors, as well. The main focus of it is now particularly difficult to establish and each of the higher education institutions that take part in research and dissemination of this subject takes up on itself to define it. In turn, the focus of a particular institution impacts the students that choose to take the courses offered there, since each institution elects to focus on the strengths of their researchers and educators working in it.

While the field can be largely focused on research of individual areas like literature, linguistics, history, art, and other subjects pertaining to Korea, it can also be important as part of developing skilled professionals

that bridge the gap between Korea and other parts of the world. It is often assumed that this task can mainly be achieved through language studies, but it is often not enough (Seelye, 1976). The skillset that is usually referred to as intercultural competence, beyond learning the language and communicating in it, also is formed by learning about the culture that surrounds the said language. As described by Deardorff (2006), it is a continuous process that evolves over time on differing categories. In the case of Korea, this process is particularly important, especially if the students are located in a completely different cultural environment, as it is in the case of the subjects of this paper.

The study of culture of a particular geographical area in the world can be approached in various ways, using differing methodology and source materials. It is most often done, at least at the beginner levels, through mediums such as literature, art, cinema and others. When choosing the approach, the most important is to make note of the aim of the study of culture and the sort of students that will be partaking in it (Seelye, 1986). In the case of the subject examined in this paper, the aim is to introduce students to Korean culture, taking into account the various philosophical thoughts and religious currents, as well as historical events that shaped it. And while topics like these are mentioned in any course that deals with culture, giving a particular attention to these topics at the beginner levels is becoming increasingly rare. Especially in the case of traditional Korean culture, much of it is overshadowed by the expressions of modern Korean culture, which, of course, while deserves to be included, is more familiar to most students.

Korean culture course
for 1st year undergraduate students

The particular course examined in this paper is the undergraduate level course for the students of Korean studies in the Asia studies programme at the University of Latvia. The Korean studies module there has been active since 2013 with some limitations up to now, which are due to the

fact that it was combined with the module of Chinese studies. Despite that, constant improvements are introduced each semester, not only in relation to the core subjects of Korean studies, but the Department of Asian Studies in general. It is currently the only higher education programme offering Korean language and subjects related to Korea in the country at both bachelor's and master's levels.

The course being examined here is titled "Introduction to Korean Culture", and the initial plan for the course was created in 2016 with an approach in mind that somewhat differed from the currently evolved result. Steady improvements have been made with different educators contributing to its improvement it over the years. Of course, there have been inconsistencies when different people present the same subject at different times, but overall the course plan has been executed and the satisfaction of the students has been retained consistently.

The course consists of two lectures a week over a regular sixteen-week semester, earning the students 4 credit points in the Latvian higher education system, which equals 6 credits in the ECTS. The course annotation states that the aim of the course is to show basic insight into Korean culture, as well as understanding of Korean philosophy and everyday life. The course is also utilized as a supplement for the Korean language classes, thus it includes elements of reading and speaking in Korean, which rather precludes this course to be taken by a listener from another department.

Building a syllabus that is both sufficiently easy for a 1st year student just starting their journey in the world of academics and Asia studies to digest and is also much more than just a superficial look at a topic is definitely challenging, but necessary. The following table examines the initial course plan and the changes it underwent to become more fitting for the overall goals of the programme, ensuring its connection with the other courses in it. The other courses include a more in-depth look at the topics given here, so this can be seen as a certain starting point.

Table 1. Comparison of the course syllabus in different years
(year created/year implemented)

2016/2017	2019/2020
1) Introduction to the course	1) Course overview and an introduction to Korean peninsula and Korean people
2) Korean alphabet or Hangeul	2) Overview of Korean history: timeline, important events and historical figures
3) Everyday life and frequently used expressions	3) Joseon Dynasty and Neo-Confucianism: timeline, main ideas and philosophers
4) Traditional and modern Korean music	4) Overview of religions in Korea
5) Traditional and modern Korean games	5) Shamanism in Korea: key concepts
6) Korean history: Joseon Dynasty	6) Buddhism in Korea: key concepts
7) Korean food and etiquette	7) Christianity in Korea: key concepts
8) Korean television and media	8) Taoism in Korea: key concepts
9) Korean celebrations, remembrance days and ceremonies	9) Korean celebrations, remembrance days and ceremonies
10) Korean fairy tales and myths	10) Korean etiquette: the traditional and the modern
11) Korean traditional sports	11) Traditional Korean art: ceramics, paintings and calligraphy
12) Korean history: Korean war	12) Traditional Korean literature: myths, fairy tales and famous novels
13) Korean history: Japanese occupation	13) Traditional Korean music: pansori, traditional instruments and folk songs
14) Student presentations on topics of Korean culture	14) Modern Korean music and the "hallyu" phenomenon
15) Cultural objects in Korea	15) Cultural objects and symbols in Korea
16) The role of Korean culture or "hallyu" in the world	16) Preparation for writing the final paper: individual and group work

The closest the initial study plan approached topics of religion and philosophy was in the sections of Korean history, etiquette and traditions. The revised syllabus shows that only some of the topics were retained in the previous form or slightly reworked. The course is now divided into two 8-week parts – one is dedicated to the basis of understanding development of Korean culture through the lens of the history, concepts of philosophy and religion, while the second one aims to establish understanding how this culture is further reflected in society and media through traditions, etiquette and the arts. While the course is still far from perfect, and perhaps it will have to be changed at some point in the future, it is now much stronger academically and better reflects the course aims as stated before.

The initial necessary assignments for the course included a test (30%), a presentation (30%) and an essay (40%). A fair distribution for an introductory course, but the students at the Department of Asian Studies only have 3 years to complete their education, which also includes a full bachelor's thesis during the 3rd year. There is barely enough time to become competent in academic research and writing. Thus, the criteria were changed to active participation in lectures and seminars, which were weekly assignments, and a final academic research paper to be submitted by the end of the exam period. Each of these ttwo requirements constitutes 50% of the final grade.

For this course, each topic and lectures/seminars are divided into several stages: preparation, material overview and discussion. Thus, the students can digest the given material and start forming their own opinions and thoughts on the topics. The final week of the course includes preparation for writing the final research paper, to enable the students to start working on their ideas before the exam session arrives and exchange opinions on them with the educator and other students, who can give suggestions on what to focus on more and what materials to use. Here are some examples of topics for the final research paper chosen by the students in the spring semester of 2020:

1. Religious Sects in South Korea in the 21st Century
2. Culture of Funerals in South Korea
3. The Tradition of Talchum

4. Korean Table Etiquette and Culture
5. Shamanism in South Korea in the 21ˢᵗ Century
6. Beauty Standards in South Korea
7. Drinking Culture in South Korea

These select topics reflect the diversity of the student interests after completing a semester of this course, and it is notable that the topics range from the expected interest in modern culture forms which are important for students' future to religious and philosophical topics that are integrated into the course from the beginning.

It also has to be noted that while most of the materials for this course are in English and/or Korean, the majority of the course's lectures and seminary discussions are held in the instructor's and the students' native language – Latvian. This can be both helpful and hindering, especially when discussing complex topics covered in this course.

Integrating topics of philosophy and religion in Korea in the course

Firstly, it has to be acknowledged that the line between what can be considered a religious practice and philosophical thought can be quite blurry. This is also explained to the students during the course and they are reminded to not take the terms such as religion and philosophy too rigidly, but rather to focus on the ideas expressed in each subsection of the course.

The main topics included in the course syllabus that can be considered philosophical are the key concepts of Korean Neo-Confucianism and Taoism. Understanding these key concepts or at least beginning the journey of understanding the basics during the 1ˢᵗ year of studies can help the students immensely in their future research and academic writing in the field of Korean studies. As it is often noted, Korean Neo-Confucianism is unique to Korea, as it takes some of the debates of Chinese Confucianism to a different level (Ro (ed.), 2019) and thus it is also important to highlight some of the differences that happened in the process of transfer, which can be quite difficult at an introductory course. Similar attributions can be made to Korean Taoism and the religious topics of the course.

As shown in the above section of the course description, the main religions that were discussed are Shamanism, Buddhism and the various forms of Christianity. A general overview of the development and current situation regarding religious activities is also included. It is very important to emphasize to the students that, while religion has shaped a lot of the Korean culture and shared beliefs, it is not all there is, especially with more than a half of Koreans recently claiming not to belong to any religion (Korean Statistical Information Service, 2015).

Just like the integration of philosophy in the course, the integration of religious topics indivertibly leads to comparisons between two countries and cultures. The students in Latvia largely have been in contact only with Christian traditions, but some of them are more familiar with folk traditions, so the topics on Korean Christianity and Korean Shamanism are usually of the most interest to them, because they have their own reference points to compare to, while Korean Buddhism for them is a relatively new phenomenon. Consequently, the materials and discussion points on these varying topics have to be tailored to the students of the course.

Student feedback

There are many factors to consider when evaluating the success of a particular academic course. The most important of all has to be the student's experience and take-away after completing a course. The mandatory student surveys at the end of the semester at the University of Latvia rarely offer sufficiently detailed information, as they are largely based on the numerical rating of satisfaction with certain aspects of the course, but they can be useful in gauging the student's overall attitudes and opinion.

The mandatory survey, the results of which are reflected in this paper, was completed by all 18 students who took the "Introduction to Korean Culture" course in 2020. The points per category range from 7 to 1, 1 denoting "completely disagree", while 7 – "completely agree".

Table 2. Mandatory course survey average results for the course "Introduction to Korean Culture" in the spring semester of 2020

Average evaluation of the study course	**6.22**
The content of the study course	**6.09**
The teaching of the study course	**6.32**
The content of the study course corresponded to the course description	6.4
The content of the study course did not duplicate other courses	6.2
The lecturer presented the course topics in an understandable manner	6.4
Teaching methods used by the lecturer facilitated the acquisition of the study course	6.3
The recommended literature and materials were easily accessible and useful	6.2
Tests during the semester facilitated the acquisition of the study course	6.1
The lecturer was available for consultations	6.3
During the study course I attained the study results recorded in the description of the study course	6.1
I would like to take another course with this teacher	6.6
The teacher's explanations about the test results were sufficient	6.1

As the average scores of the course survey show, the majority of the students found the course satisfactory, but the numbers also indicate that there are areas to be improved – especially regarding the accessibility of study materials and the testing methods during the semester. Since the spring semester of 2020 was heavily affected by the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic, it was very difficult to execute all of the lectures/seminars and topics accrding to the initial plan (only the first few weeks of it were held in classroom).

As stated before, the numbers can only show so much and the most valuable information comes from communicating with the students directly. For this particular study, a short questionnaire was sent out to the students that participated in the course, with follow up questions when necessary. Due to the restrictions of the pandemic, it was not possible to conduct a more thorough interviewing process immediately after the course was completed, but it will definitely be completed in the future. The questions directly given by the teacher to the students related to the topic of this paper were, as follows:

Was this course your first experience with the topic of religion and philosophy in Korea? What did you already know and what new knowledge did you gain? Did it, in your opinion, help you understand Korean culture better?

1. What else do you think should be included in this course both regarding religion/philosophy and other topics?
2. The following section will compile and examine 5 of the students' anonymous answers to both questions and attempt to make some conclusions on how well the course performed in reaching its core aim and to what extent the inclusion of philosophy and religion topics helped with that.

Table 3. Student survey answer overview[1]

Student A	
Question 1: Yes, I knew almost nothing before that, apart from the prevalence of Buddhism and spiritualism in Asia. I did not know anything about the spread of Christianity, nor about the specific forms of religion and how they practice religions. I think it definitely helped to understand Korea better, especially shamanism, because it is so close to the culture itself. Also, the fact that their religion is not mutually exclusive was very shocking, but it seems to me that it also helps to understand Koreans and Korean culture.	**Question 2:** Since I haven't really learned a lot individually, I don't know much, but I think that anything related to old times is interesting to me, even if it's not relevant now. Specially to see how it used to be and how and why it is no longer like that. I can't think of real examples of what more to include, but maybe hanbok. Also, the history of Korean language more in depth, but that's just because personally I'm interested in linguistics.
Student B	
Question 1. Yes, this could be considered as the first serious or in-depth encounter with religions and philosophies in Korea for me. Only a few details were known before, without any additional information. I had only seen *YouTube*	**Question 2.** I think this course should include even more history. In other courses there is a great lack of knowledge about Korean history. Even now, we have to write reports, and it is very difficult when there is really no understanding of history.

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[1]   The original answers in Latvian were translated to English by the author.

videos that sometimes mentioned something, but even then, I wouldn't say I paid much attention to it. Yes, I think it helped a lot to better understand Korea, especially because if you don't really look for anything else, at the university there isn't a lot about Korea. There are a lot of courses about the rest of Asia, but Korea is always forgotten, so this course seemed very useful.

Student C

Question 1:
Yes, this course was my first direct contact with this topic. I had heard of shamanism, but had not studied it in detail. I learned a lot more from this course, for example, that Korean philosophy is very different from the Western philosophy we have adopted
and I also learned that everything that comes into Korea, including religions, adapts to Korean culture, creating something new and peculiar. It was interesting to listen to lectures on Confucianism, which later led to the idea that although Confucianism is no longer so widespread in Korea, the structure, hierarchy, and etiquette of society are closely related to this philosophy. This course clearly helped to understand Korea better, because without culture it is impossible to understand (or at least partially understand) another country or nation.

Question 2:
The topics about 아는 사람 (connections to people) and 눈치 (*nunchi* – sense) seemed very interesting, if there are any similar phenomena in Korean culture, then it would certainly be worth adding. Interesting (also quite complex) are topics about relationships and hierarchy in society, i.e., who is superior to others. As an exception to a serious topic, it would be interesting to dedicate a lecture to traditional games and how they came about, of course, if it is known. It would be useful to talk about etiquette, which is very important when going to Korea, so that people do not think that we are uneducated. There is probably something that should not be done under any circumstances, or vice versa, which we ourselves should prepare for when we go there.

Student D

Question 1:
The Korean Culture course was the first more in-depth insight into culture in general, and philosophy in particular. Religion has a much greater influence in Korean culture, in my opinion, because

Question 2:
There was a lot of talk about various topics, could include more about external influences on Korean culture and more about the etiquette.

it is much more pronounced than philosophy. It is much more difficult for a person who does not know these philosophical qualities so well to notice and pay attention to them. I knew about religion a lot before, because I studied about it in high school. Philosophy was something new that helped us understand much better why people are who they are. In other words, it cleared up a lot of things.	
Student E	
Question 1: If I remember correctly, yes, it was the first serious encounter with Korean religions and philosophy. Maybe I had already heard something prior to that, but not much. I previously knew the approximate religious percentage distribution of today's South Korean population. I knew that there was Buddhism and Confucianism in Korea, and that many also belonged to Christianity. I didn't know details about all this, and I didn't know about the existence of Taoism in Korea and Korean Shamanism at all. Learning about Korean religions and philosophy helped me to understand the Korean mentality much better, to find out the rationale for different actions, ways of thinking, customs and norms of public behaviour. After a closer look at Korean religions and philosophies, I now analyse the actions and views of Koreans much more, and look for explanations as to why they exist, linking them to the Korean religious and philosophical context. I always take these aspects into account now.	**Question 2:** In answer to the second question, I did not have many ideas about what else should be included, but it occurred to me that we had not talked in depth about painting, sculpture, ceramics and such arts.

As the answers to the questions show, the students overall feel that they have gained some understanding about the topics of Korean philosophy and religions, which, in turn, has helped them to gain new insights into Korean culture. It has built a sense of connection to the Korean culture and permits the students to integrate that connection in their further studies of both the language and other topics related to Korean studies. There were no students either in the mandatory or voluntary survey who expressed a dislike of the course syllabus structure and the topics presented to them.

The several suggestions made by the students both included in this paper and in the overall survey, have already been taken into consideration. It has to be noted that some of them seem to be made because the course could not be completed fully (due to the conditions of the pandemic) and the students felt these topics were not sufficiently covered. This will also be taken into consideration in the future when reworking the materials that will be accessible to the students even if the lectures are not held in the classroom.

Conclusion

The course discussed in this paper – "Introduction to Korean Culture" is still in the experimental stage, but it can be concluded that the initial phase of testing out a curriculum that is initially based on philosophical and religious concepts has been successful for this particular programme of Asian studies.

It seems to be beneficial to introduce the students to topics that will help them build an understanding of the underlying ideas that permeate Korean culture before tackling specifics like traditions, literature and the arts. Whether that would apply to different study programmes on various levels, would need to be further researched across a much broader time span and different academic establishments with diverse educators. For now, this is only a starting point for both the course and the programme itself.

The future developments of the course will definitely include making additions and clearer subtopics to each major topic, while researching and introducing more materials and up-to-date research in each sphere.

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KOREA IN THE DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE EUROPEAN PHILOSOPHICAL TRADITION AND EAST ASIAN SPIRITUAL TEACHINGS

Today, Korea is known as one of the East Asian intellectual centres. In addition, Korean thinkers are recognised for their critical evaluation of the Western philosophical tradition. However, contemporary Korean philosophical thought has gone through a short but extremely intense period of development – from the uncritical adaptation of Western education to the reappraisal of Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism in the context of spiritual dialogue between East and West.

Keywords: *Philosophy, Korea, East Asia, the West, modernisation, tradition, world outlook, intellectual environment*

The situation of Korea in the East-West intellectual dialogue is unique, considering its late, yet extremely intense integration in this process and the great transformations that Korean philosophers, writers, literary scholars and publicists have experienced in a short period of time. This delay is linked with the country's lengthy period of seclusion and the fact that Korea opened to foreign influences later than Japan and China. The "hermit" Korean Kingdom of Great Joseon (from 1897 onward, the Korean Empire) existed for about five centuries until 1910, when it was occupied by the Empire of Japan, bringing to an end the long-lasting state with an absolutely dominating Neo-Confucian ideology and a hierarchical society based on birth and bloodlines.

Korea's spiritual and intellectual contact with the West began in the 18th century, when Christian missionaries from Europe began their work in the country. When the early Catholic mission started in Korea, the country was dominated entirely by Neo-Confucianism supported by the ruling Joseon dynasty, and the ruling *yangban* class stressed the importance of faithful service to society and Confucian moral ethics. This sparked a number of disagreements between missionaries and Korean scholars, which is reflected in written sources of the Joseon dynasty. Contrary to the importance of the theory of original sin and the concept of the afterlife in Christianity, Confucianism focused on *this life*. From the point of view of the agnostic, rationalist and society-oriented Confucianism, Christianity was at best a curious superstition, a kind of marginal Buddhism or even less worthy. The theory of heaven and hell was perceived as psychologically understandable desire, rooted in the selfish nature of human beings. Furthermore, Christianity was seen as destroying the social order, because it placed God above parents and the king, in contrast to Confucianism, which stressed the paternal relationship between the king and his people, as well as filial piety as the most essential virtues (Choi, 2005, p. 213). Nevertheless, despite its initial failures, Christianity in Korea succeeded due to Protestant missionaries, whose worldview framework was closely related to the Protestant movements of religious awakening (Great Awakening) in Europe and America. In addition, Korean traditional shamanism aided in promoting Christianity as a religion of revelation. Shamanism was widespread among the majority of the rural population, from which the ruling educated Confucian elite had gradually distanced themselves. In Korea, the seeing of visions, the interpretation of dreams and the active search for personal connection to the spiritual world (God) were automatically associated with shamanic practices, hence intensive prayers were perceived as analogous to the intensive meditations characteristic of shamanism (Klavins, 2019, p. 19). Another factor that prepared the ground for the spiritual modernisation of Korea "along Western lines" was the formal education (reading and writing skills) promoted by Christian missionaries and the schools they established:

> At the end of the 19ᵗʰ century, social and cultural conditions were already in place for the expansion of literacy: books and newspapers using the Korean script rather than classical Chinese (which had been the standard medium of written exchange in the Joseon period) became widespread, and written Korean became more easily accessible to the common reader. Moreover, with the influx of modern Western culture and the institutions of a bourgeois society came new ways of perceiving the world and the individual's place within it (Yi et al., 2001, p. 6).

Contemporary Chinese scholars have similarly evaluated the role of the 19ᵗʰ century Western Protestant Christian missionaries in China during the late Qing period, stressing the importance of their translation work in proposing new terminology, new concepts and, hence, also another world outlook. As a result,

> They opened new horizons and broadened the vision of reality for the Chinese people. These translations have exerted tremendous impact on the mentalities of the Chinese during the crucial historical period. They challenged the prevalent values and served as a mirror that forced Chinese people to re-examine themselves and the future of their nation (Zhang, 2018, p. 274).

However, none of this lessens the long and significant influence of East Asian spiritual teachings in Korea nor the huge upheaval Korean thinkers experienced in the 20ᵗʰ century as they attempted to integrate into the Western philosophical (and literary) discourse. First of all, here one must focus briefly on Confucianism, considering that, apart from China, Korea was the first country in which Confucianism exerted a sweeping influence and, apart from China, Korean Confucianism has the longest and richest history (Yao, 2000). The problem is that, in its essence and in the issues it addresses, Confucianism is very different from Western philosophy, and therefore one may with good reason question whether it can even be qualified as a "philosophy" from the Western perspective (Weon-Ki, 2018, p. 56). In this case, the matter is not linked to "Western arrogance", "colonial thinking" or the stereotype of Western "orientalism", because, when asking the relevant questions, philosophers do not consider the Western intellectual tradition as something superior; it is simply

extremely difficult to find points of contact for a common philosophical dialogue in the understanding of the Western tradition, which has evolved from the ancient Greek philosophical discourse (Weon-Ki, p. 56). Already Confucius (551–479 BC) himself was largely concerned with social issues and paid little attention to cosmology or knowledge as a philosophical concept (Leaman, 1999, p. 74). According to the doctrine of Confucianism, which was emphasised in Korea as a positive setting, a human being through self-cultivation (moral training):

> [..] sets a foundation for proper social relationships, which in turn contributes to the achievement of familial and national stability and peaceful existence. Moral relations are basic to social relations and social order, and this type of existence extends its influence to the world beyond, i. e., the transcendental realm, as well (Jang-tae, 2000, p. 16).

In Korean Neo-Confucianism, themes connected with human beings are unfortunately very difficult to integrate into academic philosophical discussion according to "Western standards", because Neo-Confucianism finds it hard to grasp:

> [..] what a human being exactly signifies, what the self-cultivation to be a human being means, why it is ever necessary, even how far it is worthwhile to talk about it, and so on (Weon-Ki, 2018, p. 56)

In the Korean context, the stagnation of Neo-Confucian thought was additionally fuelled by political events linked to the humiliation inflicted by the Manchus, who invaded Korea in the 17th century and:

> [..] fed Korean's animosity toward and resistance to Ching China, which was then ruled by the Manchus. It prompted Koreans to revere the older and orthodox culture of traditional China, adding a nationalistic flavour to the Neo-Confucianist tradition of Korea (Jang-tae, 2000, p. 42).

The discussions that arose among Neo-Confucian scholars in China early in the 18th century, for example, as to whether essential differences between man and matter existed, were rejected by conservative Korean thinkers (Keum Jang-tae, 2000, p. 42). At the same time, Confucianism

gradually lost its freshness as a teaching based on empirical principles, which dictated increasing openness among the ruling social strata with regard to "practical learning" (Choi, 2005, p. 19). In the 19th century, the Kingdom of Joseon, despite its official ideology of harmony, stability and human enlightenment, was already at the brink of a social explosion. As a hierarchical society based on birth and bloodlines, the Joseon dynasty, due to external and internal disturbances, developed into a cruelly oppressive social system in which people of lower status endured lifelong oppression (Choi, 2006, p. 140). Discrimination of women, widespread slavery, bound servitude and strict segregation of society were maintained with ruthless corporal punishment and absolute control. All of this led Korea in the late 19th century and early 20th century to an ever-increasing desire for "Western knowledge", which in time was associated not only with Christianity and the modern technologies of the day but also with Western literature and philosophy as an alternative view of the world. As a result, the very rapid adaptation of Western philosophy and literature took place in Korea at approximately the same time. According to Chung Chong-Wha (1995, pp. IX–X), already since 1908 an impressive number of young Korean writers had begun writing under the strong influence of Western literature, bringing to an end the Chinese literary conventions that had formed the basis of Korean cultural heritage for some three to four thousand years.

The overlapping of philosophy and literature in East Asia – and, consequently, Korea – was influenced by another cultural feature, namely, the fact that here "philosophers" were not so much philosophers as writers who expressed their view of the world in works that, according to the Western understanding, would more likely be classified as literary essays. In East Asia, however, these works addressed politics and didactics (providing instructions on how to deal with people, things, etc.) much more than their Western counterparts did (Li and Cui, 2008, p. 47).

The adopting in Korea of Western philosophical concepts and terminology began in earnest in the 1920s, after Korea had already become a Japanese colony. As a result, the West was not associated here primarily with imperialism and colonialism, as it was in many other places. Like mathematics, physics, psychology and sociology, philosophy was a new

discipline that came from the West and was perceived as necessary and useful knowledge to Korean society. According to Young Ahn Kang (2015, p. 64):

> Essentially, the first Korean philosophers' problems, their method of dealing with these problems, their concepts, and their way of thinking and writing were modeled on Western philosophy. So-called "East-Asian philosophy" was excluded completely from their intellectual education. In this respect, they were different from the traditional Confucian philosophers of earlier generations. The first Korean philosophers shared their problems and philosophical methodology with, for instance, those of the Neo-Kantians, the Neo-Hegelians, and the Husserlians… Modern education is specific in the way it uses completely new technical words and terms such as Freedom (自由), Equality (平等), Justice (正義), Right (權利), Individuals (個人), Subject (主體, 主觀), Thought (思想), Reason (理), Rationality (合理性), Rationalism (合理主義), Empiricism (經驗主義), Inquiry (探), Science (科學), and many others. These are vocabularies which determine human activity and the human place in the world, different from traditional ways of thinking. The first generation of contemporary Korean philosophers came to understand humans and the world by learning these new vocabularies and new ways of seeing and thinking. They did not need to explain the meanings of these academic words and terms; they used them as they used their spoons and chopsticks.

Korean philosopher Yersu Kim gives us a brief insight regarding the beginnings of Western philosophy in Korea. He examines that the Korean word *ch'ŏlhak* as a designation for philosophy as a systematic intellectual discipline appears for the first time in the late 19th century in Yi In-jae's *Ch'ŏlhakkobyun* (A Study of Philosophy). Koreans had met Western philosophy as early as 1631, when Chong Tu-won returned from Beijing with the *Ch'onhakchoham*, a collection of twenty treatises on various aspects of scholastic theology and different branches of Western learning.

However, concerning the current situation of philosophy in Korea, it must be acknowledged that Korean philosophy has its roots in the period of Japanese occupation of the Korean peninsula. Keijō Imperial University (KIU), established in 1924 in Seoul by the Japanese, was the first institution where Koreans could study philosophy as a major at the college level. As

a result of geopolitical shocks, the modernisation of Korean society had been interrupted and replaced by further social transformation processes influenced by the Japanese occupation (from 1910 onward), which brought with it the devaluation and rejection of what was perceived then as a bankrupt Korean tradition. Meanwhile, in all fields of life, the desire to blindly absorb Western ideals was growing. At the many colleges that were founded in Korea through nationalistic and missionary efforts, the staff teaching philosophy consisted of the former expatriate students who had returned to Korea. Yersu Kim writes that the first group of six philosophy students graduated from KIU in 1928, another five in 1930, another group of eight in 1931 and three in 1932. Together with another group of six, as well as a group of returnees (Koreans who had returned to their homeland after having studied in Austria, Germany, France and the United States), they formed a substantial initial community of philosophers, establishing the field of Korean studies and contributing to the establishment of philosophy studies in the Korean peninsula. The founding of the Society of Philosophical Studies in 1933, whose membership consisted of KIU graduates and the returnees who held teaching positions at private colleges, was of great importance. Of course, Western philosophy generally dominated the academic circles. In 1929, the first issue of the academic journal *Sinhŭng* was published by KIU graduates. As shown by Kim, it is significant that the first volume of the professional philosophical journal *Chŏlhak*, published by a group of young Korean philosophers in 1930, contained not a single article dealing with traditional Korean philosophy. This was the country's first professional journal on philosophical issues, but it survived for just three issues and was then discontinued due to political reasons (Kim, 2007, pp. 203–205).

In his description of the establishment of philosophy in Korea by early graduates of KIU, Young Ahn Kang shows that the first Korean philosophers studied Western philosophy by reading original sources in their original languages, including German, Latin, Greek and English. They were very well acquainted with Plato, Kant, Hegel and Husserl. In short, they had first-hand knowledge of Western philosophy. Here Kang raises an interesting question, namely, how could they think and write

about Western philosophy as if it were their own? Of course, the simplest answer would be that Western philosophy, in its essence, is universalistic and transnational, hence it is not surprising that it could be adapted to the Korean intellectual environment. Still, some questions remain. Kang asks why the first Korean philosophers did not seem to find Western philosophy unfamiliar. His answers are threefold. First, while almost all early Korean philosophers were educated in traditional Confucianism, their official education was provided by a modern and Westernised school system. Korean philosophers who were under the influence of Western culture had their own way of seeing things and raising questions that was firmly rooted in this modern education system. Second, Western philosophy had already been introduced to Korea either by Korean intellectuals who had studied in Japan or by Japanese professors at Keijō Imperial University. Third, most prevalent Western philosophies at the time were focused on human social and existential reality and so resonated with urgent problems in Korean society. Kang concludes that, in contrast to then-prevalent Neo-Kantianism and Neo-Hegelianism, young Korean philosophers were also familiar with philosophies of the late 1920s that concentrated on more concrete aspects of human nature. *Lebensphilosophie*, Marxism and existentialism were anti-metaphysical and oriented towards concrete human reality. Hence, in Kang's view, it is understandable that young philosophers who had lost their political autonomy found these philosophical movements attractive (Kang, 2015, pp. 64–66).

The years following Korea's independence from Japanese imperial rule in 1945 were years of turmoil and chaos. Liberation did not bring a return to beloved national dignity but instead the disastrous separation of the country into two politically opposed political bodies. Yersu Kim writes that confusion was even more prevalent in the southern half of the country, where the United States was unprepared for its new political responsibility, unlike the Soviet Union, which was determined to establish a communist state in the north. Some of the best thinkers were dragged into intellectual struggle as ideologues from competing factions, and so they lost their chance to work on the task of providing form and substance to modern philosophy in Korea (Kim, 2007, p. 206).

And yet, the development of philosophy as an academic discipline did not end with the war and the subsequent period of despair. The Korean Philosophical Association was organised in 1953. In 1955, the association published the professional journal *Ch'olhak*, and the choice of the name was driven by the will to emphasise continuity with the earlier efforts by Korean philosophers. The Korean Philosophical Association organised meetings to provide a forum for discussions of the results of philosophical research. While the publication of the journal was a failure, the philosophical meetings were hugely successful. As Kim's research shows, training in philosophy at the college level – which had been rather haphazard during the years following liberation and then the war – became more professional and systematic. The revitalisation of Korean philosophical culture was part of the general national revival at that time. First, there was a sharp rise in the number of scholars engaging in philosophical study. From around two dozen members when it was first organised in 1953, by the end of second decade of the 21ˢᵗ century the Korean Philosophical Association now has a membership of about 1500. The number of Ph.D. graduates in philosophy has experienced the same scope of growth. From just a dozen academic philosophers in the early 1950s, there are now hundreds of holders of advanced degrees in philosophy. This means that another change of generation could happen. Previously, older philosophers who had been trained during the colonial period were replaced by a new generation that was both more familiar and more attuned to the local and international situation and creative ideas. This turn of the tide has manifested itself in a wide variety of philosophical activity in Korea in recent years. The field has grown to include analytic philosophy, phenomenology, social philosophy in its different forms, and, above all, the legacy of classical Korean philosophy, which has replaced previously dominant German philosophy as represented by Heidegger, Husserl, Kant, Hegel and others.

The establishment and development of philosophy in Korea today must be addressed from a wider perspective. The World Congress of Philosophy entitled "Learning to be Human", organised by the International Federation of Philosophical Societies (FISP), was held in 2018 in Beijing, China. The Chinese organisers of the congress managed to organise the

largest event in the history of philosophy congresses, bringing together some 8 000 members from over 120 countries for a week of activities. The congress in China tried to set a new milestone for the future. Already in Athens, at the previous World Congress of Philosophy, as the audience listened to a special lecture and turned its gaze to the Acropolis, a Chinese philosopher had the nerve to make it clear that Confucius's teaching was superior to Aristotle's teaching. The Europeans voiced no objections. This could be an indicator of the state of Western philosophy and society, which has become uninterested in creative and impactful ideas.

If describing the state of philosophy in the West, the conclusions of sociologist and philosopher Zygmunt Bauman could be helpful. He coined the term "liquid modernity" to describe a condition characterised by the collapse of grand narratives or myths and the renouncement of moral obligations. He discusses the inner logic of modernism that has altered the global worldview. The efforts of modernism in its search for stability and predictability have always gone hand in hand with the destruction of traditions. But modernism's inability to be "solid" enough has, in turn, contributed to a social condition wherein the prevalent feeling is that of disbelief in a lasting identity – modern society resembles a hive, while people are like tourists on a tour of social experiences. The religion of this condition is consumerism, and its temple is the shopping centre (Bauman, 2001). When discussing the present day, Bauman uses the term *interregnum* – the period of uncertainty and disquiet between two successive rulers. Following the ideas of the Italian cultural theorist Antonio Gramsci, this notion can be broadened and viewed as a crisis of the entire cultural and political system. An interregnum is a time of anxiety and bewilderment, but it is also a time of turbulent creativity that gives life to various chimeras.

The modern Western philosophy of the 21st century is not capable of offering something socially relevant. Analytic philosophy deals with language but has nothing to say to a human being occupied by the problems of ordinary life. Consequently, it is not surprising that the place of philosophy is often substituted by pseudo-religions, new mythologies and self-help literature. At the same time, continental philosophy, which, as Jean-François Lyotard has informed us, lacks metanarratives, is still

trying to justify its relevancy by commenting on differences (minorities). But that subject, too, is largely no longer philosophical, seeing as it has become political.

The central theme of the World Congress of Philosophy was the question of how to be a human against the backdrop of rapid globalisation and technological development. The answers were sought in China (and particularly Confucianism), as well as elsewhere in the world, including classical Western philosophy. Such an event represents well the various influences that have reached Korea. Before modernisation in the 20th century, it was mainly Chinese philosophies that found their way into the Korean peninsula. Now at the congress, both Confucian and Western philosophies, which have competed for influence in the Korean intellectual environment, which has its own strong traditional schools of thought, came together. In the words of FISP president Dermot Moran, the programme of the congress was designed to include not only Western categories and traditions, but also to represent everything from north to south, from east to west, as well as the philosophy of the environment, minorities, new technologies, indigenous cultures, cosmopolitanism, the challenges of globalisation and many other topics. Korean spiritual and philosophical life was represented in three sections: traditional Korean philosophy in comparative perspectives; continuity in Korean aesthetics: music, painting and art criticism; and the conceptual foundations of Korean spirituality.

The congress showed some global political consideration, namely, that more and more voices exist than merely those coming from the West or Asia. Philosophy of African origin came together with both substantiated and unwarranted criticisms of Western philosophy. One example is the concept of "ubuntu", which means universal human solidarity. This concept of African origin is contrasted with Western individualism and offered as a cure for today's problems. However, it must be stressed that, from such a viewpoint, Asian philosophy, including Korean philosophy, is not viewed as something superior or spiritually developed but rather as just another imperialistic endeavour aimed at the colonisation of other continents.

A fresh view of Confucianism was offered by the remarkable Chinese philosopher Tu Weiming. In his reading of Confucianism and the

philosophy of Confucius, he places emphasis on the role and importance of the individual's detachment. The phonogenic inclination of modern China evidently seeks ways to reconcile Marxism with the reality of modern life and to consolidate and inspire culture. One of the ways of doing this is to adapt and relive the theories of Confucius. A morality rooted in the teachings of Neo-Confucianism seems to be very advantageous for modern China: stable moral standards, culture, society, job, diligence. The popularity of Neo-Confucianism also points to the fact that China is gradually abandoning its imitation of the West in preference of local ideas. Even more, it was expected by many at the congress that the centre of philosophical thinking could move to Asia and perhaps Korea in particular.

When considering Asian philosophy as a whole, one must agree with the position of Tran Van Doan that it is a very vague concept. In fact, the term "Asian philosophy" is close to meaningless. There is also a striking and ironic catch: Asian philosophy is little known not only to Western but also Asian philosophers. Doan rightly notes that Chinese philosophy is as complicated as Indian philosophy. He writes that Japanese philosophy, Korean philosophy and Vietnamese philosophy – though partly rooted in Chinese philosophy – possess special flavours of their own. Hence Asian philosophy is not a common system, or even a collection of common traits, but rather a set of general problems. There is no agreement as to whether such a pattern is a blessing or a curse for Asian philosophy, but Doan believes consensus can be found in the fact that Asian philosophers have lost faith in their own philosophy. As he writes, "Being now orphans by their own choice, they have no other option but a total, unconditional surrender to Western philosophy" (Doan, 2007, p. 158). On the other hand, Doan (2007, p. 169) acknowledges:

> One can hardly build a new philosophy by solely relying on the glory of the past. To link the work of recovery of the past with the search for the future is, of course, quite justified; but to take the former as the sole means seems to be a little bit too optimistic, if not naïve. We know for sure that self-awakening, just as rich traditions, are the conditions and materials for the work of searching and building new philosophy, but they do not constitute it. Since, if our philosophical tasks are to search and to solve human problems (and

> not just technical problems), then new philosophy can be possible
> if we discover new methods to solve the existing problems, the new
> problems and new solutions.

Doan rightly assesses that Asian life is no longer solely Asian but instead global, and hence Asian concerns are multifaceted, too. Asians face the same technical challenges, the same problems as the whole global society. But that does not cancel issues with exclusively Asian traits, which are, of course, neither standardised nor straightforward. For example, differences in language, customs, practices and faith have a tremendous impact on every society and its problems. While Asian problems may be of universal, national and regional character, Doan urges Asian philosophers to not confront just a single aspect. He writes that, by concerning themselves with their own problems, Asian philosophers must also deal with the problems of the world, particularly of the West. In a Kantian spirit – the philosopher is always cosmopolitan and his ideas are universalistic – any philosophy must address universal human problems while also keeping in mind national and individual problems. In Doan's words (2007, p. 173):

> There is no doubt that the future of Asian theory must be connected
> to successful means of unraveling Asian issues and seeking answers.
> Asian philosophy would be "empty", without concrete "content", if
> it were just a copy of other philosophic structures.

One way of searching for new ways of living and thinking about life is founded in traditional Korean spirituality mixed with Western and other philosophies. An unforeseen and retrospectively unavoidable result of the rapid import of Western philosophy into Korea was a revival of interest in traditional Korean philosophy. Apparently, first-hand experience with Western philosophy took the issue of "identity" to the heart of Korean philosophers, and they took a fresh look at traditional Korean philosophy, which had been severely weakened by the attempts of imperial scholars to prove that traditional Korean philosophy was simply a derivative and thus of little inherent meaning. Through the efforts of the Society for the Study of Korean Thought (Han'guksasangyonguhoe), established in 1957,

Korean traditional philosophy regained an important role in intellectual life in Korea.

Yersu Kim writes that, when the turmoil and uncertainty of the post-liberation period and the Korean War was replaced by social and economic peace, the stirrings of what might be called a quest for cultural identity became evident as number of scholars engaged in debates about what constitutes the nature of Korean culture. He continues that, although no final conclusions have been reached, the discussion itself has helped to suggest the existence of a great cultural need to raise concerns on the dangerous state of the traditional arts. Consequently, universities began to offer study courses on Korean thinking, traditional Korean architecture, music, dance, crafts, etc. (Kim, 2007, p. 212).

Here an interesting phenomenon is the Western philosophical school of Edmund Husserl, namely, phenomenology. As explained by Kim, the interest in phenomenology can be explained in part by the fact that it purports to provide a methodological basis for transcendental idealism and existentialism. Phenomenology can be described as an attempt to think anew about truth and to provide an objective basis for subjective intuition. Husserl struggled to compete with the philosophical schools of positivism, empiricism and psychologism that were dominant in his day. He tried to find a way to talk about subjective impressions, but to do it rigidly. This intention of his has found support among scholars of traditional Korean philosophy, in which a pre-reflective conception of intuition as the proper philosophical method has always been dominant. Kim writes that the Korean Society for Phenomenology has tried to incorporate the key principles and techniques of phenomenology into the contemporary Korean philosophical vocabulary. In both philosophy and the associated humanistic and social sciences, phenomenology has been influential in offering an alternative conception to positivism and behaviourism (Kim, 2007, p. 214).

Today, Korea is known as one of the centres of East Asian philosophical thought. In addition, Korean intellectuals are recognised for their ability to speak on behalf of all of East Asia – all of Asia, in fact – in their emphasis of the ancient East Asian spiritual teachings as an

alternative to the dualism of the confrontative, black-and-white Western worldview. Likewise, contemporary Korean intellectuals are famous for their criticism of the global ideology of capitalism, which bears a certain influence from Marxism and Neo-Marxism (but must not be confused with the North Korean ideology of *Juche*; we are speaking here about South Korea). It is very difficult to determine when the criticism of Western philosophy (and the value system advocated in the West) began in Korea. This is partly due to the geopolitical and socio-economic upheavals of the 20th century, the inability of the West to offer a philosophy-based value system that is suited to East Asian society, and the stagnation of European intellectual thought, as well as the non-existence of a positive spiritual strategy on the part of the West in the 21st century. The arrival in Korea of Marxist socio-political theory (and, along with it, Marxist philosophy) took place already in the 1920s under the guise of anti-imperialism and anti-feudalism, at the same time supporting Korean national liberation (Kim, 1999, p. 97). Of interest in this context is, for example, Shin Nam-ch'ŏl's (1907–1958) critique of the dominant philosophy of Japanese imperialism and Western idealist philosophies (Neo-Kantianism, Neo-Hegelianism, phenomenology, existentialism), which, albeit very simplified, encouraged the adapting of foreign philosophy based on a practical understanding of the colonial reality instead of simply accepting the Western intellectual tradition as is. Speaking of Marxism in a narrower sense, Shin Nam-ch'ŏl's critique of Western Oriental studies was very significant for the field's sole concern with ideological phenomena such as religion, philosophy, arts and literature while completely ignoring the economic base and relations of production, thereby asserting the necessity of Marxist methodology in Oriental studies (Kim, 1999, p. 107). Despite the subsequent partition of the Korean peninsula and the official confrontation between North and South Korea, Marxism continued to exist in South Korea and was invigorated by the renaissance of Neo-Marxism in the 1960s, continuing to gain support among university students fighting against Western supporters of the South Korean dictatorship (Kim, 1999, p. 128).

The complicated era of social transformation after the nation's independence (1946–1960, overshadowed by the ghastly Korean War in

1950–1953), the subsequent period of rapid industrialisation (1961–1980) and the violence characteristic of early capitalism, and the post-industrial period (1981–present) with its resulting feeling of social inequality and growing estrangement all facilitated an increasingly critical attitude to the West among Korean intellectuals. Politically, this period of time is characterised by the military government established by the US Army; the subsequent brutal dictatorship of Syngman Rhee (1875–1965), which was also supported by the United States and overthrown as the result of a civil uprising; and the subsequent economically successful yet antidemocratic military government of General Park Chung Hee (1917–1979), which caused wide student riots and a fight for democracy, which Koreans won due to their capacity for spiritual-social mobilisation. Korean Christians, who established the so-called Minjung theology, or Minjung Sinhak (Korean: 민중신학) – a theology of the people that played a central role in fighting for human rights and freedoms (Hwang, 2005, p. 93) – also participated in this resistance movement. However, this does not mean that the Western understanding of democracy as an incarnation of the dream of egoistical individuals and private owners would become a model for contemporary Korean thinkers. The value Confucianism put on the family, as well as the respect towards authorities and elderly people were crucial in the criticism of the Western understanding of democracy, which grew out of estrangement in society, general commercialisation and the escalation of ruthless competition at work and educational institutions. At the end of the 20th century and into the 21st century, the intellectual consolidation of the Far East has continued in Korea on the basis of its traditional spiritual teachings, of which Taoism and Buddhism have enormous significance in proposing an alternative system of values. In many senses, these teachings provide the opposite to the arsenal of Western expansionist ideas with its traditional dualism juxtaposing "the good" and "the evil", glorification of a person's permissiveness, hypertrophy of an individual's ego and tendency to privatise even human relations. From the vantage point of Buddhism, an accurate criticism of the world outlook of Western society has been formulated by the contemporary Korean Buddhist theoretician Misan (Guest and Misan, 2012, p. 359):

> Every being on Earth is connected to each other. That's why there
> is no happiness when one's thinking or behaviour becomes extreme.
> Buddhism teaches us that we attain the greatest happiness only
> when the middle way of thinking and a moderate life and behaviour
> are made possible. For that, we need a certain amount of wisdom
> to see others from an independent point of view. Only then can
> we reduce the evils of democracy and capitalism, which today we
> enjoy very much.)

Buddhism in Korea is more than deeply rooted – Korea can also boast a
specifically Korean version, known as Chan Buddhism, which was created
by the philosopher Chinul (1158–1210), who proposed the reconciliation
of sudden enlightenment with the appropriate religious texts. Taoism, in
turn, had over time coalesced with the Korean mentality and feeling of
nature, thus becoming omnipresent – from painting, poetry and garden
planning principles to the world outlook in general. Buddhism and Taoism
are in essence equally far from the Western person's active ever-presence
and tendency to define the self and everything around him/her, as well as
acutely stress the concepts of one's "*own* property", "*own* abode" and "*own*
environment". This is proved by the underlying idea of Taoism that:

> … the nature of reality is unaffected by our ways of trying to
> grasp it, and although we may use concepts to make sense of
> that reality, we should be aware that reality in itself is completely
> undifferentiated (Leaman, 1999, p. 83).

The characteristic features of Taoism are nothingness, soundlessness
and shapelessness, which envisages that one is not separated from nature
(Xie and Xie, 2010, p. 7). Such an understanding of the world is very
difficult to unite with the model of thinking dominant in the West at
the level of both scientific and daily consciousness. Contemporary Korean
philosopher Byung-Chul Han attempts to show in his works that, regardless
of the findings of philosophy, the mentality of Western thinkers is unable
to free itself from its hypertrophied ego identity in order to understand
the Far East's culture of "non-presence", which is manifested even in the
absence of accurately marked city centres with the familiar "dominants" or
the absence of a main dish on the Korean or Japanese table (Han, 2007).

In Korea of the 21ˢᵗ century, the comparison of Western and Oriental philosophy is present not only among the ranks of professional philosophers; the theme is also tackled by researchers of religions and literature scholars, who stress dualism as the major issue to be overcome in the Western philosophical tradition, which, according to Korean colleagues, is manifested as the separation of a subject from an object, transcendence from immanence, idea from thing, mind from body, etc. (Kim, 2006, p. 24). This discussion in the Korean intellectual environment of the 21ˢᵗ century within the context of Eastern-Western philosophical dialogue now includes numerous new aspects, including a new assessment Shamanism that treats the ancient practice as a world view in which:

> There is no negation, but only affirmation ringing far and wide. The culture of the reunion of intellect and sensitivity, life and death, that is to say, the culture in which liberty and joy create history without oppression: this is the outlook of Shaman culture (Ryu, 2012, pp. 531–532).

Regardless of the important place in Korea of the philosophic teachings of Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism, which are so essential all across the Far East, a dialogue between the West and Korea is possible also within the framework of less-known and more difficult-to-formulate intellectual traditions. In Korean culture, an important place is occupied by the concept of *han* (한), which to a certain extent coincides with the European existentialist concepts of *confusion* (in the meaning of *bemusement*) and *despair*. In the Korean context, *han* is interpreted as grief, collective trauma as a result of human suffering and the suffering of the Korean people in general. Respectively, *han* is a set of emotions as the by-product of tragic experience, etc. In literature, art, music and cinema it is manifested as one of the expressions of Korean identity. Yet despite the similarities with Western existentialism, *han* does not change into either Western nihilism and radicalism or the terrorism presently escalating in the Middle East. Sadness within the *han* framework is an active sadness, and the people suffering from it continue to perform their duties and remain formally integrated in the family and community, at

the same time achieving a considerable degree of internal freedom. This can be understood only through analysing *han* in relation to other, already mentioned traditional Far Eastern teachings. According to Lee Younghee (2002, pp. 38–39):

> The last stage of the *han* is the transcendental phase. In this phase, intimately related to Buddhism, desire is understood as the cause of suffering. Suffering is seen as temporary and as part of the transitory nature of the universe. This is not resignation but an embracing of suffering and joy, fear and love, pain and pleasure. "They disengage themselves from the web of life and their lives are put into a universal perspective, known as *musang–ham* (nothingness)." It is then the Buddhist framework that provides the final answer to *han*. Whereas Confucianism would have individuals accept their place in society and accept *han* as natural and part of the social system, and Shamanism provides an emotional release from *han* through a creation of a community of mutual suffering, it is Buddhism that helps us to spiritually understand and thus transcend *han*. "This transforming and transcending process can be compared to one of the most prized symbols of Buddhism, the water lily. Although the water lily has its roots in murky silt and grows in muddy waters," it emerges beautiful and pure, untouched by the mud from which it grew.

At the same time, in the context of *han* and with regard to modern Korean literature, we should not forget the influence of Taoism. As noted before, unlike in Europe, in the Far East it was literature rather than specific philosophical treatises that for a long time remained the place where philosophical ideas were presented.

Despite copying or interpreting examples of Western literature in Korea, which started at the beginning of the 20th century, the time-plot solutions of stories and novellas in Korean literature increasingly moved away from the conflict-solution plots that dominated in the West and ruled out motifs of confrontation, victory, achievement and revenge. The mentality dictated by Taoism advocates the renunciation of the world and a return to nature; it does not provide for active confrontation with a counterforce, because it is exactly through non-confrontation that the counterforce ceases and everything smooths out (Chung, 1995, p. XII).

Conclusion

After a very quick adaptation of the European philosophical tradition in the early 20th century, Korean thinkers seriously studied the problems of the Western worldview, integrating the legacy of traditional East Asian spiritual teachings into the modern global intellectual dialogue. In the space of the disharmonious, confrontational, binary, opposition-escalating Western world outlook, it is possible that this proposed harmony, albeit at the level of daily consciousness, is one of the most important contributions of contemporary Korean philosophy.

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FACTORS AFFECTING IDENTITY FORMATION PROCESS: COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF LITHUANIA AND KOREA IN THE 19TH–21ST CENTURIES

This study was conceived with an aim to examine the idea that despite belonging to two significantly different regions, it is possible to draw the conclusion that the same or similar historical experiences indicate analogous formations of national sentiments, type of nationalism which is applied to state-building and national identity. Before conducting this study, it was verified that both countries had compatible points which had been analysed thought the article.

Keywords: *national identity, Lithuania, South Korea*

Introduction

Globalization has led to blurring of strictly defined borders, thereby making national identity a very important topic in international discourse. Nationalism is often the most important tool applied to building and shaping the statehood, and it results in certain national identity and national sentiments, upon which state can be built and approved. National identity can be defined in many various ways. For the purposes of this study a mixture of ideas will be applied that explain the formation of national identity through language and historical experiences.

When discussing Korean and Lithuanian history (the 19th–21st centuries), a pattern of similarities appeared in the formation of contemporary statehood. These similarities inspired researchers to conduct a study aimed at examining whether these patterns actually existed and

contributed to the formation of national identity. It could be claimed that both national identities showed significant similarities found in the course of historical developments.

This study is built upon the comparative analysis of Korean and Lithuanian historical experiences, with a special attention to national language, as in certain cases it plays a defining role in the formation of identity. Despite belonging to two different regions and cultures, both countries have similar cultural experiences. What is more, over the course of history they have experienced the influences of outside powers – South Korea was under the influence of China, Japan and USA, while Lithuania experienced the impact of Russian Empire, Nazi Germany and USSR.

Formation of national identity and nationalism

There is no unified approach that would explain the formation of national identity, as it encompasses numerous different factors. Therefore, for the purposes of this study, the ideas that provide insight into the importance of language, history and nationalism are applied, as these factors are interrelated and often employed in the process of identity formation.

Stephen Shulman suggests that national identity is composed of numerous separate blocks, which can be expressed as three main elements: 1) civic identity (citizenship, territory, will and consent, political ideology, political institutions and law), 2) cultural identity (religion, language, tradition) and 3) ethnicity (ancestry, race) (Shulman, 2002, p. 559; Grotenhuis, 2016, p. 127). However, Grotenhuis explains that Shulman developed this model in response to ideas proposed by Hans Kohn, who claimed that people actually have multiple identities, which influence building of national identity (Grotenhuis, 2016, p. 127). Following Shulmans proposition, regardless of the number of identities a person has, one could determine that it is possible to construct national identity by creating or determining these three main elements.

Benedict Anderson represents a similar approach, as he claims that national identity is not a trait one is born with, but rather a socially constructed concept (Anderson, 2006, p. 205). Resembling person's identity, whose creation begins at birth and is shaped by different factors, national identity is also constructed, yet, in case of national identity, there is no originator, as nation's identity is fashioned up time and does not have a clear starting point (Anderson, 2006, pp. 204–205). Acknowledging the idea that national identity is a social construct, it can be claimed that there are no clear lines where national identity begins and ends. Additionally, nationalism draws attention, as it has resulted in creation of modern states and has a role in the formation of national identity. Discussions on nationalism raise a lot of questions – similarly to national identity, there is no singular approach, and the term itself does not have a unified description. However, often the discussions about nationalism cover such issues as: 1) whether nationalism reflects or constructs reality, 2) whether it existed since primordial times or is it a product of modernity, 3) is it a political ideology or is it a cultural or biological concept, 4) is nationalism rational or irrational (Buhr, Fabrykant, Jasiuleviciene, 2013, pp. 16–17). Over the course of multiple discussions regarding nationalism, two categories of nationalism emerged: Western and Eastern. These categories are often referred to as civic and ethnic nationalism.

While examining the distinctions between the two branches of nationalism, it is important to look back at Kohn's ideas, as he constructed the principles of these two categories (Table 1). Jaskulowski points out that Kohn proposed describing nationalism as living and corporate will, ideas, sentiments, and even state of mind (Jaskulowski, 2010, p. 291–292). Additionally, Kohn pointed out that in its essence there was a demand for each nationality to form a state and that particular state should include the whole nation and, finally, the loyalty to one's state should override all other public loyalties (Kohn, 1944, p. 16; Jaskulowski, 2010, p. 292). Thus, the national identity is made the most important identity of a person.

As shown in Table 1, two branches of nationalism describe the orientation of the state, demonstrating how nation, membership and sovereignty and its rationality are perceived, as well as providing clear differences between the two.

Table 1. Civil and ethnic nationalism

Civic (Western) nationalism	Ethnic (Eastern) nationalism
Politically orientated (based on policymaking, government)	Culturally orientated (education, propaganda, cultivation of native values)
Nation – social contract	Nation – organic, natural community
Membership by free choice	Membership determined by objective and ascribed factors, birth
Sovereignty located in individuals	Sovereignty in collective terms (*sui generis* social entity)
Rational (aimed at political, economic advancement)	Irrational and mystical (looking back at distant past, nation roots, lost folk-soul/folk-spirit)
Realistic (in touch with reality);	Idealistic (based on utopia, visions fused with emotions)
Universalistic (combination of loyalty to nation and all-human ideas)	Particularistic (national egoism, imposing values upon other societies)

Compiled by author (Vaida Tumosaitė). Source: Jaskulowski, K. (2010). "Western (civic) 'versus' Eastern (ethnic) Nationalism. The Origins and Critique of the Dichtonomy", *Polish Sociological Review*, 2010, No. 171, p. 293.

To sum up, civic (Western) nationalism sees nation as a voluntary unit where nation is united by social contract, as its members choose to be citizens of the state. Meanwhile, ethnic (Eastern) nationalism is based on the idea that nation is a community who shares common history and thus is defined by it.

The discussion of national identity draws attention to the sense of belonging and the need for individuals to identify themselves with a certain group through the means of culture, language, history, etc. The sense of belonging can be facilitated with nationalism. However, language and history have a very important role in the formation of both nation and national identity, and can even be perceived as its markers. In fact, language assumes political significance, when it acquires political importance in major domains of nationality, such as law, policy and economy, and thus can signify self-conscious nationality and become a construct of national identity (Karna, 1999, p. 82). Some opinions hold that language has

an even greater importance than territory when it comes to the definition of nation, as linguistic identity of the nation remains even when state boundaries are lost (Karna, 1999, p. 82). However, the role of language may vary depending on the level of multilingualism and the degree of imagined threat from the other languages (Sinnemaki, Saarikivi, 2019, p. 55). Finally, one of the main threats to national identity and integrity is the peril of language, especially in cases where common language also plays unifying role (Sinnemaki, Saarikivi, 2019, p. 55).

History is the second important factor that must be considered. As ethnic nationalism proposes, belonging to one or another nation can be defined by the historical experiences of the land and the people living in it. Therefore, it is important to note the role of history in the formation of national identity. History can be applied to ratify and legitimize the present-day boundaries and belonging of the collective, and furthermore give it a sense of continuity (Anderson, [1991] 2016; Halbawchs, [1950] 1980; Nasser, 2018, p. 9). To this day, history serves as an official narrative of a collective, excluding alternative narratives by competing groups withing or outside the nation (Nasser, 2018, p. 10). Therefore, historical experiences add to the formation of national identity as identity can be built on historical experience.

For the purpose of this study the method of comparative analysis has been chosen and applied to compare factors influencing the formation of national identity in South Korea and Lithuania in the 19th–21st centuries. The article compares two states according to the following categories: nationalism, language and historical events that lead to the formation of national identities. As discussed above, these are important elements necessary to the formation of national identity.

Formation of Korean national identity

History is directly affecting the present. It is the key in the formation of national identity, since it naturally explains the outcome. According to Hart, we are who we are because it is our essential role to be (Hart, 2000, p. 137). Looking into the formation of Korean national identity,

it is very important to consider the flow of history especially in the contemporary times from the 19th century until present. As discussed earlier, the 19th century marks the beginning of a modern idea of a nation state and the formation of national sentiment in the West. Starting to form in the West, it spread to the East Asian regions, as well.

Hart claims that Korea might have more than just one "national past" (Hart, 2000, p. 137). Actually, there should be at least two histories (the one told in the North, and the one told in the South), which hold significant importance to the formation of a modern Korean national identity. While the term of nationalism dominated the Western World in the 19th century, the Korean Peninsula was under the rule of the Yi Dynasty, also called Joseon (1392–1910).

It is also essential to note that the Korean people are emphasizing the idea of *tanilminjok*, meaning one single ethnic nation, one single bloodline, claiming that Korea's national roots reach way back in history (Peterson, 2009, p. 113). Koreans hold great pride in ethno-racial purity (Draudt, 2016, p. 15). This can be traced back to the many invasions of outside forces and historical preference for isolationism, the urgency of South Koreans to legitimate their national identity as unique and special (Draudt, 2016, p. 15). This chapter will be an overview of the major events that had contributed to the formation of national identity throughout Korean history starting with the late Joseon Dynasty which challenged many changes and reforms.

The *sadae* relations with China

In the Joseon period, Korea was a conforming Kingdom of the Qing dynasty. In other words, during the Joseon dynasty Korea was encompassed within the Chinese tributary system. The hierarchical language and protocol of this system established clear lines of dominance and subservience in terms of interstate relations (Robinson, 1986, p. 39). Nevertheless, the literal meaning of the so-called *sadae* concept was "serve the great", but it was more of a ritual subservience, while in reality Joseon enjoyed almost complete political autonomy (Robinson, 1986, p. 39). However, Joseon was using Chinese characters, and Chinese language

was pursued as the language of the upper class (*yangban*). Even though the Korean alphabet *Hangul* was invented in the 15th century, it was not pursued by *yangban*, who were under severe influence of Confucian ethics. The influence of Chinese culture over Korea can be traced back throughout the history. Consequently, Chinese political institutions and philosophy exerted significant influence during the development of Korean political culture (Robinson, 1986, p. 39). The history of Koreans being in the *sadae* relation contributed to the spread of the belief that Korea was a weak, obedient nation, always in a subservient position in relation to a stronger nation (Robinson, 1986, p. 40).

Joseon dynasty becoming the Korean Empire

Along with the 19th century came the struggle of reforms inflicting conflicts between modernisers and traditionalists (Peterson, 2009, p. 104). At the end of the 19th century, the traditional *yangban* – peasant social structure and agricultural economy of the Kingdom were targeted by internal and external forces, replacing them (at least in later South Korean territory) with social structures which can be mainly found in the West (Lee, 2006, p. 2). Korea was coerced into signing the Kanghwa Treaty (1876) with Japan, which was set out arguably unequally and forced Korea to open up to Japan (Schmid, 2002, p. 26). The treaty declared Korea as an "independent state", ending even its theoretical subordinance to China and later adding supplements stating that Japan was privileged in commercial interests (Schmid, 2002, p. 26). This officially ended its *sadae* relation with China. Under the influence of the Japanese, the Joseon Kingdom eventually became the Korean empire in 1897. King Kojong was now emperor and Korea was now theoretically of equal status with China and Japan (Peterson, 2009, p. 133).

The Independence Club

Chaepil (Philip Jaisohn), who was one of the pro-modernisation thinkers (which made a pro-Japan thinker as well), came back to Korea from the USA after he had heard that China was defeated by Japan in 1895 (Peterson, 2009, p. 136). He established the Independence Club in

1896 with one of the goals to target changes of the patron-client relations in international politics (Robinson 1986, 40). He also started to edit a new daily newspaper "The Independent" ("*TongnipSinmun*") published in *Hangul* and English (1896–1899). This marked the first widely spread public use of *Hangul* which was a radical statement, since most of the upper class had a strong habit of using classical Chinese (Peterson, 2009, p. 136). The people who joined the Independence Club saw themselves as nationalists, therefore cultural identity and cultural autonomy likewise was a very significant topic for the members. The Independence Club tried to encourage public usage of *Hangul* in written communication as a symbol of cultural independence while breaking free from the cultural (linguistic) dependence of China (Robinson, 1986, p. 40). The Independence Club proposing a reform to constitutional monarchy can be seen as the birth of the modern Korean nationalist ideology and the start of an advanced national identity formation process (Robinson, 1986, p. 38). The Independence Club contributed significantly while seeking independence in the global early modern times. It is debatable that the Independence Club was one of the first contributors that actually understood the idea of a modern national identity.

From a modern point of view, Jaisohn can be perceived as a significant actor in the struggle to build an independent modern Korea. Nevertheless, he was sent into exile, because the Korean government saw his ideas as a threat to the royal power, but he remained Korean nationalist and kept fighting for Korean independence in the USA with the founding of the League of Friends of Korea, which kept supporting Korean national activists (Peterson, 2009, p. 137).

Korean Empire and national identity

The times of transformation to the Korean Empire marked a period of major changes in the peoples' perception of Korea and their understanding of the Korean folk. There are great examples of people who tried spreading Korean national consciousness. According to Robinson, historian Sin Ch'aeho was an editorialist of the "Korea Daily News" ("*Taehanmaeilsinbo*") between 1905 and 1910, additionally one of the contributors trying to help

constructing a prideful Korean identity (Robinson, 1986, p. 42). A lot of the articles he published were dedicated to the *sadae* relation and how the consciousness of subservience to Chinese culture and philosophy had poisoned the formation of Korean national identity (Robinson, 1986, p. 42). These actions clearly reflect the deep footprint of the external influence over the Korean Peninsula and its culture. This led to a desire to start anew while ignoring the dependent history and building national pride and a modern national identity.

Colonial times (1910–1945)

Korea fell into the colonial regime under Imperial Japan in 1910. Aprivy council which actually held no power, was made of pro-Japanese Koreans creating a semblance that Koreans were theoretically participating in the government (Kang Man-gil, 2005; 6; Peterson, 2009, p. 143). The colonial period can generally be divided into three phases: The Military Period, also called the Dark Age (1910–19); the Cultural Policy Period (1919–31); and the Assimilation Period (1931–45) (Peterson, 2009, p. 141). The last assimilation period was the most exhausting and created the strong anti-Japanese sentiment.

Throughout the colonial times, Koreans were discriminated as secondary folks. The Japanese reports serve as a good example, as they state that the Japanese emigrants had advantages in various fields, Koreans even losing land and becoming tenants on the land that they had once owned (Peterson, 2009, p. 147). The best students from Korea were sent to study in Japan (by the 1912, there were 3171 students in Japan), but this actually backfired, as the Korean students had gained access to different literature, eventually bonding with other foreign students, learning about ethnical discrimination and turning into leftists and nationalists (Eckert, 1990, p. 275; Peterson, 2009, p. 151).

March the First Movement (1919)

March the First Movement is a significant event in the formation of national identity. It is often also referred to even as the birth of Korean civil society. Today, a national holiday dedicated to celebrate March the 1st

Movement, which is viewed as an important component of national pride for South Koreans (Lee, 2013, p. 9).

Many nationalist Koreans invested much hope in the ideas of US president Woodrow Wilson and his Fourteen Points Plan (1918). They believed that Korea was a nation with its own language, culture and long history of independence, colonialized against the will of the people (Peterson, 2009, p. 152). Inspired by the Tokyo declaration, leaders who stood in contact with the foreign Korean nationalists planned a demonstration and drafted another declaration, which was spread around the country and overseas with the help of the church network (Peterson, 2009, p. 152).

The death of the last King of Joseon served as a great catalyst, as people gathered on the streets to pay respects and felt unity as a nation again. The widespread rumours that the King was poisoned by the Japanese (most historians do not believe it to be true), inspired even those who would not usually go and protest to take part in the nationalist movement (Peterson, 2009, p. 152). The Movement spread around the country and met widespread support with many of the protestors being killed or arrested. This event inspired people to keep fighting the colonial rule and uprisings became especially visible around the 1920s and 1930s after March the 1st Movement (Hart, 2000, p. 139).

Korean guerrillas

After the official colonialization of the Korean peninsula in 1910, the guerrilla fighters had no other option but to move their bases up into Manchuria (Peterson, 2009, p. 140). At the same time, in the USA The Korean National Association was formed in 1909 by Syngman Rhee (later – president of the First Republic of Korea) (Peterson, 2009, p. 152).

After Kojong was gone, the Japanese had disbanded the Korean military and the angry former Korean forces tried fighting the Japanese but were defeated and eventually ended up joining the rebels who fought against the Japanese ruling in the provinces (Peterson, 2009, p. 140). The Japanese side evaluated the Korean guerrillas to include 69 832 people in 1908 (resulting in nearly 1 500 fights against Japanese troops), which showed

the rapid growth of the Korean guerrillas every year with 25 000 in 1909 (Cumings, 2005, p. 146; Peterson, 2009, p. 140). However, subsequently these guerrillas were taken care of by the Japanese military resting in only 2 000 independence fighters in 1910 (Cumings, 2005, p. 146; Peterson, 2009, p. 140). The Korean guerrillas were based in inaccessible mountain regions and were trying to sabotage the Japanese in Korea as much as possible with actions such as damaging railroad tracks and telegraph lines (Peterson, 2009, p. 140). Peterson cites a Korean historian who wrote about the Japanese response of the guerrilla uprisings as "indiscriminate slaughter and destruction" (Han, 1970, p. 453; Peterson, 2009, p. 140).

Provisional government in exile

Although Korea did not reclaim its independence after March the 1st Movement, however, national ideas kept spreading, resulting in the creation of provisional governments. At first, three separate provisional governments were formed in Vladivostok (Russia), Shanghai (China) and Seoul. People from different wings had various ideas about how Korea should be reborn: one side wished for a Western-style republic, while the other side was for a communist society seeking justice for the poor (Peterson, 2009, p. 156). Eventually an official and unified provisional government was created in April 1919 in Shanghai with Syngman Rhee as the President (Peterson, 2009, p. 156). Nevertheless, in the 1920s, the communists and anti-Communists in Manchuria rather focused on fighting each other than combating the colonial ruling (Kim Young-sik, 2003; Peterson 2009, p. 156).

Time of "Japanisation" (1931–45)

The assimilation period was not only a military occupation but also an attempt to destroy Korea's culture along with the identity and its confidence in order to make facilitate its successful assimilation as a nation (Cooney, Scarbrough, 2008, p. 175). In 1934, a new curriculum was introduced in Korean schools, demanding intense studies of Japanese language, ethics and history, deleting the study of Korean and the usage of Korean in general curriculum (Peterson, 2009, p. 169). Ultimately, the

Japanese government insisted that only Japanese would be used in all public offices, and by the 1940s all businesses and banks should keep records only in Japanese (Eckert, 1990, p. 315; Peterson, 2009, p. 170). Peterson cites Cumings who observed that "Korean culture was simply crushed" by the end of the 1940s (Cumings, 2005, p. 182; Peterson, 2009, p. 170). Language is one of the main points supporting national identity, therefore, the ban of using Korean hit very hard.

The assimilation process gained momentum as in 1939 a law was passed on the Name Change Order, which "graciously allowed" all Koreans to change their surnames and given names to Japanese-styled ones (Peterson, 2009, p. 169). Even though there were promises of a better treatment to those who successfully assimilated, nevertheless, after the Name Change Order, all public records contained the information about the original ethnicity of the residents (Peterson, 2009, p. 166). Korean workers would be paid lower wages than the Japanese workers for the same hours and the same level of skills (sometimes getting only half of the salary of a Japanese worker) (Cumings, 2005, p. 169; Peterson, 2009, p. 166).

End of the colonial period

The colonial period is being treated variously by historians representing different wings. This period could be seen as a cut in the natural and independent formation period of national identity. At the same time, the colonisation period is also generally considered to represent the beginnings of a modern Korean national identity, as the anti-Japanese movement period inspired people to gather and fight for their "Koreanness" (Hart, 2000, p. 139).

The truth that the 35 years of colonial ruling introduced a modern civil service, a postal system, newspapers, banks, corporations, and trade associations, as well as capitalism and the response to capitalism, including trade unions and leftist organisations, cannot be ignored (Peterson, 2009, p. 174). Japan also left many cultural legacies which can be found in everyday lives of Koreans, such as bath houses, tearooms, or even the subway system, which is laid out in a way that it runs in the opposite direction to the traffic flow (Peterson, 2009, pp. 174–175).

Two Koreas

Korea was declared a free nation on the 15th of August 1945, no longer under the ruling of Japan. However, in reality, the Korean Peninsula was re-occupied again in 1948 after being split into two zones along the 38th parallel. It was the result of the world dividing itself into communist and non-communist blocks (Morris-Suzuki, 2015). The communist Soviet Union and the capitalistic US could not agree on how a new, free, democratic Korea should be re-established. The two world powers divided Korea into North and South with the Soviets taking the upper part and the US – the lower part of the Korean Peninsula (Morris-Suzuki, 2015). The failed reunification talks in 1948 resulted in the creation of two separate countries: The socialist Democratic People's Republic of Korea with its leader Kim Il-sung in the North, and the capitalist Republic of Korea with Syngman Rhee as the leader in the South. The Korean War, which was a result of both Koreas seeing themselves as the legitimate government of the whole peninsula, eventually ended with an armistice in 1953, creating two different Koreas with different ideologies and different national identities.

Republic of Korea

After the first Republic was established with Syngman Rhee as the first president, South Korea was facing a long period of authoritarian regimes. The main goal of the ROK government for generations to come was to build a strong and economically independent Korea, especially under the military regime of Park Chung Hee who promoted an Economy-First policy (Seth, 2011, p. 406). Even though there were ideas of "Cultural Korea" which would modernise Korea at the same time maintaining traditional cultural heritage, they did not have a significant weight (Kim, Vogel, 2011, pp. 123–124). People suffered low wages, bad labour conditions and suppression of freedom and speech until democratization in 1987. People were busy fighting the many authoritarian regimes and their political suppression, which led to the emergence of an active and protesting civic society. Nevertheless, while fighting the authoritarian regime, the national identity and ideas about national sentiments were often pushed aside.

1965 Korea – Japan Normalisation Treaty

As mentioned before, the colonial times caused the spread of very strong anti-Japanese sentiment among Koreans. This significantly deterred normalization of bilateral relations between Japan and Korea. President Park, who came to power as the *de facto* second authoritarian leader of Korea, was not a supporter of the anti-Japanese sentiment.

Korea's financial struggle and Park's Economy-First policy played a big role, since Korea had no other choice than to seek investment and loans from Japan. Nevertheless, the civil sphere was against friendly relations. In March 1964, from about 40 000 to 60 000 students protested, raising slogans claiming that South Korean diplomacy was "humiliating" (Park, 2010, p. 72). President Park's wish to normalise the relations with Japan challenged the new postcolonial ideology of "self-reliance" and "independence", and it became a big issue since the public recognized the post-liberation Korean nationalism, which excluded everything Japanese from Korea (Park, 2010, p. 72). With the Treaty of 1965, Japan and Korea restored diplomatic relations signifying the beginning of an economic, political and cultural cooperation, despite the major issues like colonial rule and Japan's responsibility over war crimes being left unsolved (Cha, 1996).

The 21st century

South Korean cultural pride nowadays holds significant importance which could be linked to the development of pride and concern for the native folk traditions which, in turn, could be seen as a tradition of Korea's growing confidence reflected by its international economic recognition, being a clear opposite of the years before and immediately after becoming Japanese colony in 1910 (Robinson, 1986, p. 49). Quite clearly, Korean nationalism resulted from numerous processes in the past. The process of modern national identity formation in Korea was initiated by the attempt to create a mixture of Western political institutions in a nation-state that still retained the political patterns of the indigenous Koreans (Robinson, 1986, p. 49). Hart suggests that "the past becomes musealized, frozen so as to serve the interest of people today" (Hart, 2000, p. 140). In other

words, the past may be used as a tool to achieve the wanted nationalist ideas, helping to form a specific kind of national identity. The speeches of high rank politicians also have had a significant impact on the shaping of national identity. Besides often used phrases such as "my fellow Koreans" or "my fellow citizens", as well as the sequent remarks on the Colonial past served as a reminder to the people that they should uphold pride in Korea's independence (Lee, 2013, p. 5).

As mentioned before, history is a powerful tool to frame and install national identity. History is spread with different tools like speeches, official statements, thus producing collective memory (Hart, 2000, p. 137). According to Hart, one of the most important ingredients in formation of national identity of individuals is the information a child gets through education, which creates a deep impact on the child's values and understanding of the world (Hart, 2000, p. 143). In other words, the formation of national identity has a lot to do with history classes taught at school. Through lessons and books with narratives and pictures young students are being told history, and this process helps instilling values and national pride (Sneider, 2013). Also, similarly to other countries, South Korea has many sites of national memory. Places such as the Gyeongbokgung Palace, the Independence Hall, museums and memorials are critical for the maintenance of national history and pride (Lee, 2013, p. 9). The Independence Hall is not only a place celebrating Korean independence, but it also is a mirror of the legacy of Japanese colonialism which serves the ideological function of constituting a collective Korean national identity (Lee, 2013, p. 9). This shows how important history and, more specifically, the colonial period is in the present times regarding the Korean national identity.

Formation of Lithuanian national identity

The 19th century in Europe was the period of reforms and modernization. At the time, Lithuania was under the rule of Russia, and the general sentiment fostering eruption of national identity which was spreading throughout the West also reached Lithuania. This period was

very important for Lithuania, since, simultaneously with uprisings for the sake of rebuilding independence it also brought modernization and an understanding of the meaning of a modern nation (Aleksandravicius, 1996, p. 14). Until then, Lithuania had existed in different forms, such as a Kingdom, the Grand Duchy, and a Grand Duchy with federal links with the Kingdom of Poland in form of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (Venclauskas, 2013, p. 52).

Just like in many other cases, the language became a key component of the nationalist identity. Lithuanian lived on through the Russification period of the late 19th century, showing a relatively low level of Russification of ethnic Lithuanians. This is the best example of founding and maintaining of Lithuanian national identity (Gorenburg, 2006; Buhr, Fabrykant, Jasiuleviciene, 2013, p. 38). In other words, in the late 19th century the Lithuanian language formed the basis of a cultural feature that new national activists of an ethnic Lithuania would ultimately exploit (Synder, 2003, p. 29).

Talking about cultural identity in Lithuania it is important to note the cultural traces that were left by the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth (1569–1795). Clearly, the Polish side had the upper hand and exerted influence over Lithuania not only politically but also culturally. The Polish language slowly started gaining popularity and eventually became the main language among the upper classes in Lithuania (Eidintas et al., 2013, p. 68). This tradition of the Polish language use among the elites remained present also after the fall of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (Aleksandravicius, 1996, p. 66).

The history of East Central Europe has many issues with the different experiences and narratives about the past (Venckauskas, 2013, p. 52). Lithuanian ethnical territory at some point coincides with the present territory of Lithuania (or is slightly smaller) (Aleksandravicius, 1996, p. 14). Looking at it from a territorial and ethnical point of view, Lithuania would fall under the "'eastern" nationalism. Yet, such ideas changed in the late 20th century, since "eastern" nationalism was overthrown during the Soviet occupation period but the characteristics of ethnic identity as language, culture, and religious affiliation had been re-established again becoming

key traits of Lithuanian-ness also playing major roles in the restoration of independence (Buhr, Fabrykant, Jasiuleviciene, 2013, p. 40–41).

Lithuania under Russian rule 1795–1915

Lithuania came under Czarist Russian rule as a result of the absolute disappearance (1795) of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth caused by the lost uprising of 1794 (Eidintas et al., 2013, p. 68). There were three partitions of the Commonwealth in general: in 1772 – limited to its border lands, then in 1793 another partition, and finally it was entirely occupied in 1795 (Venclauskas, 2013, p. 52).

Russia, which was the ruling power, had tolerated the cultural and ethnical traditions of Lithuania at first, but after the nationalist uprising of 1831 changed the course with the goal of eliminating all the traces of "Lithuanianism" (Aleksandravicius, 1996, p. 22). There even was a consideration of the founding of a Grand Duchy of Lithuania under Czarist Russian rule in 1811 but it was not implemented (Aleksandravicius, 1996, p. 55).

In general, these times brought many reforms to Lithuania. One of the most visible would be the education reform of 1802–1804 (Aleksandravicius, 1996, p. 65). Of course, the educational reform was more of a tactical move to ensure the power of the Russian Empire uniting it as one whole apparatus making it easier to control the lands (Aleksandravicius, 1996, p. 65).

Uprisings in the 19th century

The first ideas of fighting the Russian colonial power were installed after the Polish Kingdom was created in the 19th century and Lithuanian nobles had the desire to join the newly erupted kingdom (Aleksandravicius, 1996, p. 67). The uprisings were carried out by activists of different social backgrounds often primarily Polish speaking. The nobles of the Former Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth who still were standing under great Polish cultural influence were dreaming of the restoration of the Former Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth or at least of an independent Lithuania (Aleksandravicius, 1996, p. 25). The more radical nobles could not accept

the loss of their country and tried to re-establish it using the Napoleon wars and two uprisings – one in 1830–1831, and another one in 1863–1864 (Eidintas et al., 2013, p. 99). Nevertheless, Russia managed to suppress the uprisings.

In the 1812, the quest for freedom was influenced by the Napoleonic War with Russia, where most of the land of the former Grand Duchy of Lithuania fell under his power. Napoleon allowed the establishment of a provisional government in Vilnius under the supervision of his officials, but the dream of a free Lithuania ended in the same year with Napoleon losing and Lithuania falling back under Russian control (Eidintas et al., 2013, p. 104).

The next uprising of 1830 indicated that a "true Lithuanian" wasthe one who sought freedom and thereby wanted to re-establish the Commonwealth and according to at least some of the leaders, to abolish serfdom (Venckauskas, 2013, p. 60). The Russian side reacted in a quick and painful way, implementing new harsh laws of censorship, additionally closing down many schools, churches and monasteries, as well as Vilnius University, which was a place known for critical and liberal thought (Venckauskas, 2013, p. 60).

In contrast to the previous ones, the uprising of 1863–1864 showed the formation of poles between the Polish and Lithuanian sides since the vision of future started to differ (particularly concerning the possible reconstruction of the Commonwealth) (Venckauskas, 2013, p. 60). This time, the Russian side completely banned the publication of anything in the Lithuanian language using Latin orthography (Venckauskas, 2013, p. 60).

Such actions show the different Russian approaches to the two uprisings (1830–1831 and 1863–1864). At first, it was fighting the "Polishism" installed in the post-Commonwealth society, while the second time around it was fighting the "Lithuanianism".

Russification period 1864–1905

After the successful repression of the last uprising in 1864, a new policy was adapted. The Russian Empire was trying to change the country's cultural and national identity, especially targeting the language

forbidding anything written in Lithuanian, including books, newspapers or a prayer book holding no anti-government political content (Eidintas et al., 2013, p. 98). The usage of Latin orthography for writing in Lithuanian language was illegal, and those who wanted to learn it had to do so in secret (Eidintas et al. 2013, 98). After the ban, everything had to be published using the so-called *grazdanka*, applying Russian orthography to Lithuanian grammar structure and wording until 1904 (Venckauskas, 2013, p. 62).

This time is a significant period of transformation and the start of formation of a national identity through resistance and illegal perception of the Lithuanian traditions and language. Books and other publications were smuggled into Lithuania after being printed in the neighbouring Prussia (Venckauskas 2013, 68). In this manner, the first Lithuanian newspapers "*Aušra*" ("The Dawn") (1883–1886), "*Varpas*" ("The Bell") (1889–1906), "*Tėvynės sargas*" ("The Guard of the Fatherland") (1896–1904) and others were printed. All of them spread the ideas about the significance and exceptionality of Lithuanian ethnicity, the need for modernization of the Lithuanian culture (Venckauskas, 2013, p. 68). At this time, many ethnic Lithuanian students (whether of well-off peasant or noble origin) started studying at the universities, learning about contemporary ideas, bringing them back and eventually sparking the desire of modernization (Venckauskas, 2013, p. 63).

Another major point of the Russification period was the idea of converting all people loyal to the Roman Catholic Church (associated with the Polish-rooted population, loyal to the Commonwealth) into Eastern Orthodoxy (Aleksandravicius, 1996, p. 87). At this time, Lithuania fell under the territory where Russian Empire rules were not applied, however, a temporary rule was made giving the general governor the power of administrative deportation, confiscation or sequestration of property, removal of officials, imposition of fines, etc. (Aleksandravicius, 1996, p. 88).

Period of independence (1918–1940)

The period of the early 20th century brought the times of Independent Lithuania (1918–1940). These times commenced with the First World War (1914–1918). With the democratic revolution of 1917 the Tsar stepped

down, and after a *coup* the Bolsheviks brought ceasefire between Russia, Germany and Austria-Hungary (Aleksandravicius, 1996, p. 104). Until the end of the war, Lithuania was in German hands, but then in 1918 with the Act of Independence of Lithuania and roughly two years of freedom fights, Lithuania found itself in the bigger part of its ethnographic territory (Poland took Vilnius, while in 1923 a part of the so-called Lithuania Minor, the Klaipeda region was connected to Lithuania) (Aleksandravicius, 1996, pp. 104–105).

The loss of Vilnius to the Poles gained increased attention to national values in the 1930s. The attention to national values and interpretations of the past became a subject to change (Venclauskas, 2013, p. 75). The Lithuanian agricultural reform of 1920–1922 was not only a win for social equality but also had the intention of weakening big landlords who were depicted as pro-Polish (Venclauskas, 2013, p. 75).

Thus, this period saw birth of the modern Lithuanian identity which started formation of a modern Lithuanian nation (Venclauskas, 2013, p. 52). Scholars argue that in the Interwar years (the 20th century) many national elites pursued a "one nation, one language, one culture, one state" principle (Donskis, 2002, p. 13; Buhr, Fabrykant, Jasiuleviciene, 2013, p. 39). At the same time, a part of the national elites was searching for an authentic national identity rooted in various myths, symbols, folklore and language (Lieven, 1993, p. 113; Buhr, Fabrykant, Jasiuleviciene, 2013, p. 39). There were different stages of national development, which can be detected in this period.

Nazi and Soviet occupations (1939–1944)

The years of the Second World War brought complex changes to the ideas about the future of Lithuania. In 1939, Lithuania signed an agreement on the transfer of the territory of Klaipeda to Germany (Eidintas et al., 2013, 1p. 82). Consequently, Klaipeda was no longer under Lithuanian influence, however, this only marked the beginning of losing the independence.

Eventually, Lithuania got Vilnius back. The Lithuanization of Vilnius can be partly explained by the obvious compromise between the

Soviet authorities and the Lithuanian communists (Snyder, 2003, p. 95). Actually, Lithuania had no choice but to obey Moscow's demand to sign a mutual assistance agreement, which gave the Soviet Union the right to retain a number of soldiers in certain areas of the territory of Lithuania in exchange for the assistance in regaining Vilnius (Eidintas et al., 2013, p. 184). Afterwards, with false accusations of Lithuanians kidnapping soldiers from Soviet bases the promise of Soviet non-interference in the internal affairs ended with an ultimatum asking to form a pro-Soviet government (People's *Seimas*), thus allowing to keep an indefinite number of Red Army soldiers on Lithuanian soil (Eidintas et al. 2013, 186). In August 1940, a declaration was signed stating that Lithuania "voluntary" joined the USSR (Eidintas et al., 2013, p. 192). This was a *de facto* occupation.

The People's *Seimas* worked under the Soviets who aimed to destroy Lithuania's statehood (Snyder, 2003, p. 95). In the 1940–1941, the Soviet policy targeted Polish and then Lithuanian society by deporting its elites (Snyder, 2003, p. 84). In June 1941, the first mass deportation of the Lithuanian population (17.5 thousand of Lithuanian political, military and economic elite members were deported) was carried out by the Soviet authorities, assisted by local party workers, especially the Communist youth (Eidintas et al., 2013, p. 194).

The Soviet regime operated with a large bureaucracy whose aim was to implement centrally defined rationalities in state cultural policy (Rindzeviciute, 2008, p. 64). For the Lithuanians, Lithuanian language, Lithuanians in leadership positions and an active Catholic Church were the top priorities, yet within a year almost everything was lost when Lithuanian language was pushed aside by Russian, the highest administrative positions became occupied by representatives of other nationalities, and the Catholic Church was suppressed by the regime (Venclauskas, 2013, p. 79). In 1922, a large organization – The Central Administration for Literary and Publishing Affairs (*Glavlit*) was established, entrusted with responsibility for censorship (Rindzeviciute, 2008, p. 65). In 1938, the Agency for Public Works was founded with the vision of spreading national (Soviet) culture and propaganda (Rindzeviciute, 2008, p. 65).

When the German-Soviet war broke out in June 1941, the Germans occupied Lithuania within three days (Eidintas et al., 2013, p. 194). German policy regarding Poles and Lithuanians was different in form but of the same brutality (Snyder, 2003, p. 84). Later, in December 1941, an underground military organization – the Lithuanian Freedom Army (LLA) was established in Vilnius, which set itself the task to regain Lithuania's independence.

Independence movement of 1941 uprising

The 1941 uprising was a spontaneous response to Soviet policy in Lithuania. The idea of an anti-Soviet uprising had matured at the beginning of the German-USSR war by a Lithuanian activist front founded by a group of Lithuanian emigrants (Eidintas et al., 2013, p. 195). During this time, many ethnic Lithuanians felt betrayed by national minorities (as if they were Soviet collaborators), which contributed to the creation of an even more nationality-based identity (Venclauskas, 2013, p. 78).

Under the direction of Kazys Škirpa (the head of the consular department of the Lithuanian embassy in Nazi Germany and an admirer of this regime), a secret organization called the Lithuanian Activist Front (LAF) was founded stating that any ethnic Lithuanian regardless of political orientation could become a member of LAF (Venclauskas, 2013, p. 79). This organization was one of the major contributors to the fight against Soviet oppression.

On June 23, 1941, under the leadership of LAF the restoration of Lithuania's independence was announced, and a Provisional Government was formed. During this uprising, the LAF transformed from an underground organization into a military rebel organization with its own combat (partisan) units – the National Labour Protection. While the pro-Nazi Provisional Government was created to restore independence, or at least so it was announced on the radio, the Nazis themselves had other plans for Lithuania (Venclauskas, 2013, p. 80). Eventually, as noted before, Lithuania fell under German occupation (1941–1944).

Lithuania as a part of the Soviet Union
(1945–1991)

When Germans had to forcibly withdraw from the occupied territories, in the aftermath of their losing positions, the Red Army began entry into the Lithuanian territory in 1944 (Eidintas et al., 2013, p. 204). Soviet troops postulated that they would liberate Lithuania from Nazi Germany, whereas in reality Lithuania was simply re-occupied by the Russians and the Stalinist regime returned, requisitions were taken, and men were captured for work (Eidintas et al., 2013, p. 206).

The Soviet Union was angry of the "treacherous" cooperation with Hitler's regime and sought revenge with its new terror-like policies. Mass deportation of Lithuanians began again in 1948, and the USSR limited and regulated the situation of the deportees even more: the deportees did not have the right to leave their deportation location without an MVD permit, they could not have passports and had to register in the office of the special commandant and do compulsory work at least once a month (Anusauskas et al., 2005, p. 267). After the rules on admitting deportees became even stricter in September 1949, Soviet policy towards Lithuanians and other unreliable nations (Chechens, Latvians, Estonians, etc.) became more detailed (Anusauskas, 2005, p. 267). The losses that the deportations and the destruction of prisoners in Soviet labour camps had inflicted on the Lithuanian nation were terrible. As Anusauskas et al. state in the book "Lithuania in 1940-1991: The history of occupied Lithuania":

> Of the 132 000 people who were sent for "eternal" deportation between 1941 and 1952, around 28 000 died of illness, hunger and unbearable work. Although the last Lithuanians were released from deportation in December 1963, around 50 000 people had long or no opportunity to return to Lithuania. The terror with elements of genocide that accompanied the process of Sovietization destroyed not only the people, but also entire social classes with all their culture, property and social influence. Around 350 000 people were arrested, deported and shipped to GULAG labor camps or killed in Lithuania (Anusauskas, 2005, p. 268).

Lithuanian partisans (guerrillas) during
the rule of Soviet regime

Uprisings against the Soviets begun as soon as the Red Army entered Lithuania in 1944 and continued until 1953, when the last partisans where liquidated, and the LLKS Council disbanded. As mentioned before, the LLA (*Lietuvos Laisves Armija* – Lithuanian Army of Independence) was established in 1941 and became the basis for the post-war armed resistance in terms of structure, programme and leadership (Anusauskas et al., 2005, p. 271).

The nine-year resistance against colonial rule had no single military leadership but retained a clearly national character in both the underground partisan press and the military political documents emphasizing that it was a significant fight for the liberation of Lithuania (Anusauskas, 2005, p. 278). The armed partisan resistance can be divided into three periods: 1944–1946, 1946–1948 and 1949–1953 (Anusauskas, 2005, p. 278). In the first period (during the war between Russia and Germany), large partisan units were created, eventually leading to the formation of seven (later, nine) districts (Vytis, Didzioji Kova, Vytautas, Zemaiciai, Jungtine Kestucio (later Kestutis and Prisikelimas), Tauras, Dainava; somewhat later – Algimantas district) (Anusauskas, 2005, pp. 278–279). The second period from 1946 was the time of the massive fight. During the armed resistance of 1946–1947, the publication of the partisan press (informational press and anti-Soviet propaganda) flourished (Anusauskas et al., 2005, p. 283). The second period of resistance marked the unification of patriotic forces of Lithuania, while at the same time it was systematically destroyed.

Organized armed resistance against the occupation lasted until 1953. The last period of resistance (1949–1953) is mainly related to the formation of the LLKS, which carried out large deportations in 1948 and 1949, aiming to finally remove obstacles to collectivization through destroying the basis and the supporters of the partisans (Anusauskas et al., 2005, p. 285). In 1977 almost all collaborators of the resistance movements received the death sentence. Yet even after the suppression of partisan resistance, the Lithuanian independence movement did not dissolve.

Soviet propaganda in Lithuania

After the re-occupation of Lithuania, the Soviet regime had to deal with a heavy shortage of loyal, qualified staff, a collapsed economy, and the resistance of population. Hence, the administrative structures of culture were re-established seeking to control the masses (Rindzeviciute, 2008, p. 67). As mentioned before, during the first occupation period (around the 1940s), Soviets had set up a central administration for cultural affairs, which financed and supervised the cultural work in the country.

After the Lithuanian partisan movement was mostly supressed, Soviets published a lot of propaganda picturing the independence-fighters as "bandit murderers". In 1959–1960, 452 articles and documentary essays in the Lithuanian press were published, 30 radio programmes (six of them for foreign countries) broadcasted, and two film articles and five film magazines were produced about the "wrong-doings" of the Lithuanian guerrillas (Anusauskas et al., 2005, p. 283). This trend of bashing the underground nationalist movements of Lithuanians continued even until the 1990s with the support of KGB (Anusauskas et al., 2005, p. 285). As a result of the Partisan Wars, the symbols of nationality such as the national flag and the National Anthem (although in 1944–1950 it was the official anthem of the LSSR) were banned.

The last fight for Lithuanian independence: 1987–1989

In 1985, Mikhail Gorbachev became the leader of the Soviet Union, initiating liberal reforms and ending the Cold War. This little bit of freedom inspired liberation movements. 1987 marks intensification of the fights against the Soviet regime. Lithuanian Freedom League (LLL) was one of the first organizations to resume its activities. Through the "Appeal to All People of Good Will in the World" activists requested help of the people and the United Nations Organization because the Baltic states were incorporated into the USSR by force (Anusauskas et al., 2005, p. 522). 108 members of the US Congress wrote a letter to Mikhail Gorbachev on 27 November 1987 (Anusauskas et al., 2005, p. 522). This was a great

support – both supporting people's release from prisons and return from exile, and also strengthening the opposition against the regime.

In 1988, a lot of different activities were organized for the independence. For example, in a rally on 23 August 1988 people were holding Lithuanian national flags with black ribbons attached to them and singing the song "*Lietuva brangi*" ("Dear Lithuania") (Anusauskas et al., 2005, p. 533). Then on 22 May 1988 the LLL organised a "meeting of the Lithuanian public" in Vilnius in memory of the innocently deported people, as it was the 40th anniversary of the major deportations, strongly condemning the Stalinist criminals (Anusauskas et al., 2005, p. 534). Eventually, on November 18, 1988, the Law on the State Language of Lithuania was passed, the "National Song" was approved as the anthem of Soviet Lithuania, and the tricolour was legitimized as the state flag (Anusauskas et al., 2005, p. 537). With this, the Soviet opposition only grew. On 23 August 1989, The Baltic Way was organized, demanding freedom of the three Baltic states. On 28 September 1989, a Meeting of the Lithuanian Reform Movement was organized in Vilnius. Many events came together, eventually installing ever greater desire for an independent Lithuania.

Restoring Lithuanian independence

At the beginning of 1990, around 35 000 representatives of Soviet armed forces were stationed in Lithuania, which formed the main military support of the USSR in independence-striving Lithuania (Anusauskas et al., 2005, p. 560). The LSSR (Soviet Lithuania) practically ceased to exist on 11 March 1990, when the Restorative *Seimas* announced the restoration of Lithuania's independence. Since Lithuania's membership in the USSR was deemed to be contrary to international law, there was no formal withdrawal from the USSR (Anusauskas et al., 2005, p. 559). However, the Soviets did not want to accept Lithuania's freedom so easily. After midnight on the 13 January 1991 Soviet tanks and armoured personnel took over the TV tower, as well as the Lithuanian radio and television building in Vilnius. Extensive protests occurred that night and many hundreds of people were injured, 14 unarmed protestors were shot

dead or run over by tanks. During this time, Lithuania received a lot of international support. By the end of August 1991 Lithuania received official international recognition as a free country (Anusauskas et al., 2005, p. 575).

The establishment of a new constitution and the 1992 elections that restored the independent *Seimas* started a new history of an independent Lithuania and its people, whose traditions were shaped by liberal economic and democratic principles (Buhr, Fabrykant, Jasiuleviciene, 2013, p. 38). The military forces stationed in the Lithuanian territory were withdrawn in 1992–1993 (Anusauskas et al., 2005, p. 575).

The 21st century

As already discussed in the part dedicated to Korea, history plays one of the most profound roles in the formation of national identity. Lithuanian national pride faced numerous challenges through the years of the many different repression periods. The current national identity indisputably has links to the events which occurred in the past. Just like in other cases, it shows that history which has been musealized, retains many aspects of national memory (Museum of Occupation and Freedom Fights), and can also be marked by national holidays such as the Lithuanian Independence Restoration Day or Day of Re-Establishment of the Lithuanian Nation. This serves as a significant example of the importance of the pride Lithuanians hold in the restoration of liberty. Lithuanian national identity can be traced back to the time when Western ideas of the national identity spread among Lithuanians, and it remains current to this day.

The production of the collective memory serves as an important tool of awakening civil sentiments. As already discussed, Hart suggests that one of the most significant elements of the national identity formation occurs through education in young days, which leaves a deep impact on the child's values, national perception and understanding of the world (Hart, 2000, p. 143). This argument proved that the modern (after Lithuanian got back its independence) Lithuanian history curriculum teaching about the occupation period and resistance instil national pride in people.

Another important factor affecting contemporary Lithuanian national identity is the membership in NATO and the European Union. Arguably, this might be the reason why today it is hard to describe Lithuanian nationalism. Both units are consolidated not only by the common understanding of the threats, but also in the ideas about people and values. Belonging to such international units changed the perception of national identity and forced to relinquish purely ethnic sentiments.

Comparative analysis of factors affecting the formation of national identity

The overview of historical developments in the 19th–21st century Korea and Lithuania show that despite their geopolitical locations both countries share certain similarities. The congruent historical experiences and struggle towards independence and sustainability of modern state allowed to theorize that similar historical experiences can affect the formation of national identity and resulted in comparable national sentiments. Furthermore, Koreans and Lithuanians demonstrate similarity in terms of their nationalism. Koreans take great pride in *tanilminjok* and ethnoracial purity, thus making Korean nationalism ethnic. Meanwhile, it is difficult to determine whether Lithuanian nationalism is ethnic or civic, however, during the interwar period and restitution of independence in the 20th century, ethnic nationalism was highly nurtured (Buh, Fabrykant, Jasiulevicienė, 2013, p. 44). Thus, the factors affecting the formation of national identity could be compared on the basis of presumption that South Korea and Lithuania represented similar type of nationalism, as well as cognate historical experiences.

Language

According to previously stated considerations, language holds a significant importance, as it has capabilities to determine a person's identity even when the borders of the state are destroyed. In certain cases, language can be an important element capable of nurturing national identity in case of the oppression by an external power and thus, in the right circumstances

is capable to maintain it. While comparing Korea and Lithuania in terms of language, similar experiences can be observed (see Table 2).

Table 2. Chronological developments regarding national language in South Korea and Lithuania (the 19th–21st century)

South Korea	Lithuania
Chinese language as pursued upper-class language (Three Kingdoms to 1895)	Lingering (remnant from Commonwealth) Polish language in the upper class
1895 spread of public use of Hangul (1895 until new Japanization policies in 1934)	Russification (1864–1905), *grazdanka*, illegal spread of literature in Lithuanian
Period of "Japanisation" (1934–1945) – Japanese names and language in all public spheres	Lithuanian independence (1918–1940)
1945 Establishment of Korea	1940–1941 Soviet occupation
	1945–1991 Soviet occupation
	1991 Restoration of independence

Compiled by author Vaida Tumosaitė based on previous chapters.

As it was discussed in the previous chapter, Korea had *sadae* relations with China (Three Kingdoms to 1895), which resulted in Chinese language being used as an official language in the state life, as well as becoming the language of the upper class. In the end of the 19th century, with the Independence Club and its founder So Chaepil (Philip Jaisohn) Korean language and the public usage of *Hangul* became a symbol of Korea's cultural independence and a factor that distinguishes Koreans form Chinese, thus becoming a symbol of Korean national identity. However, in the early 20th century Korean language and its national identity *per se* faced a challenge that was caused by Japanese colonialization as Japanese introduced Educational Ordinance, which was a tool to force Koreans to comply with Japanese imperialism and undermine Korean nationalism thus transforming Koreans into loyal "citizens" of Imperial Japan (Lee, 2002, p. 4). With the introduction of a new curriculum in 1934 the survival of Korean language was challenged even more, as Japanese imperialists

envisioned that the use of Japanese language in all public sectors (including "voluntarily" changing Korean names and surnames to Japanese-styled ones) will be fully secured by 1940s. Despite the introduced measures, Korean language survived, as Koreans formed anti-Japanese movements and resisted "Japanification". Finally, in August 1945 Korea was declared a free nation with Korean language as its national language (later branching into two different dialects – North and South – as a result of Korean war).

In Lithuania, Polish-Lithuania Commonwealth established Polish language as the language of the upper class before the 19ᵗʰ century. However, by the beginning of the 19ᵗʰ century Lithuania already was a part of Russian Empire and experienced the attempts to erase Lithuanian identity as a result of the nationalist uprising in 1831. Russian Empire imposed various bans which forbid owning anything written in Lithuanian, including newspapers and even prayer-books, and introduced *grazdanka*. While Lithuanians were able to speak in Lithuanian, the written word had to be published using Russian alphabet with Lithuanian wording and sentence structure. The oppression of Lithuanian language became a turning point for the formations of its national identity and resulted in a unique resistance – book-smuggling. Written word printed in Prussia was smuggled into Lithuania together with three main periodicals ("*Aušra*", "*Varpas*", "*Tėvynės sargas*"), which promoted Lithuanian ethnicity and modernization of Lithuanian culture. The period of independence, as Lithuanian statehood was established (1918–1940) gave rise to the modern Lithuanian national identity with the ideas of "one nation, one language, one culture, one state". However, the fruitful period of independence soon was over due to the WWII. In 1940, Lithuania was coerced into the agreement to join USSR and once again was forced to experience policies aimed at destruction of Lithuanian national identity. That resulted in Lithuanian language being pushed aside or often used together with Russian. Same policies were applied during the second Soviet occupation (1945–1991). Various Russification policies were implemented with a view to annihilate Lithuanian identity and national sentiment. Only in 1991 Lithuania restored its independence with Lithuanian as its national language.

The comparison of historical experiences of South Korea and Lithuania in terms of language clearly show that in both cases language was a marker of national identity. Due to the historical developments before the 19th century both countries had the experience of their national languages being perceived as those of commoners, while Chinese and Polish languages were seen as languages of the upper class, thus, naturally, the languages of education and intelligentsia. Both countries have experienced systematic aim to erase national language – oppressors' languages were introduced into the public life. During the Japanese colonialization there were policies aiming to make Japanese language the main language of the peninsula as a measure to destroy Korean national identity. Lithuanian language had to put up a longer fight, and the destruction of Lithuanian identity began in the early 19th century and lasted through the years of belonging to Russian Empire and Soviet occupations. Despite the hardships, both languages managed to survive systematic destruction, and with establishment of independence regained their position as official national languages and symbols of national identity.

Outside powers and national identity

Ethnic nationalism proposes that belonging to a nation can be defined by historical experiences, since history can be, and in the case of South Korea and Lithuania, was applied to build national identity. In case of South Korea and Lithuania, both have experienced being a part of another state voluntarily or by force (Table 3).

Table 3. Chronological events depicting the influence of outside powers in South Korea and Lithuania

South Korea	Lithuania
Three Kingdoms – 1895 Chinese tributary system	1795–1915 Russian Empire
1910–1945 Japanese colonialization	1940–1941 Soviet occupation
1945–1948 USA vs. USSR (Korean and Two Koreas)	1941–1944 Nazi occupation
	1945–1991 Soviet occupation

Compiled by author Vaida Tumosaitė based on previous chapters.

While being part of the Chinese tributary system, Korea was theoretically under the umbrella of Chinese influence. Despite this, Joseon Korea did maintain an almost complete political autonomy. However, belonging to *sadae* had a visible impact. Confucianism and the influence of Chinese culture spread in the country and affected development of Korean politics. However, at the time when the Korean Empire arose a movement that changed the perception of national consciousness started. Scholars claimed that Chinese culture and philosophy had a negative effect on Korean identity, and that the country had to renounce past relations with China and build a modern national identity. With the colonialization by Imperial Japan, Korean identity faced a great challenge, as Japanese tried to destroy Korean culture, language and identity. One could argue that the colonialization period had a negative impact upon Korean identity, as it quashed natural development of modern state and its identity. On the other hand, the response to Japanese aggression, which will be discussed later, can be perceived as an impetus which ultimately inspired people to fight for their identity and resulted in ethnic nationalism which Korea is based on.

Finally, Korea was forced to experience the dividing force so strong that it resulted in two Koreas and two different identities. Soviets and the USA divided Korean peninsula along the 38th parallel and created two versions of Korean identity. The contemporary Korea pronouncedly exhibits the traits of ethic nationalism, as to this day the past is being used to stimulate strong national sentiments in terms of delicate issues and questions while also reminding citizens to take pride in their independence.

Lithuania, unlike Korea, struggled for the survival of its national identity since the end of 18th century. During the 19th century, Lithuanian nobles pursued various ideas of independence and freedom from Russian Empire. Numerous uprisings resulted in stricter instruments applied with an aim to erase Lithuanian national identity. However, the desire to form Lithuanian statehood did not wane, and it was established in 1918. The period of modern national identity formation was not destined to last long, as in 1940 Lithuania "voluntarily" agreed to join Soviet Union. With it came a systematic destruction of Lithuanian statehood and traditions. The regime started mass deportations of political elite, Catholic Church was

suppressed, and propaganda was spread widely. Things changed in 1941, when German-Soviet war broke out, whereby Lithuania was taken over by Germany in three days, and the occupation lasted until 1944. Some people saw the war as a chance to rise against the Soviet oppression under the wing of Nazi Germany. However, Nazi Germany had other plans for Lithuania, and ultimately exerted another wave of brutality. In 1945, Lithuania once again found itself in the hands of the Soviets, which once more started massive deportations to Siberia and employed mass propaganda for final destruction of Lithuanian national identity. Any type of resistance was not tolerated, especially independence-fighters, which were criminalized and portrayed as bandits and murderers.

Both South Korea and Lithuania have experienced influence of outside powers. In both cases, they were severe and stimulated the formation of ethnic nationalism and the formation of national identity as a response to the external impact. Both were occupied and lived through the attempts to destroy their national identities. However, Korea had to experience only one oppressor – Japan, while Lithuania experienced multiple occupations by Soviets and Nazi Germany, some of these forces were perceived as "saviours" from the current oppressor (Nazi Germany). While it appears that Lithuania had more difficult conditions due to multiple occupations and it was harder for the country to save and preserve national identity, at the same time, one could argue that this constant struggle resulted in the formation of strong national sentiments. Additionally, it is important to note that Korea had a breaking point, which resulted in formation of two countries and two very different national narratives and identities.

Freedom fighters

The second historical phenomenon that is shared between South Korea and Lithuania are the guerrilla fighters. Both countries demonstrated national sentiment and the need to fight the oppressor. In Korea, as it was pointed out previously, the guerrilla uprisings took a form of violent destruction. Guerrilla movements reached the highest point when Japan disbanded Korean military and former Korean forces that joined the rebels fighting against Japan. Undoubtedly, Korean guerrillas were already

fighting for independence from the late 19th century, even before Korea was legally annexed by Japan, foreseeing the weakening of Korean nation. Despite the growth of such resistance movements, Korean guerrillas were pushed out to Manchuria in 1910 with Japan securing colonialization of the Korean Peninsula. However, despite the guerrillas being pushed out of the peninsula, the fight for independence continued.

In Lithuania, the first attempts to fight for freedom occurred when the country belonged to Russian Empire. Several uprisings were organized by the nobles (mostly Polish speakers and fighting for the re-establishment of the Commonwealth). However, they were not successful and resulted in harsher policies aimed to erase Lithuanian national identity. Lithuanians nurtured the spirit of freedom and actively resisted the first Soviet occupation during the war between Soviets and Germany (1941). Guerrilla uprisings against Soviets began as soon as their forces again marched into Lithuanian territories in 1944. Lithuanian Liberation Army established back in 1941 became the central organization for the freedom fights. Freedom fighters emphasized the need to fight for the liberation of the country. Resistance lasted nine years and ended in 1953 with the death of the last partisan. Lithuanian guerrillas – partisans became the symbol of the fight for liberty against oppression and hold a significant importance to this day.

Korea and Lithuania actively fought for the freedom of their countries. Both had guerrilla movements, however, not successful, but they were the driving force to pursue the idea of one's independence. Guerrilla movements in Korea and Lithuania can be perceived as a form of national unity aiming to preserve identity. Additionally, it was a catalyst that strengthened the understanding of people's national identity. As they rose to fight for their language, culture, history and being *per se*. The spirit of the guerrilla fighters (desire for freedom and the struggle against the oppression) still lingers to this day in both South Korea and Lithuania.

Provisional governments

The existence of provisional governments is another similarity between the countries that demonstrates a strong national sentiment and fight in order to preserve it. Although March the 1st Movement did not

bring the desired independence to Korea, it resulted in establishment of several provisional governments. Provisional governments formed in Russia, China and Seoul had different visions regarding recreating the future Korea. Eventually, one official provisional government formed in Shanghai under the President Syngman Rhee. Later, Syngman Rhee became the first president of the independent South Korea. Arguably, his previous position as a fighter for Korean independence had a significant impact in his later success.

Since Lithuania was occupied more than once, there were multiple attempts to form a provisional government. However, sometimes such governments were serving the oppressor. Despite that, similarly to Korea, Lithuania also resisted the occupation and formed a provisional government in 1941, announcing the independence of the country. This government was an officially acknowledged representative of the political Lithuanian independence movement and provided a great attempt to restore Lithuanian statehood.

With the formation of provisional governments, both Korea and Lithuania had demonstrated a political resistance against the oppression. In the case of Korea, the officially recognized provisional government leader became the first president of South Korea. However, in Lithuania, due to the protracted occupation by the Soviet Union, the officially recognized provisional government was not able to achieve its goals. Both cases demonstrate the importance of the role provisional governments played in the process of the formation of national identity, since their contribution is remembered to this day.

Conclusion

The comparative analysis of the factors affecting the identity formation in South Korea and Lithuania led to the conclusion that despite belonging to two different geopolitical locations, similar historical experiences can result in a similar understanding of national identity. This study was focusing on two main factors: language and historical developments characterised by significant role of outside power, guerrillas and provisional governments.

Both countries share these experiences, which result in a similar formation of national identity.

As a result of such experiences, ethic nationalism is strong to this day in South Korea. The country is proud of being called a "hermit kingdom" (*tanilminjok*), which is the reflection of Korean ethnic nationalism. This is evident in the numerous memorial sites, as well as in the existing national identity, which has been influenced by the present storytelling discourse (curriculum, leadership etc.). Similar behaviour in terms of history perception can also be observed in Lithuania. Nevertheless, belonging to contemporary units affected the strong narrative of ethnic nationalism in Lithuania. However, national sentiment can still be traced back in time, and is exceptionally pronounced in the events leading to the establishment of Lithuanian statehood. In contemporary Lithuania, national sentiment can differ from national identity – sentiment is impacted by historic events, while identity is shaped by globalization and the desire of being a part of a larger unit. In other words, Korean national identity and national sentiment can be understood as one, while in the case of Lithuania, it can be argued that these two phenomena are split.

This study allows to conduct a continuous research examining further similarities between both countries. The current study could be continued by conducting a survey or in-depth interviews aiming to verify the idea that national identity actually manifests itself in such forms in society. This could lead to a further comparison between the contemporary South Korea and Lithuania.

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A STUDY ON CHANG-RAE LEE'S NOVEL "NATIVE SPEAKER": FOCUS ON IDENTITY AND LANGUAGE[1]

This paper continues the studies on Chang-rae Lee's novel "Native Speaker" through Henry's character, focusing on the notion of identity. Neither the distinction between the group over here and there, nor the term hybrid or third identity cannot offer a clear idea to understand the novel. Given the recently revised idea about borders and nationality in scholarship, it is significant to reconsider the representative possibility of a character such as Henry. To understand him through careful positioning in society at a more subtle level, one could suggest the phrase 'a lesser stranger' as an alternative method.

Keywords: *Chang-rae Lee, Koreanness, identity, Korean-Americans, hybridity, cultural alienation, communication*

Introduction

Chang-rae Lee can certainly be viewed as an American author despite his Korean name, since his nationality is American. Lee is one of the acclaimed authors in the Anglophone literary scene. Rising interest in South Korea might seem relatively less than America, but it has been never little. For instance, his five novels, including "Native Speaker" (1995), "Gesture Life" (1999), "Aloft" (2004), "The Surrendered" (2010) and "On Such a Full Sea" (2014) have all been translated in South Korea. His life has inspired a Hong Kong-American director Wayne Wang and was made into a film of a drama genre, "Coming Home Again", in 2019. In an interview

given at the 24th Busan International Film Festival in 2019, Wang admitted he made the film after being deeply touched by Lee's essay for New Yorker Magazine in 1995. The writing depicts a male protagonist's complicated feelings, a writer modelled after Lee when he nursed his mother with stomach cancer for about a year. The protagonist has the same name as Lee, and the author himself participated in the screenwriting process (Bak, Jae-hwan, 2019).

The booming interest in Lee in South Korea in addition to the popular culture is also reflected in scholarship. According to the Naver scholar service, there have been 132 academic articles on Lee's literature, written from 2000 to 2020. 41 degree theses have been published on Lee. The studies are found in many disciplines, including English literature, Korean literature and social science. Lee has been considered exceptional as a contemporary writer of our time. He has been a subject of academic interest right after the debut and has drawn a steady interest amongst postgraduate researchers. Lee is a writer representing an unusually persistent phenomenon for the last 20 years in Korean scholarship (Naver, 2021).

What would make Lee an interesting academic subject in South Korea? The most evident and foremost reason would be the quality of his literature. Undeniably, well-composed literature becomes a subject of interest and gains acclaim. Another reason would be the uniqueness of his works. Although it is generally acknowledged that great literature appeals to both universality and particularity, the reader's interest is captured by the particulars in his writing. Indeed, it is worth looking at Lee as a particular writer in Korean literary scene. His literary works are characterized by 'Koreanness" – sometimes indicative and sometimes connotative – which, it seems to me, has impressed Korean readers and critics. The writings that represent his ethnic roots may have appealed to the inner realm of the Korean reader. Reading him, the reader considers the author as different or unique from other Korean or American authors. It is the point of encounter where the idea of Koreanness manifests itself. His works cannot be discussed without considering Koreanness, especially his early works such as "Gesture Life" and "Native Speaker". In the same manner, one cannot

address his iterary works without examining the details of Koreanness from the perspective of a Korean reader.

Here, I would like to point out the difference between the writer's self-awareness and the reader's reception. Whereas Lee sees himself as a person who has 'come (오다)' from Korea in America, just like his characters including Henry in Native Speaker, the Korean readers and critics see him as a person who has 'gone (가다)' to America. This paper explores the distinctive aspect in Lee's position that makes him stand out amongst other writers. The Korean reader's view of him as an American writer is universal yet particular, which distinguishes him from the other readers in other countries such as America.

A stranger and a lesser stranger

이방인 (*i-bang-in*, 異邦人): a person from other countries

The translation of a Korean term *I-bang-in* (이방인) in English is a stranger. A stranger can also mean someone one does not know. There is a nuanced difference in the definition of *I-bang-in* between Korean and American culture. It is important for Koreans to consider a person's origin or orientation to set the idea of *I-bang-in*. Here, the origin does not merely include the place of birth; the idea reaches to the root of family ancestry, and race. Regardless of the strength of the bond, one could think of or refer to their friend or acquaintance as an *I-bang-in* if the person is outside their group. One could even 'confine' someone to that category. After all, in Korean culture, the sense of 'coming from the outside' constitutes the significance of the term: *i-bang-in,* a stranger who has come from the outside to the inside.

On the other hand, according to the literal standard of the Anglophone context, the term is no longer valid once you get to know the person; they no longer are a stranger. Whether a person is regarded as a stranger or not is subject to 'I', the one who makes a relationship with them. Therefore, the concept pertaining to the term is based on the stance of the individuals who define the term. What matters is the one who sees the stranger, not

their origin. In short, to understand the idea of a stranger in Anglophone culture, the notion of 'I' plays a crucial role. If Korean culture tends to define *I-bang-in* by positioning them in accordance with specific criteria, the standard in Anglophone culture is often made by a personal judgement. To make a claim short, whether a person is an *I-bang-in* or not depends on the subject who makes the decision; it can be 'us' as the majority or 'I' as an individual.

G. Simmel's account of a stranger offers an idea to negotiate the two different approaches to the definition. In his essay "The Stranger", Simmel rejects the old concept of the term as the wanderer who "comes today and goes tomorrow." According to Simmel, the stranger is rather "the person who comes today and stays tomorrow". The phrase can be interpreted in two ways: it could mean a person from the outside as defined in Korean culture, or a person inside, hence, someone I could know or not, according to Anglophone culture. Simmel claims the stranger as an incomplete being who has not yet overcome the distinction of coming in and going out of the group although they remain in the group. They are connected to the individual elements in society, including local community and relatives, but they are "inorganically appended" to the group. Because of the trait, the stranger can obtain objectiveness. He is free from preconceptions of what is given in the group, due to his distance, hence, he is careful in evaluation and perception. The stranger is not tied to a fixated idea, and therefore, his position assures freedom to think and express (Simmel, 2005, pp. 79–83). To interpret Simmel's words through the rhetoric of 'we' and 'I', the stranger is someone who has departed from the 'us' from the other group they used to belong to, and who can still make a relationship with 'me' in his new group where I belong. Yet, he is who has not assimilated as one of 'us' in my group.

Despite its insightful observation, Simmel's discussion lacks a crucial aspect of the notion, which is, as this paper argues, the stranger's viewpoint. The stranger's viewpoint is derived from his origin, or orientation. His view is based on the point of their departure, not the point of remaining and wandering. For the members inside the group, the view would be appreciated as an objective one due to his particular position, but in fact, it

is just another view of another person. In a way, it could be a subjective view of someone. For instance, if a person left Korea and moved to America, it would be natural for him as a stranger in America to compare things about Korea and America. For Americans, the person's view could appear as objective, as the stranger in America does not apply the traditional American way of thinking, while, in fact, it could be a Korean's personal view of America.

What is essential in these bizarre relations is that the stranger's view does not only direct to the place he stays; it comes back to himself. To reiterate this through the rhetoric of 'we' and 'I', the stranger's view starts from 'us' in the group over there, for example, Korea, and is then directed to 'myself' in the group over here, say, America, through 'us' in the group he remains. He or she first looks at America, that is, us inside the group, through his Korean perspective. Then, he surveys himself; the object of surveillance now directs his sight to the one who looks at America through a Korean perspective. In short, a stranger cannot wholly belong to us in the group. Such a process constructs a trait of the stranger that is self-reflective. Seeing what he essentially lacks in the group, he then looks back on himself as he cannot completely form a unity with either group – the group over here, where he is staying, or the other group over there, whereof he has originated.

One could state that the stranger's position works as a mirror of his own self. The mirror is hardly an object through which he can comfortably observe a group from a distance. Yet it can show the true self, whereas it can also give a wrong image of the essential aspect of self. Even though the mirror reflects the objective image of self, one may perceive the image as distorted. The stranger's fate may be then to realise the difference between his old and current self in the group he remains in, and to look back on it, and then, finally, to profoundly contemplate the true self.

A stranger is not a single concept. Depending on where he stands, the characteristics and identity vary, and this should not be overlooked.

Lee is a Korean-American novelist who emigrated to America with his family when he was three. Born in Seoul, Korea in 1965, he moved with his mother and other family members after his father, who

was a psychiatrist, went to settle before them (Bang 2009, p. 135). As many other immigrants, he initially found it difficult to communicate with people. His mother gave him an English name Chuck instead of his Korean name Chang-Rae, hoping he would overcome the language barrier and make friends. Having an English name is one of the most common means how Korean immigrants escape their status as a stranger as quickly as they can. However, his mother's attempt ultimately was gratuitous, as his American friends had already become familiar with his unique Korean name by the time he was given another name. In contrast to his mother's concern about him, a child from another country, Lee was neither a stranger nor someone their friends did not know. Since then, Lee has used his Korean name as his official name. (Constantakis, 2017, p. 6). After studying English literature at Yale University, Lee worked in finance in Wall Street. Later, in 1993, he pursued MA in creative writing at Oregon University, followed by the publication of his first full-length novel "Native Speaker" in 1995. The novel was also his degree dissertation. As the protagonist of "Native Speaker", all of his protagonists in "Gesture Life" (1999), "Aloft" (2004), "The Surrendered" (2010), "On Such a Full Sea" (2014) are characterised as not only Korean American but also other nationalities such as Japanese American, Italian American and Chinese American.

His writing explores one's identity such as home-coming, ancestry and history usually in a retrospective manner, but in his recent work, he also chose to set the near future in "On Such A Full Sea" (2014). The standpoint of the narrator also varies. In "Gesture Life", a novel that depicts Korean comfort women during the Japanese colonisation of Korea, he sets a narrator as a Japanese man and takes an offender's point of view. Since Lee explores the characters in a wide range, his novels appeal to the reader's interest in ethnic minorities, even those who used to be indifferent to the subject. By expanding the extent of the particulars in his writing, Lee has achieved the universal. His books' fame has resulted in rewards despite the specificity of an ethnic minority as a literary theme; it was awarded 1995 Discover Great New Writers Award, 1995 Oregon Book Award, 1996 Hemingway Foundation/PEN Award. It was a finalist for the 2014

National Book Critics Circle Award and the 2011 Finalist for the Pulitzer Prize in Fiction for "The Surrendered" and is frequently mentioned as a Nobel Literary Prize Nominee (Park, 2019, p. 1).

The translation of "Native Speaker" has been published in the same year when the novel was published. Jin Man Hyun's translation, which was based on the fact that Lee is Korean (Chon, 2017, p. 125), earned some criticism regarding translation quality (Koh, 2002, p. 619). This paper refers to Young Mok Chong's translation (2015), which was published under the title "A Constant Stranger" (영원한 이방인).

Studies on "Native Speaker" can be summarised into two strands. One strand is concerned with the topic of language that includes the characters' language presented in the novel and its translation. Another strand is the topic of identity that includes multiculturalism. The premise of Lee's literature is the exploration of identity, and language is the key to it. Critics and scholars have stressed the subject's importance through their writing and speech, and the writer himself has mentioned it. He admits that identity matters (to himself) and that he takes the issue as a life question. Although born in Korea, Lee says, he is not a Korean in America. He lives a virtually similar life to Americans, but he regards himself as Korean, feeling a 'strong connection' to his birth country (Kim, 2014, p. 336). However, the phrase 'strong connection' should not be taken as an entirely positive concept. As Ji (2004) points out, the bond can be a result of negotiation, after one's exhaustive process of identification and counter-identification in everyday life. Ji observes a condition that is neither Korean nor American in the novel and argues that one should construct the concept of a 'third identity', that is, a hybrid identity, when reading "Native Speaker" (Ji, 2004, p. 316). Despite the appealing claim, Ji's idea is not new in academia.

Writers from the East – the so-called stranger writers – have been often understood in the frame of 'hyphenated condition', which means a condition unable to fit perfectly in any group (Ling, 1999, p. 13). Ironically, the impasse reveals that the writers unwittingly wish to belong to any groups. Although the writers, who have left their country at a young age and are educated in America, believe they are used to thinking in an

American way, others in the group do not regard them as American. The same idea applies the other way round. In their birth country, people treat them as Americans due to the linguistic and cultural traits they have, which distinguish them from Koreans. One could call this situation a 'demand to belong somewhere'. Either way, they are forced to be categorised. In Korea, they are those who left their home for other countries, and in America, they are still unknown. We see an irony here, as they are treated as strangers in both groups. This comes as a conundrum to the writers themselves, causing a profound struggle with the problem of belonging.

The writers preceding Lee tend to have this trait more saliently; one can arrive at this conclusion by looking at the content of their work. The first (or 1.5) generation writers include Yonghill King and Hak Kyung Cha, who, for instance, set the focus of their writings on the root-finding and assimilation. Kang's "The Grass Roof" and Cha's avant-garde style writing, "Dictee", a postmodern approach to the essence of her quest for roots, are compelling examples of this phenomenon.

Both Kang's and Cha's works present a sense of belonging to their birth country. The sentiment could also be seen as an attitude that the characters, or the writers themselves, take in the hyphenated condition. They try to find their true self in their original notion of 'us', that is, Korea. As American society puts them into a hyphenated condition, they attempt to locate themselves based on the beginning of their life: the home country. The two writers' case bears witness to the adapted notion of 'the stranger's view' originally proposed by Simmel. In these Korean-American writers' literary work, we can observe a view that eventually returns to themselves for self-reflection. However, one should bear in mind that this proposition might have been popular in Korean scholarship due to the critics' approach to them that was simply based on ethnicity. The critics might have put too much emphasis on the 'Koreanness' in their works.

Another way of interpreting the phenomenon is to understand the writer's work as an autobiographical journey to find their place as members of society, as Kim (1982, p. 32) argues. They no longer consider themselves as guests or visitors of America, and finally reach the last stage of exploration to find out their own sense of 'belonging'. Still, the writers are

not entirely free from the forceful demand to ultimately belong somewhere. This means that the Korean-American writers before Lee have exhaustively questioned whether they or their characters are Korean or American; in other words, if each of them was a member of a group over here or there. They tended to name and interpret their work as an exploration of identity. However, this kind of approach could also be seen as a manifestation of the Korean 'we-ism', which demands that one must belong to a certain group (Jin, 2002, pp. 79–101).

This paper proposes to read Lee's literature beyond the dichotomous limit that would categorise a person according to a group either on this or that side. Although Lee acknowledges the stranger's undeniable existence in his writing, he goes further and deeper to explore the matter of identity. When he presents the problem of one's identity, he does not limit the answer to the boundaries of roots that often are manifested as nationality and ancestry.

His technique and characterisation can be explained through a notion of 'a lesser stranger'. I would propose the term as Lee's character shows a state that is not entirely alienated from a group. Although the character is situated in a 'hyphenated condition', he is closer to the group he has come to and remained in, rather than the group he has left. If the hyphenated beings tend to derive their identity from 'us' in the group they left, a lesser stranger shows more complex aspects in this tendency. He still has the self-reflective view of a stranger, but he is subjective and interested in personal matters. He tends to draw his identity from 'us' in the group in which he remains. Consequently, the language of a lesser stranger is the language of the group he stays in, and the relationship he aims for is also directed towards 'us' in the group he remains in. He even tends to view the previous relationships he has made in the group he left behind from the new perspective of the new group he is in. To take a metaphor of a diagram: us in the group over there one has left – less of a stranger – us in the group over here, where one remains. Although it could certainly be said that Lee belongs to the group he remains in, that is, America, the characters in his novels, especially the ones like Henry in his early works, should be read as a lesser stranger.

The language of a stranger and 'Henry's fallacy'

Language: the method of human communication, either spoken or written, consisting of the use of words in a structured and conventional way.

The idea of language, particularly that of a stranger, and language itself holds significance in "Native Speaker" (Kim 2019, p. 7). Not only is language related to the self-identity, the characters in Lee's works, such as Henry in "Native Speaker" are correctly aware of the relationship. Although Henry, the character this paper calls a lesser stranger, believes that every human being has a different identity, and, in order to construct it, one needs to make one language settled inside the self. Therefore, Henry is persistently conscious of the language of his group: English. I would argue that such a habit puts him into what I propose to call 'Henry's fallacy'.

Henry is a Korean-American who has been educated in America and married an American wife. Although he has mastered a virtually perfect English at a native level, he is always conscious of his pronunciation. Pronunciation, as it is known, is the most ostensible component of language fluency. Henry's exaggerated consciousness creates a stark contrast with another essential character of the novel, his wife Lelia, whose job is a speech therapist. Henry's fallacy can be defined as his misbelief about the concept of identity. He thinks that he can be an American if he speaks the language correctly. He is a being who is fixated on the idea of language.

The fallacy can be observed through the relationships he makes with other people and the language he uses therein. First, we see the language Henry speaks with his father. The two characters demonstrate how English can be a power beyond a mere communication method in American society. Henry knows this precisely and uses it thus. He dismisses his father, who has spoken broken English since he moved to America. His father also dismisses his South American employees who do not speak English.

Distinctively, Lee characterises Henry's father as a husband who is verbally abusive toward his wife by speaking English. Also, the novel features another interesting character, quintessentially Korean, Ahjuma. Ahjuma is a paid maid who helps Henry's mother with housework. She

hardly ever speaks Korean with Henry in the house, and it seems to Lelia, Henry's wife, that Henry is not treating her with respect. The readers see a metaphorical pyramid of power which takes a measure of language, in this context, English. To advance the claim, as Kim, Jin Kyeong argues, Lee sets English as a yardstick for Enlightenment that divides light and darkness, just as it divides civilisation and savagery (Kim, 2019, p. 10).

American as a non-stranger is located on the top of the pyramid in Henry's household. Henry, a young 1.5 or second-generation immigrant, has his place underneath. His father, a first-generation intellectual immigrant whose English is rather imperfect, stands on the level below the son. The bottom of the pyramid is comprised of strangers from Asia and South America. The potential hierarchy allocated by language is represented as the characters' jobs. Henry is 'ostensibly' a professional and 'internally' a spy. His father is a shop owner whose regular customers are lower-class people. The South Americans are the shop employees. Lastly, Henry's mother is a housewife isolated from the society. None of the characters appear as an object of envy.

I would offer my account of 'a lesser stranger' to clarify the character map. On the top of the pyramid stand 'us in the group over here', whereas below – Henry as a lesser stranger, and his father as a hyphenated condition, and further down we see his mother and Ahjuma as those psychologically regarded as 'us in the group over there'. Henry's family takes being American as a desirable identity, hence it tends to worship English. There is also an undercurrent agreement in the family that a person with broken English can never become an American, one must speak English to be compatible. The agreement is where Henry's fallacy originates. However, it can also be considered a relative matter, because the significance of language and the relationship between language and identity differs according to subject's position. In the same manner, speaking one language is not necessarily equivalent to having a single identity.

Next, we see the language between Henry and Lelia. Although the couple has no problem communicating in English, it is crucial to notice the difference in how Henry and Lelia consider language. Lelia's character, a native English speaker whose job is a speech therapist, speaks fluent

language and teaches it to others. However, Lelia's understanding of English is contrasted with Henry's. The way Lelia educates the couple's son, Mitt, demonstrates their difference. Henry wants Mitt to have a single concept about a homogenous life. This reveals another example of Henry's fallacy through his belief; it is a belief that one language forms one identity, hence, makes him engrossed in one language. He insists that his son speak one language perfectly and thinks in that language only, which is represented as English in the novel. He even does not read a book to his son, as he thinks his pronunciation does not help Mitt's language development at all.

In contrast, Lelia, a fluent English speaker, is generous about the matter. She wants her son to attend a Korean school. Her idea of English is not as strict as Henry's. For the native speakers like Lelia and Mitt, English is not a subject to overcome through practice but something that one acquires naturally. Lelia is not as demanding as Henry toward her son, because her English is not a result of an utmost endeavour as Henry's is. Henry overlooks that a multilingual can also be a part of 'us' within the group he remains in, the group that he wishes to belong to. In contrast to his thoughts, the people inside the group in America do not even fall into Henry's fallacy, that is, a tendency to get fixated in one language.

Lelia's address of Henry as a "False Speaker of Language" shows Lelia's understanding of Henry. She knows that Henry's verbal fluency does not indicate the expression of truth. For Lelia, what matters is not the language itself but whether there is truth when one speaks. Henry's job as an industrial spy and his individual identity as a stranger in America consistently complicates his relationship with his wife, as he does not open his inner mind towards his wife. In contrast, Lelia has a more flexible and profound understanding of a human. She has an insight into distinguishing what is true or false, and an awareness of the role of language as a medium. Again, we see Henry's fallacy in their relationship. Henry is obsessed with the notion of language as it is, so much so that he neglects the truthfulness of the content.

Lastly, we can observe the language between Henry and John Kwang. The two communicate in English. Both of them are as fluent as natives.

They also share the same Korean ethnic background. However, from the moment John loses his power, his language begins to collapse. His voice changes during the speech, and his pronunciation is no longer clear. Henry, seeing John's change as such, wishes he could speak with John in Korean. This reflects Henry's assumption that speaking one's mother tongue language, the language he has spoken before becoming a stranger, would deepen their relationship. One could read Henry's empathy for John from this scene; Henry would have felt his life was somewhat similar to John's, since he hid his true self from Lelia by speaking English. Henry believes that underneath English as a medium of their communication, there must be another language that can capture something more essential and more original from the speaker. Perhaps Henry wanted to talk to John Kwang in Korean in the hope that he could find out the sincere side at the bottom of his mind, even if their conversation in Korean is not as polished as English.

Here again, we see Henry's fallacy, a conception that one language constructs one identity. Henry wanted to confirm John's true identity through his mother tongue, Korean. Later on, Henry's attempt fails. The novel shows that the language fluency has nothing to do with the revelation of true identity or sincerity. Instead, the incident reaffirms how difficult it is to convey one's heart and soul even in his native language. John's language, either English or Korean, is powerful when he is in dominant social position. However, it fails to perform its primary function as a medium of communication after losing the power. Such a shift in John's status demonstrates that the power of language is derived not from the language itself but from the social position of the speaker. The main language the characters speak is English. However, the way the speaker uses the language varies according to the relationship he makes. Language is meant to be used depending on the particularities of relationship in society. The same language would embed different tones and manners, depending on the situation.

Language is not only the core of communication but also the first appearance of self toward others. Language plays a vital role, as it continually constructs and reconstructs the self through the complex

relationships we make with others (Bang, 2009, p. 146). However, it would be dangerous to claim that language is identical to self. One language can hardly represent the self as I have exemplified when explaining the phenomenon of Henry's fallacy. If a lesser stranger like Henry acquires an additional language, one could become more prone to Henry's fallacy.

It could be a colonialist ideology to claim that one language forms one identity. Forcing all of those who can be deemed the stranger in a group to speak one language perfectly is a consequence of colonial culture. It is crucial to look critically at whether it can be justified that a community forces strangers to acquire the ruler's language and divides power by classes. (Korea has experienced this during the Japanese colonisation). As Henry's example shows, fluency does not lead to assimilation in a new culture. It can become another barrier. If language acquisition means a perfect unity, the phrase 'bamboo ceiling' should not exist. After all, we, the ones who use the same language, still understand one another imperfectly. We are in a way another Henry (Bang, 2009, p. 151).

Conclusion: Henry, a stranger of the identity[2] and a lesser stranger

As discussed, the studies dedicated to "Native Speaker" have produced a particular focus on the matter of identity. Presumably, the unique characterisation of Henry, or furthermore – the uniqueness of the author Chang-rae Lee, would have led the tendency. Identity is a challenging concept. It is difficult because the idea of subjectivity as a fundamental notion to understand the term requires a clear understanding. Subjectivity, according to Tak's definition, is an attitude that treats a phenomenon internally rather than superficially (Tak, 2000, pp. 103–114). Understanding identity is linked to understanding interiority. The only chance for the other to notice it is through the observation of the relationship. Language or behaviour exposes the particulars of relationships.

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[2] Identity: the fact of being who or what a person or thing is.

Henry is an industrial spy who hides his professional identity and observes other people or things. The spies invariably have two tasks: they should not be detected, and they should extract something that others do not want to reveal. Both tasks call for concealment of the spy's own identity. Because of this, Henry's self-esteem sinks lower and lower, as he treats his life as the other; he remains estranged, from the periphery (Bang, 2009, p. 139). His identity is close to an observer or an outsider who lacks the will to belong. This makes him into a lesser stranger. From a conventional perspective, self-identity is known as an idea that is fixed and unchanging. However, from the postmodern perspective, identity is not a homogeneous concept; it exists as diverse, reproductive and multi-layered. It is neither fixed nor absolute, but instead – relative and empirical. Therefore, identity exists in multiple dimensions.

Studies on "Native Speaker" in South Korea have focused on identity from a conventional perspective. The existing arguments consider identity within the distinctions of society and discuss whether Henry is American or Korean. It is important to read Henry from a modern perspective. Reading how he understands himself through the mirror he has formed with his own personal traits is as important as questioning whether he belongs to a group or category of society. Given the postmodern aspect of contemporary culture that is bound to be inclined towards hybridity, the conventionally favoured frame to read "Native Speaker" calls for revision because it often applied a dichotomy of East/West, self/other, colonising/colonised and mainstream/minority. A revised concept would be pluralism or hybridity, which can be used to explain matters that are inexplicable by dichotomy.

Kim, Jin Kyeong's (2019) discussion is worth noting, as she takes a postmodern approach to "Native Speaker" (Kim, 2019, p. 24). She suggests to read Henry's identity as a combination of hybridity and tolerance, or as a principle in the age of transnationalism. According to Kim, claiming Henry's identity through the rhetoric of dichotomy is an old value, and one should understand it as a representation of hybridity. A hyphenated condition is one of the examples to interpret Henry's case, though he has another identity in addition to it, as I would argue; he is a lesser stranger who does not perfectly fit in the group over here,

where he remains. Although Henry tries to define himself as a complete stranger, he is not a perfect fit for it either. Therefore, this paper concludes by offering the phrase 'Henry's fallacy' to elucidate the character's ironic circumstances. The phrase demonstrates the symptom of him as a lesser stranger. His over-immersion in English beyond the effort to master it, his apathy towards the rupture from the place he originally resided in, and lastly, his firm belief that a new language in a new place can give him a new identity bear witness to it.

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THE ROLE OF LANGUAGE IDEOLOGY IN FORMING CHARACTER IDENTITY IN KYUNG-SOOK SHIN'S NOVEL "THE COURT DANCER"

Language ideology in forming character identity in Kyung-Sook Shin's novel "The Court Dancer" translated by Anton Hur, 2018 is viewed in this article as an implementation of Bakhtinian principle of dialogism implemented primarily through internal dialogues of the characters. The scene of introductions at the French Legation is analysed to see the socio-political and cultural beliefs emerging from the culturally determined characters' value systems. The article briefly overviews the issues of language ideology understanding and the assumption that the language users should be aware of the ideological effects their language is producing. Literary discourse makes use of this prerogative and provides a dialogic opportunity for the value systems from different cultures, geographies and religions to negotiate character identities.

Keywords: *Bakhtin, language ideology, Kyung-Sook Shin, dialogism*

M. M. Bakhtin on objectivation of language in a literary discourse

The understanding of a language ideology in a literary work in this paper would be approached from the position of the Bakhtinian language diversity principle in a literary narrative. In M. M. Bakhtin's words, while language diversity presented in its linguistic varieties is still important, in a novel discourse the "dialogic angle" at which linguistic varieties appear in the texture of a literary work (Bakhtin, 1984, p. 182) are of the essential value. Bakhtin insists that this dialogic angle cannot and shall not be measured by purely linguistic criteria, that "dialogic relationships,

although belonging to the realm of the word, do not belong to the realm of its purely linguistic study" (Bakhtin, 1984, p. 182). Dialogue is an object of metalinguistic studies in Bakhtinian explanation since it follows twofold directions: towards the objects of reference and towards "another's discourse, toward someone else's speech" (Bakhtin, 1984, pp. 185, 199). While one discourse speaks about an object of reference, the other type of discourse is an objectified language of the character by the author or an objectified language by the authorial application of somebody else's (e. g., another character in a literary narrative) discourse. Inner polemics: "the word with a sideward glance at someone else's hostile word" (Bakhtin, 1984, p. 196), the inner dialogue, in the broad view of Bakhtin, is extremely widely spread in literary writings. For this article, the particular interest is in the Bakhtinian classification of the objectification of the character's language with regard to either of the two groups of factors: "1. With a predominance of socio-typical determining factors; 2. With a predominance of individually characteristic determining factors" (Bakhtin, 1984, p. 199).

Language diversity and understanding of language ideology

In search of non-linguistic criteria and predominant "socio-typical" factors, Bakhtinian research leads to identification of such factors as part of understanding of language ideology. Paul Kroskrity in his text for "Handbook of Linguistic Anthropology" (Kroskrity, 2019, p. 95) quotes his own definition of language ideology of 9 years of age from a chapter written in 2010. He maintains that language ideology is: "beliefs, feelings, and conceptions about language structure and use which often index the political economic interests of individual speakers, ethnic and other interest groups, and nation-states". Such approach clearly indicates the importance of contextuality of the individual conditions in life. The context conditions communal and individual ideology and actions. Yet, the study and the perception of the human context is best structured through language analysis and among the most important, yet, arguably, most complex

analysis of the language ideology is semantic analysis of the meaning in a language. Teun A. van Dijk describes a possible method of language ideology analysis, stating that "Simply spelling out all implications of the words being used in a specific discourse and context often provides a vast array of ideological meanings" (Van Dijk, 1998, p. 205). The researcher also states the language user's awareness of ideological effect and the control of such effect is a reasonable expectation in the analytical approach to the language production (Van Dijk, 1998, p. 2005). Kathryn A. Woolard in her encyclopaedic article on language ideology quotes status quo of the understanding as "…ideologies of language are morally and politically loaded representations of the nature, structure, and use of languages in a social world" (Irvine, 1989) (Woolard, 2021). In her overview of the implications of the interpretations of the language, a person uses is the social value judgment that the worth of people may be equalled to the way they use language (Woolard, 2021).

Language ideology emerges from the language of the source rich with the references to ideas, beliefs and values coded in the semantics of the language.

Translation of Kyung-Sook Shin's "The Court Dancer" as objectification of a literary text

The situation of world literature today may be overlooking certain language diversity and language ideology expression interests of national literatures. However, in the opinion of Walkowitz, every new publication in the global literary process is at the same time "a container" and also "a contained copy" of a published text (Walkowitz, 2015, p. 72). Translation on multiple levels becomes an inevitable structural device of the literary text. In current world literature situation, the translations may be approached, at least in two ways. Walkowitz shows that world literature appears to become "a container" of national literatures and emphasizes the importance of "distinct geographies, countable languages, individual genius, designated readers, and the principle of possessive collectivism" (Walkowitz, 2015, p. 24). Another approach speaks of world literature as "a process" with

the emphasis on "the analysis of convergences and divergences across literary histories" (Walkowitz, 2015, p. 24). Translation of Kyung-Sook Shin's "The Court Dancer", translated by Anton Hur and published in 2018, is a text which already negotiates Bakhtinian objectification, "the word with a sideward glance at someone else's hostile word". In this paper, the objectification aspect of translation is only mentioned to provide the status of the literary source, Kyung-Sook Shin's novel, as part of the World literature process. This view allows to seek points of "convergencies" and "divergencies" in the discourse of the novel.

Language ideologies and character identities

Kyung-Sook Shin's novel "The Court Dancer" provides a masterful dialogue of two World ideologies pertaining to Western and Eastern countries. The story is based on prototypes' life stories and it is historically positioned at the end of the 19th century in Paris, The Belle Époque, and the end of Chosŏn Dynasty rule in Korea. The common denominator of both socio-political and cultural epochs is the attempt to find a language and value systems through approaches to Christianity, Confucianism-based Chosŏn court etiquette, Parisian societal values, artistic efforts to express one's identity, reciprocal language acquisitions, male and female presences in the historical cultures. Both historical periods in Western and in Eastern worlds are bound to encounter their collapse in catastrophes that destroy all the private and public aspirations and intentions. The Great War in Europe and the decline of the Chosŏn Dynasty in Korea, and dramatic assassination of Queen Min draw a line to the objects of reference of these ideologies, but a literary discourse creates an objectified dialogue between the two systems which finds its multiple samples in the episodes of the novel. The focus of this approach will be analysis of the introduction scene at the French Legation.

The scene of the introductions is presented in the novel "The Court Dancer" when Yi Jin is visiting the French legation for the first time. The first of introduction of a diplomat Victor Augustus Collin de Plancy is a sample of internal objectification by referring to the socio-typical and

individual factors affecting the meanings of the French name to quote Bakhtin (1984, p. 199). The following is the excerpt of internal polemics:

> Victor Augustus Collin [..]. He stopped in the act of saying his full name. Victor Augustus Collin de Plancy. He did not want to give such a long name to her. The de in his name was given only to nobility. His father had endeavored his whole life for that article. And that was why Lord Plancy had accused his father of misappropriating his title and sent him to court. Victor's father defended himself by saying how his fame as a writer had honored the village of Plancy and how much he had contributed to the village over the years. He even brought up the fact of his blood relation with Georges-Jacques Danton several times. Losing the trial and being banished from Plancy did not dampen his efforts. His father managed to change their family registry not a year since relocating to Paris. And he was finally able to affix upon his son all the aristocratic names that Joseph Collin de Plancy. Victor stopped and spoke again. – My name is Victor (Bakhtin, 2018, p. 138).

The quote shows a rather complex sociocultural combination of the words that reflect many layers of political, social, cultural and historic experiences of the character in the novel and also the prototype of the character in real life. Victor Émile Marie Joseph Collin de Plancy is the prototype of the protagonist of Victor Augustus Collin de Plancy. From genealogical sources GENi it appears that Collin de Plancy are two family names preceded by given names. The distance between Victor Émile Marie Joseph Collin de Plancy and Victor Augustus Collin de Plancy is the distance between two objects of reference. The author uses some of the historic data available on the prototype of Victor Collin de Plancy and is creating a literary object of reference by restyling some given names of Émile Marie Joseph into Augustus, a name introduced by many an English language dictionary as a title for the Roman Emperor with the meaning of "increaser" (Collins English Dictionary online). This respect and exceptionality coded in the semantics of the name Augustus is a counterfeit, "hostile word", to the self-destructive words and thoughts of Victor's father's failure to rise to the French nobility status by adding the particle "de" to the name of the location where the family lived and adopting the name as their family name. The meaning of inner dialogue shows Victor's

uneasiness with defining himself as de Plancy. He is reminiscent of the provincial court accusations and an opportunity of Parisian liberty to rectify the aristocratic claims of Victor's father. Listing the names of the family in his mind, Victor is reliving historic family trauma. What comes out of Victor's mouth is, finally, just the first given name, Victor.

However, Victor's conscious strife is not only to avoid the hostility of history pertaining to his name, but to acquire a more agreeable quality for his new Korean friend. Victor wishes to adopt a Korean name, to submerge in Korean language. French missionary Blanc recommends (Kyung-Sook Shin, 2017, p. 128) a Korean name to be accepted without greater effort for a Korean pronunciation. Missionary Blanc has a Korean name Baek Guysam – a name that translates whiteness encoded in his name "Blanc" to Korean family name with a similar meaning "Baek". The policy of such translation serves the interest of the missionary to be accepted with the ideas of Christianity in the Confucian world by showing how easily a transformation from a foreign status to the local status by just naming an object in a local name may happen.

The offer of creating a word for referencing to Victor, giving him a Korean name is acceptable to Yi Jin. She creates the name of Gillin for Victor: "*Gil* for auspicious, *lin* for clearness. It sounds close to Collin" (Kyung-Sook Shin, 2017, p. 153). Victor's traumatic experience of acquiring *de Plancy* aristocratic surname appears to be placated by the emphasis on the first family name Collin.

A transformation of the character's identity for the name of *Yi Jin* is foreshadowed at the beginning of the novel, page 18, where the King is granting her name *Yi Jin*, the same surname as King's in hope of protection and status in a Foreign country. *Jin* in France may mean equally little as *de Plancy* in the political hierarchies of Chosŏn court in Korea. The undoing of the power of geography and culture to the value of the family names is at the heart of the name motif in the novel.

Yet, Yi Jin on her first visit to the French Legation has an equal array of given names as Victor's, which he listed in his mind:

"The woman Suh had called her Baby, Yeon called her Silverbell, and her roommate Soa called her Jinjin. The Queen called her Lady Attendant

Suh. According to the woman Suh, Jin's mother had called her Ewha [..] in honor her birth mother.

Later, Jin's name became a problem when the Queen ordered her to enter the palace as a court lady. They decided to enter her as the adopted daughter of Lady Suh's younger sister. Jin asked, then, why they never formally gave her a name. The woman Suh replied, "We thought someone would surely come to my house one day to claim you. And that someone would give you your rightful name." – I am not important [..]. What name would a lady of the court possibly have? – Lady attendant Suh would be fine" (Kyung-Sook Shin, 2017, p. 153).

The names by which Yi Jin would be known in different positions and places are different: Baby, Silverbell, Jinjin, Lady Attendant Suh, Ewha. The names rather fragment the character identification. The character is not formed as a single object of reference until the character is given a permanent name. There is an explanation of why her adopted parents were reluctant to identify her as a foundling in the family, so that her name would not stop her from being claimed back should original family appear: "We thought someone would surely come to my house one day to claim you. And that someone would give you your rightful name" (Kyung-Sook Shin, 2017, p. 153). Having a name for Yi Jin is a matter of importance and a matter of reference to the strength of the family. Yi Jin is submissively refusing a status of importance, following the rightful Confucian tradition, and introduces herself as a not important courtier "Lady attendant Suh."

Conclusion

The internal polemics, a dialogic glance "at someone else's hostile word" could be distinctly read in the scene of introductions at the French Legation. Both protagonists appear to be undergoing objectivization in their own character identification. They are carefully reassessing the status issues of their names, legally fragile aristocratic status and a status of importance in power hierarchies are some of the thoughts Victor and Yi Jin are considering. They are aware of "political correctness" of their names, and Victor is voluntarily granting a Korean name the right to dominate

over his French name. Authorial objectivation of his discourse, tertiary objectivation is granted in the introduction episode for Victor, when his prototype's given names (Émile Marie Joseph) are upgraded to a grander given name, Augustus. A dialogue between the prototype and the literary character who is at the same moment involved in his interior dialogue over his name is observed.

Fragmentation of Yi Jin's character by referring to her by different names at different stages of her life and in different locations of her life compose Yi Jin as a complex interaction of the parts of her character that come from different experiences of her life. Yet, her judgement of her own name at the scene of introductions appears to give her a metalinguistic presence, she is an unnamed observer of her life, she is above the language in her life, and she enters into dialogic relationships with all those players, that appear to be part of her character (Baby, Silverbell, Jinjin, Lady Attendant Suh, Ewha). Yet, Yi Jin is most submissive in choosing herself Lady attendant Suh name. The "power" name, Yi Jin is granted to her by the King. This overwriting of all her previous names and her personal attitude towards naming herself is a tertiary objectivation by another character in the novel.

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PATRIOTIC DAEJONGGYO: THE NEW GEOPOLITICAL DANGUN RELIGION IN MODERN SINO-KOREAN HISTORY[1]

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the political landscape of the Joseon Dynasty was complicated by the involvement of external powers. In addition to impact of international relations with Japan, China, and western authorities, the social condition of the local people was also influenced by the emergence of new religious movements (NRMs) arising from the traditional religions of East Asia. Among them, the unique religiosity of Choe Je-u (1824–1864), Kang Jeungsan (1871–1909), Pak Chungbin (1889–1943), and Na Cheol (1868–1916) comprise the four major native groups. Choe's Donghak was the first Korean NRM and emerged in 1860. The Jeungsanist movement (1900) and Pak's Wonbulgyo (Won Buddhism) (1924) are the most successful organisations. In this light, the article views Na Cheol and his movement. How did Daejonggyo originate? What are the key teachings? How did this religion survive under colonial persecution? What is the image of that native Korean NRM? This paper explores the historical background of Daejonggyo and the military–political narratives of the founder and his successors in the regions of Korea and Manchuria (China), since they were both an active religion and a political movement in religious guise. Although the Dangun myth is not especially popular in the contemporary society, the transnational commitment of the group could arguably imply the philosophy of a religious nationalism through its mystical origin, counter–colonial protests, and ethnic modernity (i.e., national enlightenment) during the period from 1910s to 1960s.

Keywords: *Daejonggyo, new religious movement, Dangun, nationalism, colonialism*

Introduction

In the last decades of the 19th century, the Korean Peninsula faced external influence of foreign powers on the politics of the late Joseon Dynasty. Japan began interfering in Korea's internal affairs under the Treaty of Ganghwa (江華島條約) in 1876. That disturbed the formerly stable political system, leading to an attempted coup (Kim Okgyun's Gapsin coup, 甲申政變), and a peasant rebellion (Donghak Peasant Revolution, 東學農民革命), which was the largest in Korea's long history. As a result of the peasant rebellion, China and Japan both rushed troops onto the peninsula to suppress the rebellion, yet ultimately the two nations ended up fighting each other instead. The Sino-Japanese War of 1894–1895 concluded with Japan's victory, thereby terminating hundreds of years of Korea's participation in the Sino-centric world order. The influence over Korea had shifted from China to Japan. When the Japan-Korea Treaty of 1910 led to the annexation of the Korean Empire by Imperial Japan, all semblance of Korean independence disappeared from the peninsula, remaining only in representations overseas including China (Manchuria) (Eckert, 1996).

The political weakness and corruption of the nation provided no hope for the life of ordinary people. The disappointment in social affairs led people to develop interests in new teachings that differed from the traditions of Buddhism, Confucianism, Daoism and Shamanism. Choe Je-u (崔濟愚, 1824–1864) initiated the Donghak (Eastern Learning) Movement against Seohak (Western Learning). His experience of *Gaebyeok* (開闢, 'dawn of a new age') occurred during his encounter with Sangje ('Lord of Heaven'). Donghak had a belief that man and things are not created by a supernatural God but generated by an indwelling God. The Jeungsanist Movement originated from the mystical narrative that Kang Jeungsan (姜甑山, 1871–1909), who was seen as the Supreme Lord of the Ninth Heaven, was incarnated in this world in 1871. His earthly work of "Reordering of the Universe" (*Cheonji Gongsa* 天地公事, a Great Transformation, during 1901–1909) was to open the way to the Later World in the same concept of *Gaebyeok* (Yoon, 2016, pp. 1–34). Daesoon Jinrihoe, one of the major

groups related to this movement, articulates the doctrine that there will be a 'great transformation', in which humans will live in a universe free from poverty, disease, or war, and with divine beings, human beings will exist in a state of unification. Bak Jung-bin (朴重彬, so-called *Sot'aesan* 1891–1943) was another figure in a Buddhistic Wonbulgyo (圓佛敎, Won Buddhism). Under colonial persecution, he founded the Association for the Study of Buddha-Dharma (ASBD) in 1924 (McBride, 2010, pp. 3121–3122). His teaching conceived the formation of a modernised urban approach that combined the goal of seeing the Buddha in all things, with 'timeless and placeless' *Zen*. "His reformation reinterpreted major Buddhist doctrines in the context of the daily lives of practitioners" (Buswell, 2007, p. 478). Na Cheol (羅喆, 1868–1916) of Daejonggyo (大倧敎) also appeared around this time. How did Daejonggyo differ from other Korean new religions?

Mystical origin

There are a number of contemporary religious movements within the framework of Korean indigenous mythology (or folk religion), focused on the worship of Dangun (檀君), including Dangunmani Sungjohoe (檀君摩尼 崇祖會), Dangungyo (檀君敎), and Gaecheongyo (開天敎). The additional sects that believe in Dangun with their own object are Dongdogyo (東道敎), Suungyo (水雲敎), Samdeokgyo (三德敎), Dongdo Bupjong Geumgangdo (東道法宗金剛道), and Daehan Bulgyo Mireukjong (大韓佛敎彌勒宗). Daejonggyo emerged at the beginning of the twentieth century as one of the earliest Dangun movements (1909). Yet, compared with the other NRM leaders, Na Cheol, the founder, had neither experienced a personal encounter with a god nor claimed himself to be a god intervening on behalf of humanity. He was born in Boseong of South Jeolla Province in 1863 and had found employment as a public servant (假注書, Provisional Librarian in the *Seungjeongwon* (承政院, the Royal Secretariat) and 權知副正字, Royal Proof-Reader in the Office of Diplomatic Correspondence) of the Joseon Dynasty (1392–1910). His childhood and adolescence did not contain any special narratives or divine revelation. The oral and written traditions only demonstrate his connection

with three mystical figures of Baekbong (白峯), Baekjeon (伯佺), and Duilbaek (杜一白). When Na Cheol resigned from his public position for a social campaign of independence against Japan, he encountered Baekjeon at the West Gate Station of Seoul in 1905 (An, 2006, pp. 180–185). The old man (approximately 90 years of age) gave him the prophetic texts of *Samilshingo* (三一神誥, Pronouncements of the Triune God) and *Shinsagi* (神事記, Record of Divine Events)[2] for establishment of Dangun religion.

When Na later visited Japan, Duilbaek (69 years old at the time) in 1908 met him twice in Tokyo and handed over another writing called *Dangungyo pomyeongseo* (檀君敎佈明書, the Proclamation of the Teachings of Dangun) (Lee, 2015, pp. 141–152). The contents reached back to the ideology that the Korean people shared the same destiny as a unique ethnic group, as well as referred to the history of Dangun's birth, the old customs of Dangun faith, and the reasons for those beliefs. The two messengers had been sent by Baekbong who himself argued that he had received a divine revelation from Dangun in 1904. Baekbong was perceived as a deity and had twelve disciples. Two of them were known to Na Cheol who mystically never met Baekbong in person. He wrote a book called *Daejonggyo Shinwŏngyŏng* (大倧敎神圓經) in 1903. Having twelve disciples does not indicate a direct adoption from the teaching of Christianity, although numerous missionaries were already present in Korea at that time (Cho, 2009, pp. 85–90). The personal encouragement received from two of Baekbong's disciples and those texts gave an impetus to the former public servant to establish a new religious movement, Dangungyo (檀君敎, religion of Dangun) in 1909, with immediate supporters including Oh Iiho, Jeong Hunmo, Lee gi, Kim Yunsik, and Yun Geun. The Dangun movement; however, changed its name into *Daejonggyo*, which means the 'religion of the Divine Progenitor' or 'great ancestral religion.' The

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[2]   Sinsagi explains the principle of the three-one god, as follows: Hanŏl (하늘, heavenly God) means the concept of three Gods: *God-Father*, *God-Teacher*, and *God-King*. One may consider the concept of the three-one god in relation to the Christian doctrine of the Trinity, but Daejonggyo themselves do not support the view of direct connection in the context of religious syncretism.

unique origin of the new religion is well depicted in the figures of 'Haneul cosmology,' 'sacred sites and rituals,' and 'cultivation.'

Haneul cosmology

How can one comprehend the god of Daejonggyo? Is this the god of a nationalistic new religion or the god of a folk religion related to the ancient history of Korea? Adherents maintain that Daejonggyo is a 'religion of a God-Man' or a 'religion of a God-Human Being (Dan-gun Hanbaegeon).[3] The subject of worship is Haneul (하늘, heavenly God) or is Haneullim (하늘님, 'Heavenly King') which connotes the concept of three Gods: *God-Father* as the creator of the universe (桓因, Hwanin), *God-Teacher* as the mentor of universal nature (桓雄, Hwanung), and *God-King* as the ruler of creation (檀君, Dangun/Hanbaegeon) (Baker, 2007, pp. 464–475). They argue that *Haneul* (the mother of all creation) implies the absolute beginning from which all time and all space began to exist:

> Haneul is the trinity of three gods: Hwanin (God-Father) in the position to create all things, Hwanung (God-Teacher) as teacher of all beings and Hwan-geom (God-King) with the rank of ruler of all beings. In the universe, Haneul has nothing higher than himself. In all creation, Haneul knows nothing prior to himself [..]. Divided, he becomes three, and united, he becomes one, so his position can be determined by three and one simultaneously.

The canonical text, *Shillidaejeon* (神理大全, The Great Compendium on Divine Reason), interprets the relationship between Haneul and the three gods of the universe in the way that without the three, the one (Haneul) is useless and the three becomes formless within the one. Haneul, therefore, is the body of the three, and the three are the instruments of the one (Haneul) (Cho, 2016, pp. 7–34). The followers of the new Korean religion apply the concept of the three-one logic to man. Thereby, every

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[3]   Here, the meaning of 'Dan' in old Korean implies bright land. 'Gun' means god and king, and 'Hanbaegŏn (God-Human-King)' has a number of meanings, such as king of heaven, the first king, the highest king and the greatest king.

man is simultaneously a father, a teacher, and a king. Furthermore, every man occupies the positions of a creator (parent) of his children, a teacher of his students, and a ruler of his people (Woo, 1998, pp. 272–296). Therefore, a man can be a father, a teacher, and a king all in one, by serving a variety of functions in human society. In nature and substance, however, such a man is but one man (Cho, 2016, pp. 7–34).

The text of *Hoesamgyeóng* (會三經, Scripture on the Unification of the Three) introduces three achievements of the divine Haneul: "the virtue bears benevolence, the intellect brings forth knowledge, and the power yields bravery." For them, these ideological concepts are understood as omnibenevolent, omniscient, and omnipotent. The god of Daejonggyo is depicted as having created, taught, and ruled all things of the universe to endow them with existence, substance, and movement even though he (Haneul) himself has no figure, words, or deeds (Lee, 2018, pp. 101–139). Daejonggyo argues that their religion is unique and differs from Lao-tzu's Daoism, Buddhism, and Confucianism, but they also see it as a synthesis of these three Asian religions. For example, the basic characteristic of the new religion is externally familiar to the trinity principle of Christianity, while the ethical basis of the religion, according to Jeong's argument (Jeong, 2002, pp. 57–82) on humanism of Daejonggyo and *Cheoninhapil* (天人 一, the unity of God and man), is similar to the *Samgang Oryun* (三綱五倫, the basic moral guideline) of Confucianism. Na, the leader, once taught that Daejonggyo is not a new religion but a revival of *Goshindo* (古神道, the Way of the Ancestral God or the Ancient Way of God). He also stated that they carried forward the belief in the Trinitarian God worshipped in ancient Korea. This Korean religion considers ancient Korean history as its origin. In this regard, the *Samilshingo* (Pronouncements of the Triune God) depicts Dangun as the son of God (or earthly incarnation) conceived of the god of heaven. Dangun (the god-king of Gojoseon, the first Korean kingdom around Liaoning, Manchuria, and the northern part of the Korean Peninsula) is thought to be the third, and human, manifestation of Haneullim ('God of Heaven').

The legendary myth of Dangun's incarnation is interpreted to mean that the grandfather of Dangun Hwanin (桓因, the Lord of Heaven) had

a son, Hwanung (桓雄), who yearned to live on the earth amidst the valleys and mountains. Hwanin permitted Hwanung to descend onto Mt. Baekdu (白頭山, 2,749 m, located on the border between North Korea and China) with 3,000 followers. That is where Hwanung founded the *Shinsi* (神市, the City of God). The son of Hwanin, with his ministers of clouds, rain, and wind, instituted laws and moral codes. He taught humans various arts, medicine, and agriculture. The narrative of Dangun's human birth has been developed in the illustration that a tiger and a bear requested Hwanung to be human. Upon hearing their story, Hwanung gave them twenty cloves of garlic and a bundle of mugwort. He ordered them to eat the food and remain out of the sunlight for 100 days. The tiger, however, gave up after about twenty days and left the cave, while the bear persevered and was eventually transformed into a woman (See: Samilshin'go (三一神誥, the Discourse of the God of three Gods)).

Dangun's physical mother was Ungnyeo (熊女), a bear transformed into a woman. The view of Daejonggyo originates from the myth that the bear-woman was grateful and made offerings to Hwanung. However, she soon became sad and prayed beneath a *Shindansu* (神檀樹, 'divine birch' tree) to be blessed with a child. Hwanung, moved by her prayers, took her as his wife, and she gave birth to a son named Dangun (Lee, 2019). Korean people take this as part of their mythological origin and some even regard it as a historical fact. The followers of Daejonggyo believe that if one learns about the teachings of Dangun, they progress further towards the goal of becoming a god-man like Dangun.

The history of Dangun myth begins with his earthly appearance in 2457 BCE. He is depicted traveling the regions and teaching the way and the rule of human relations. This heavenly man, like Hwanung (his heavenly father), was based out of Mt. Baekdu and founded the country called Gojoseon ('Old/Ancient Joseon') as the first king in 2333 BCE. He enjoyed the status of the sole god-man being. The earliest recorded version of the Dangun legend emerged in the 13th century *Samguk Yusa* (三國遺事, a collection of legends, folktales and historical accounts relating to the Three Kingdoms of Korea), which cites China's Book of Wei and Korea's lost history text *Gogi* (古記, a text on ancient Korean history) (Hong, 2008,

p. 5). While the early Joseon texts of the *Jewang ungi* (帝王韻紀, Songs of Emperors and Kings), the *Eungje Shiju* (應製詩註), and *Sejong Shillok* (世宗實錄) contain similar versions (Mason, 1999, p. 6), the *Dongguk Tonggam* (東國通鑑, 1485) presents a chronicle of the early history of Korea. The *Samguk Yusa* states that the legendary divine figure ascended to the throne in the 50th year of Yao's (China's) reign (2333 BCE–2234 BCE), even though *Dongguk Tonggam* mentions the 25th year.

Daejonggyo additionally adopts the traditional Korean history of the Silla kingdom (57 BCE–935 AD) in developing the concept of the three figures of Dangun myth (God-Father, God-Teacher, and God-King). The first king of the Silla, Hyeoggeose (赫居世, meaning 'the first and brightest king'), was the father who founded the kingdom. The meaning of *Chachaung* (次次雄) comes from the name of the second king, *Namhae Chachaung* indicates the role of a diviner (teacher). The concept of *Isageum* (尼師今) comes from the third king, Yuriisageum, and is indicative of an heir-king. In this regard, Daejonggyo promotes the notion that the ancestors of the Korean people thought their country was the representative land of heaven, a land that mirrored heaven. This land was called *Baedal Nara* (배달나라, the country of bright land) or Hwan Nara (한나라, the heavenly-bright country). They maintained that their first king was the son of Haneul and the God-Man (桓因, *Hwanin*) (Do, 2005, pp. 1–31). Thus, Haneul was the threefold god in heaven, but at the beginning of Baedal Nara, Dangun became the symbol of this trinity. In the Silla Era, the first three kings were perceived as the incarnation of this trinity (Won, 2001, pp. 31–50).

Sacred sites and rituals

Daejonggyo has many sacred sites including some which are natural formations (mountains, caves, altars, and castles) that form their ethnic history. Among them, the *Cheonjinjeon* (天眞殿) is held to be the most divine altar, where a portrait of Dangun is enshrined in each *Shigyodang* (施教堂, temple). They call the divine portrait *Cheonjin* (天眞, the real image of Dangun). *Dongsayugo* (東事類考) of Lee Ik (李瀷, 1681–1763)

has a narrative that a boy with a gift for painting, *Solgeo* (率居), from the Silla Dynasty (57 BCE–935 CE), had a unique dream about the presence of Dangun (Choi, 1978, pp. 156–164). He then drew the divine figure many times. This oral tradition was recorded in *Solgeosohwa Dangunojinchan* (率居所畵檀君御眞讚) in the Goryeo dynasty (918–1392): "嶺外家家神 祖像 當年半是出名工, the half of the Dangun portraits enshrined at the Yeongoe Gaga was completed by the master Solgeo in this year."

Mt. Baekdu (on the border between North Korea and China) is one of the most sacred sites connected to the mythology stating that the god, Dangun, formed the first kingdom of the Korean people, Gojoseon (2333–108 BC). Therefore, they assign a mythical quality to the volcano and its caldera lake, considering it to be their country's spiritual home (Choe, 2016). The Dangun Cave in Mt. Myohyang (Pyeongan Province, North Korea) contains a similar myth that Dangun dwelled before he became king. The cave is a huge one with 40 heights, 35 depths and 50 widths in a rock that occupies a large mountain. The three tablets of the *Hwan* God are enshrined in the cave. Mt. Mani (Incheon, South Korea) is the place where the *Chamseongdan* (塹星壇, altar, 5 m high) of Daejonggyo is located. The shrine cluster is a pile of natural stones. The base is round, with a diameter of 4.5 m, and the top is a square of 2 m in all directions. The local people believe that "the time of construction of this grouping is still unknown for certain, but it is estimated to be over 4 000 years old" (Kim, 2019). The tradition of the new religion argues that Dangun himself worshipped Haneul (heavenly God) there. The social influence of the new religion after the Korean war (1950–1953) is reflected in the fact that the official torch for the Korean National Sports Festival (全國體育大會) is annually ignited from this altar from 1953.

Mt. Guwol (Hwanghae Province, North Korea (near Seoul)) is known as the place of *Ocheondae* (御天臺) where Dangun was ascended to heaven after the completion of the earthly works for human beings. *Samseong* Temple (三聖祠) is also located on this mountain and keeps an ancestral shrine for the three Gods: God-Father (桓因, Hwanin), God-Teacher (桓雄, Hwanung), and God-King (Dangun/Hanbaegeon) (Kim, 2013, pp. 158–165). Further. it is taught that *Samrangseong* (三郎城) (Incheon,

South Korea) is a historical fortress where the three sons of Dangun built a castle from stones. Nevertheless, the inner and outer layers are presumed to be a stone structure from the Three Kingdoms Era (57 BCE–935 CE). The *Sungnyeongjeon* (崇靈殿) is a shrine dedicated to Dangun and King Dongmyeong, the father of Goguryeo (37 BCE–668 BCE) in Pyeongyang (North Korea) (An, 2006, pp. 175–178). At the time of the Goryeo Dynasty (918–1392), a special envoy of the king was dispatched to offer a sacrifice. On the first day of the month and at the full moon, local officials offered sacrifices and ordinary people went to pray, if they had a special cause to do so (South Korea often tends to cast suspicions, if there is any new historical announcement from North Korea).

Daejonggyo testifies that Dangun initiated the ritual for offering a prayer to Haneul (heavenly God). The central doctrine and associated mythologies are often criticised as generally lacking rituals and institutional structure. However, they held four major memorial rituals annually according to the Chinese lunar calendar. Among them, *Junggwangjeol* (重光節) on January 15 is the festival day memorializing the founder Na Cheol's enshrinement of the tablet of the Great Dangun Dynasty and initiation of Haneul worship (하늘, heavenly God). They also celebrate the announcement of *Dangungyo Pomyeongseo* (檀君敎佈明書, the Proclamation of the Teachings of Dangun) for the rebirth of Dangungyo (檀君敎) (An, 2006, pp. 180–185). The term *Junggwang* (重光), as explained before, indicates the meaning of 'revival,' 're-launching', or the 're-appearance of the (Dangun) movement, which already existed in the ancient history of the Korean people (An, 2006, pp. 205–209). The *Ocheonjeol* (御天節) is the day of celebration that memorializes the earthly God-Man, Dangun's return to heaven. The followers mark March 15 (of the Dangun Era) as the Ascension Day of their god from the *Asadal* (白頭山, Mt. Baekdu).[4]

The third memorial ritual is the offering of prayer known as *Gagyeongjeol* (嘉慶節, August 15). This is the day the founder died (suicide

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[4]   *Asadal* was traditionally known as the capital city of the kingdom of Gojosŏn ("Older Joseon").

for a public purpose) in 1916. As Korea (Joseon) was officially colonised by Japan, many nationalistic leaders in the 1910s took the social action of suicide in order to demonstrate their attitude to the nation. In case of Na Cheol, it can be viewed as a religious and political concept of a sacrifice. Although it is the same day as the traditional Thanksgiving Day of Korea (추석 秋夕 or 한가위), it is also the day they devoutly remember the death (recognised as martyrdom for the sins of humans) and works of Na Cheol. The last ritual is about *Gaecheonjeol* (開天節). The new religion considers October 3 of 2457 BCE (上元 甲子年) as *Gaecheon* (開天the Opening of Heaven). They celebrate the day as memorial of the god-man's descent from heaven for the purposes of *Hongik Ingan* (弘益人間, to broadly benefit humanity) and *Leehwasegye* (理化世界, the world based on the laws and logic of nature) (Kim, 2013, pp. 152–155). Somewhat differently, the Korean public remembers October 3 of 2333 BCE as the foundation day for the Korean people. The day is currently a public holiday in South Korea, and in the Gregorian calendar it is called National Foundation Day. The Korean public from the time of the Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea (大韓民國臨時政府,1919) generally recognized Dangun as the founder of Korea and Gojoseon (古朝鮮) as the first nation of the Korean ethnic group in East Asia.

These four *Jecheon* (祭天) rituals are performed through two ceremonies, *Seonuishik* (禪儀式) and *Gyeonghashik* (慶賀式). The first one contains the meaning of distinctiveness and uniqueness, while the purpose of the latter is commemoration and celebration. The concept of *Seonui* (禪儀) was originally applied to the historical ritual performance by Na Cheol on the day of his death on August 15 (lunar) of 1916. The *Seonuishik* committee called *Yewon* (禮員) consists mainly of the key movement leaders performing the nine roles of the ritual: *Jusa* (主祀, priest), *Cheonui* (典儀, leading the order), *Doshik* (導式, presider), *Bonghyang* (奉香, supporting priest with incense), *Bongji* (奉贄, supporting priest with three items of five kinds of grains, silk, and money), *Bongchan* (奉餐, supporting priest with six sacrificial offerings), *Juyu* (奏由, readers of Juyu statement), *Chuak* (奏樂, music leader), and *Wondo* (願禱, prayer person). The three major components of the ritual are *Jepye* (祭幣), *Jepum* (祭品), and *Jegu* (祭具).

Jepye (祭幣) indicates the necessary basic objects for human life such as grains, clothes, and money. *Jepum* (祭品, sacrificial food) is composed of clean water, wheat, pears, bracken, steamed rice, and seaweed soup. *Jegu* (祭具) indicates a variety of tableware in three shapes: circular, triangular, and tetragonal. These symbolize the harmony of God, humans, and world. The ritual table has three bowls of each shape for the sacrificial objects. The three triangular bowls, which are located on the left side of the sacrificial table, contain pears, bracken, and money. The three circular bowls are filled with clean water, steamed rice, and grains and placed in the middle of the table. Wheat, seaweed soup, and clothes are held by the three tetragonal bowls on the right side. Two *Mugunghwa* (無窮花, national flower) sets are placed at the backside, while two candles are ready at the frontside before the preparation table.

The order of the ritual unfolds according to *Holgi* (笏記), at 6:00 am of the day. The *Seonuishik* committee performs the seven steps of the ritual. The presider first announces the beginning of the ritual (*Gaeuishik*, 開儀式) before the three things of five kinds of grains (rice, barley, millet, proso, and bean), silk, and money are offered (*Jonpyeshik*, 奠幣式). Various other sacrificial foods are also offered (*Jinchanshik*, 進餐式). Subsequently, the priest (master) confesses sins and gives thanksgiving to Dangun (*Juyushik,* 奏由式). Music is then performed (*Juaksik*, 奏樂式), while they praise Dangun and pray (*Wondoshik*, 願禱式). Lastly, they offer a farewell salutation by bowing four times (*Saryeongshik*, 辭令式). *Pyeuishik* (閉儀式) is the process of announcing the end of the order.

Cultivation

The Daejonggyo members (many represent the high class of the society) are encouraged to cultivate themselves, because the social classes are mainly determined by birth during the Joseon Dynasty despite the changes during the colonial time. The *Jillihun* (眞理訓) of *Samilshingo* (三一神誥) teaches that the purpose of cultivation (修行) is to achieve the concept of *Seongtong Gongwan* (性通功完) (Kang; Ko, 2002, pp. 171–196). The philosophical term *Seongtong* is interpreted, as follows: when human

beings are born, they naturally possess the heavenly character of Haneul (heavenly God). However, living on earth leads to the loss of this divine character, and they need to recover it in terms of returning to Haneul. The term *Gongwan*, on the other hand, is related to the achievement of public works received from the creator of the universe. Here, they maintain that if they are not born as animals but human beings, they have been sent by their god to fulfil certain purposes. Through the activity of cultivation, they are encouraged to achieve the mission of public works. The two methods of *Sambeop Suhaeng* (三法修行, Cultivation of Three Principles) and *Doksong Suhaeng* (讀誦修行, Reading Cultivation) are designed to help them. *Sambeop Suhaeng* is promoted as the best method of cultivation. It is said that people who master *Seongtong Gongwan* sit next to their god and above the position of saints (An, 2006, pp. 190–194). They then reclaim their own divine status and unite with their god. The condition of *Shininhabil* (神人合一, unity with God) allows them to enter the heavenly palace (天宮) for eternity (Lee, 2017, pp. 7–37). This Korean new religion supports the view that if any devotee satisfactorily performs the cultivation of *Sambeop Suhaeng*, they will eventually reach the heavenly palace, which is conceived both as a future heaven and as accessible in the present on earth. Daejonggyo goes on to divide the concept of the heavenly palace into three dimensions: heaven, earth, and humanity. The earthly palace indicates Mt. Baekdu, the human palace is each person's body, because the head bone (skull) is recognised as the heavenly palace. This doctrine means that if one transforms their body and the world through *Sambeop Suhaeng* by making both into the heavenly palace, they will eternally enjoy the heavenly palace after death (Lee, 2018, pp. 101–122). Here, Daejonggyo introduces the three concepts of feeling (感), breath (息), and sense (觸覺) as the nature of human beings (Lee, 2018, pp. 123–129). The Daejonggyo use of 'feeling' expresses six emotional states: joy, fear, sadness, anger, greed, and aversion. Breath has six qualities: fragrant, charcoal smoke, cold energy, hot energy, dry energy, and moisture. Their usage of sense also has six components: sound, light, smell, taste, lewdness, and collision (Lee, 2017, pp. 21–37). They instruct that practitioners of *Sambeop Suhaeng* should overcome human limitations by escaping from thinking and sentimentality (止感),

correcting breathing (調息), and prohibiting physical contact (禁觸), in order to become a divine man of *Seonngtong Gongwan* eligible for eternal life in the heavenly palace (Lee, 2018, pp. 121–139). Their meditation exercises are similar to the three breathing practices in Daoist internal alchemy (Neidan, 內丹术): stilling the mind, regulating the breath, and holding the breath (Baldrian-Hussein, 2008, pp. 762–766).

Dokseong Suhaeng (讀誦修行, Reading Cultivation) is another method for reaching the ultimate status of a heavenly man. Those who wish to practice the second method need to bathe and prepare a clean room in which there is the portrait of Dangun or the picture of *Jillido* (眞理圖) (Lee, 2017, pp. 30–37). When they are ready, they recite the three hundred and sixty-six words of *Samilshingo* (三一神誥) according to the pattern of *Danju* (檀珠).[5] Their traditional narrative encourages practitioners with the word of blessing on earth and heaven that:

> Thus, if one reads the canonical text 30,000 times, calamity disappears. 70,000 recitations enable the overcoming of illnesses. 100,000 times helps to avoid military dangers. 300,000 times secures the obedience of animals. 700,000 times makes one respected by men and spirits. Spirits and saints teach the practitioner after 1,000,000 times. 366 born will be transformed into 366 bloodlines to become joyful deities without suffering after 3,660,000 times. However, if their mind is interrupted, the number of recitations of the three hundred and sixty-six words of the canonical text, *Samlshingo* will be meaningless and even incur penalties (Daejonggyo Headquarters, 1971).

Daejonggyo alternatively uses the prayer method of reciting *Gaksa* (覺辭), which consists only of seventeen words: *Seongnyeongjaesang Cheonshicheoncheong Saengahwara Manmanse gangchung* (聖靈在上 天視天聽 生我活我 萬萬世降衷) (Cho, 2009, pp. 103–105). The origin of *Gaksa* is related to the mystical tradition that the God-Human Being

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[5] In particular, Daejonggyo, like Buddhist prayer beads (念珠) and Catholic rosary, uses Danju (檀珠) made of birch during the cultivation time for the regular pattern of breathing. They have three different sizes: 366, 216, and 72. They additionally have 36 and 12 birch beads.

(*Dangun Hanbaegeon*) gave this incantation to *Baekbong Sinsa* (白峰神師) at Mt. Baekdu in 1904 who then, as previously mentioned, contacted Na Cheol through his two disciples (*Baekjeon* and *Duilbaek*) for the establishment of Daejonggyo (Kim, 2013, pp. 152–155). They presume that the word of *Gaksa* contains heavenly power. Therefore, it is used as one of the incantations with three *Milgo* mantras (密誥, revelational words of Dangun) to pray for various purposes including the healing of diseases and sicknesses (Cho, 2009, pp.105–110).

Counter-colonial protest

The nationalistic character of this Korean religion is not only closely related to the hagiographical culture of Dangun, wherein the Korean God makes the worship of foreign gods (including Yahweh God) unnecessary, but it is also connected to the counter-colonial policy, because the Korean people have their own national identity (so-called 'minjok'), thus, they should unite against the imperial power of Japan (Schmid, 2002). The historical figure implicates that they were practitioners of an active religion, as well as a socio-political movement in religious guise. In other words, they, like the politico-military propensity of the Vietnamese Cao Dai new religion, were one of the religious groups who strongly involved the geopolitical issues of the nation under the colonial environment of the era (Hoskins, 2015).

Daejonggyo has five religious tenets: *Gyeongbong Cheonshin* (敬奉天神, respecting the ruler (king or god) of the nation), *Seongsu Yeongseong* (誠修靈性, keeping a sincere and devotional character), *Aehap Jongjok* (愛合種族, the unity of the nation through Dangun Thought), *Jeonggu ribok* (靜求利福, enjoying a true freedom of heart in silence), and *Geunmu saneop* (勤務産業, being dedicated to society and industry) (Kim, 2017, pp. 37–71; An, 2006, pp. 192–198). Among them, the concepts of *Gyeongbong Cheonshin* and *Aehap Jongjok* imply a national identity for the unity of the Korean people. Jeong presumes that the teaching of *Gyeongbong Cheonshin* is based on the philosophy of Confucianism as Na Cheol was previously educated in that tradition (Jeong, 2002, pp. 74–80). In this regard, the

founder of the religion initially created a secret organisation called *Jashinhoe* (自新會), in order to assassinate five major pro-Japanese high officials: Lee Wanyong, Kwen Junghyeon, Park Jesun, Lee Jiyong, and Lee Geuntaek (Kim, 2017, pp. 81–106). He himself visited Japan to protest against the political inequality of the Japan–Korea Treaty of 1910 (韓日併合條約 or 韓国併合に関する条約), practicing hunger strikes in front of the Imperial Palace. As a result, he was forced into exile to an island in Jeollanam-do's Muan-gun (south-west part of Korea).

The representatives of Daejonggyo also established many military groups in the 1920s, and led armed struggles for national independence. When the Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea (大韓民國臨時政府, PGRK) was established in Shanghai, China (1919–1932), twenty members of Daejonggyo became the cabinet members, including Lee Siyeong, Park Eunsik, Cho Wanku, Park Chanik, and Cho Seonghwan. Twenty-eight of the thirty-five members of the Temporary Legislative Body (臨時議政院) also belonged to Daejonggyo. In particular, Shin Kyushik, alongside Ahn Huije, was an official (finance) sponsor of the PGRK and its diplomatic activity (Gim, 2011, pp. 141–142).

After the March 1 (1919) movement that was the first nationwide non-violated campaign for independence, the second leader Kim Kyo-heon (金教獻, 1868–1923), who used to be a public officer of the Joseon Dynasty, relocated to Manchuria (Northeast China) not only for religious outreach but also to cooperate with Korean immigrants in a counter-colonial campaign (Cho, 2014, pp. 121–140). The group called *Jonggyeonghoe* (倧經會) was established to publish socio-religious literature, while thirty-four churches emerged in the region, and three more churches – in the mainland of China (Kim, 2013, pp. 152–155). The membership grew to 400,000 in the 1920s. Kim, then, became involved in the overseas leadership group in Jilin, Manchuria for the first announcement of the Korean Declaration of Independence (大韓獨立宣言書 or 戊午獨立宣言書) (Cho, 2017, pp. 271–300), which affected the other two nonviolent announcements of the Korean people such as the February 8 Declaration of Independence (二八獨立宣言) issued by Korean students in Japan and March 1 Declaration of Independence (三一獨立宣言書) Korean cultural

and religious leaders issued a proclamation in Korea. Eleven leaders out of the thirty-nine signers of the first Declaration of Independence were members of Daejonggyo. Next, a cooperative military campaign was initiated by the Korean diasporas of the world (Cho, 2014, pp. 131–150).

Junggwangdan (重光團) was the first counter-colonial organisation established by Seo Il of Daejonggyo (Shin, 2013, pp. 239–271). It was extended by *Jeonguidan* (正義團) and further developed into the army (4,050 soldiers) of *Bungno Gunjeongseo* (北路軍政署) (Shin, 2017, pp. 45–54). As Seo Il was recommended as the president, he established the Academy School for Independence (士官練成所) and managed a military campaign for independence (Cho, 2014, pp. 121–138). In particular, the Battle of Qīngshānlǐ (靑山里戰鬪) was a great fight which lasted for six days in October 1920. The battle was fought between Korean armed groups and the Imperial Japanese army in a heavily wooded region of eastern Manchuria called Qīngshānlǐ. The victory of the battle is a very well-known illustration of Korea's colonial history (Shin, 2013, pp. 239–271). The soldiers of Bungno Gunjeongseo mainly were committed followers of Daejonggyo (over 40%) (Shin, 2017, pp. 55–75).

In the leadership of the military independence campaign, Lee Sangseol, Kim Chwachin, Hong Beomdo, Park Eunsik, Kim Gyusik, Shin Chaeho, and Han Giuk were later officially recognised by the modern Korean government as patriots of independence (愛國志士) (Kim, 2013, pp. 171–176). Among them, the General Hong Beomdo was a military officer of the Joseon Dynasty in 1882 but organised *Posudan* (砲手團) with Yun Sebok, the third leader of Daejonggyo. He led the *Bongodong* (鳳梧洞) battle to victory. As a vice-president, he organised the Korean Independence Force (大韓獨立軍) with Seo Il, Kim Chwachin, and Cho Seonghwan in Milsan, Manchuria (Shin, 2013, pp. 239–271). Kim Chwachin also established an independent military academy in North *Gando* (北間島), Northeast China, where there was a large population of ethnic Koreans. He joined Seo Il's *Jeonguidan* as a commanding officer. In 1925, he established *Sinminbu* (新民府) and *Seongdong* Military Academy (城東士官學校) before becoming the premier of the Korean National Society (韓族總聯合會, 1929) (Shin, 2017, pp. 51–75).

Modernisation

The initiation of the social enlightenment movement was another nationalistic activity of Daejonggyo. Manchukuo (滿洲國, a colony of Japan), allowed the religious freedom of Daejonggyo at its beginning (Lee, 2017, pp. 149–183). The intellectuals of the group launched the various educational and farming projects to promote the modernisation of the nation (i.e., national enlightenment). Kim Kyo-heon wrote the historio-legendary books of *Sindan Minsa* (神檀民史), *Sindan Silgi* (神檀實記) and *Baedalchog Yŏksa* (倍達族歷史), to create a systematic approach of the movement in relation to Korean history for the nation's spirituality (Do, 2005, pp. 1–11). *Sindan Minsa* was a mythological history concerning the single origin of Dangun based on the Korean Peninsula. The book was used as a text with a counter-colonial philosophy for students at military schools in Manchuria (Kang; Ko, 2002, pp. 171–196). *Baedaljok Yeoksa* was another historical book for national awareness, published by the Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea (大韓民國臨時政府, PGRK) in Shanghai, China (Kang; Ko, 2002, pp. 140–150).

For the revival of Korean studies, the spheres of Korean history and Korean linguistics were developed by the educated followers of the new religion. Korean history formerly was interpreted on the footing of the philosophies formulated in Goryeo Buddhism and Joseon Neo-Confucianism, but Shin Chaeho, Park Eunsik, and Jang Dobin, like followers of Cheondogyo (天道教 Religion of the Heavenly Way), redrew Korean history based on a Daoistic nationalistic philosophy. Among them, Shin Chaeho, who became the vice-president of the Independent Society (光復會), initially wrote the modern history of *Doksasillon* (讀史新論) from the Dangun Era to the Balhae Kingdom (698–926, a multi-ethnic kingdom in Manchuria, the Korean Peninsula and the Russian Far East) in 1908 (Kim, 2013, pp. 168–173). His ancient Korean history research developed further through *Dongguk Godae Seongyogo* (東國古代仙教考), which was based on the philosophy of *Nangga Sasang* (郎家思想=chivalry) in 1910. The chivalry thought of Shin Chaeho was a well-established indigenous philosophy of ancient Korea in that the socio-historical cases

of Buyeo's Yeongo (迎鼓), Goguryeo's Dongmang (東盟), Dongye's Muchen (舞天), Samhan's sodo (蘇塗), Goguryeo's Sunbae (先輩), and Silla's Hwarang (花郎) demonstrated the traditional character of Korean identity and its independence (Lee, 2015, pp. 141–184). Shin's thought was a national and modern ideology that clarified the origin, tradition, and function of his national ideology through specific historical methods and theories (Nangga Sasang (郎家思想), 2019). He, with Shin Kyushik and Park Eunsik, then taught Korean history at *Bakdal Hakwon* (博達學院, Bakdal Academy) in Shanghai and Dongchang School in Manchuria (Cho, 2014, pp. 143–150). The works of Shin are even more unique and creative if one notices that his argument that the origin of *Pungwoldo* (風月道, the code of Silla chivalry for nation) and *Seollang* (仙郎, the spirit of the Goryeo chivalry for nation) in the *Nangga Sasang* was transculturally a part of the Dangun philosophy of ancient Korean history and, hence, different from of the history of China.

Before Park Eunsik became a follower of Daejonggyo, he used to be a neo-Confucian thinker and never mentioned Dangun. His conversion in 1910 inspired him to recreate Korean history as a nationalistic historian. His writings, *Daedong Godaesaron* (大東古代史論) and *Mongbaegeumtaejo* (夢拜金太祖), started to depict a close relationship between Korea's ethnic and history and an ideology for Korea as an independent nation (Jeong, 2002, pp. 57–82). The colonial history of Korea recorded that many believers of the new religion were accused or massacred at the birth of the Empire of Manchuria (滿洲國) after 1934 (Ko, 2017, pp. 5–43). However, the *Daedong Godaesaron* emphasised the importance of history and religion, as Dangun was the ancestor of all Korean religions. *Mongbaegeumtaejo* contains a chapter of self-criticism reflecting on losing the nation, as well as independence and this is meant as a guide for Korean readers.

The educational sphere of Korean linguistics was highly regarded by the followers of Daejonggyo. For example, Ju Sigyeong, who used to be a Christian but converted to Daejonggyo, was the founding pioneer of the Korean linguistic society. His love for the Korean language was related to linguistic nationalism based on the spirit of Dangun (Kim, 2013, pp. 165–167). Kim Dubong, who studied Korean linguistics under the

supervision of Ju Sigyeong, was also the chief secretary of Na Cheol (Gim, 2011, pp. 131–165). He wrote *Gipdeo Joseon Malbon* (깁더 조선말본), which consists of phonetics, morphology, and syntax. The grammatical view of the book is the same as that of '*Joseon Malbon* (조선말본). Lee Geukro, who oversaw the Korean Language Society (朝鮮語學會), also promoted the Korean language campaign until gaining of independence (1945) (Gim, 2011, pp. 146–148). Jeong Yeolmo, Jeong Inbo and Ahn Hosang were part of the movement to promote the wider use of the Korean vernacular script under the colonial situation where Japanese was the official language (Gim, 2011, pp. 148–150).

The nationalistic efforts of Daejonggyo were publicly rewarded when the nation achieved independence in the 1945. The Dangun-centered religion was registered by the modern Korean government. There were seven devotees of the religion among the high-ranking officials of the new government: Lee Siyeong (Vice-President); Lee Beomseok (Prime Minister); Ahn Hosang (the first Minister for Education); Shin Seongmo (Minister for Defence); Ahn Jaehong (Minister for Civil Affairs); Myeong Jese (Director of the Department of Trade and Inspection); and Jeong Inbo (監察, National Director of Inspection) (Jeong, 2002, pp. 57–82). Their geopolitical influence was strong enough to insert some of the philosophy of Daejonggyo into the National Democratic Constitution. The concept of *Hongik Ingan* (弘益人間, to broadly benefit humanity) was adopted as the basic ideal of national education (Ko, 2017, pp. 5–43). The *Dangi* (檀紀) used by the religion was officially chosen as the national chronology (Lim, 2011, pp. 76–82). Korean language was applied as the standard in private and public schools. The most important policy victory was that the government acknowledged the Gaecheonjeol (開天節), one of the four Daejonggyo rituals, as a national holiday (celebrated on October 3). Institutes of higher education such as Hongik University, Dankook University, and Kyung Hee University were also established by followers of the religion. Lee Hung Soo (1896–1973), who was the 6th leader of Daejonggyo, became the chairman of the board for the foundation of Hongil University in 1947. Chang Hyong (1889–1964), the founder of Dankook University, was a member of the senior leadership council of Daejonggyo when he was

Manchuria, dedicating himself to the Korean independence movement. Yi Siyeong (1868–1953), the first vice-president of Korea (1948–1951) and the chairperson of the senior council of Daejonggyo (1946) established Sinheung Mugwanhakgyo (新興武官學校, the Military Academy School for Independence) which eventually became Kyung Hee University in the 1950s. The rapid growth of membership (1 000 000) also proved their social revival in 1945, even though the number gradually declined to 10 000 in contemporary Korea (1995) (Connor, 2009, p. 173).

Conclusion

Most of the new religious movements on the Korean Peninsula emerged at times when modern Korean society was confronting foreign powers. While the rest of the native groups originated from the traditional religions, Daejonggyo emerged from a mystical tradition of belief in a god-like founder of the Korean nation over 4 300 years ago. Na Cheol did not have a unique encounter with Dangun, but the adoption of ethnic history took place through the messages of three prophetic figures (*Baekbong*, *Baekjeon*, and *Duilbaek*) gained the sympathy of middle and upper-class people within Joseon society. Their nationalistic character was the key strategy through which they revived the Dangun movement in the 1910s–1950s. Donghak (or Cheondogyo), the Jeungsanist movement, and Wonbulgyo politically struggled to survive, but Haneul teaching of the three-one god was transnational, operating in Korea and Manchuria (North China). The sacred sites pertaining to it are vastly spread out in North and South Koreas: Mt. Baekdu, Mt. Mani, Mt. Guwol, *Samseong* temple (三聖祠), Mt. Myoyang, *Samrangseong* (三郎城), and *Sungnyongjeon* (崇靈殿). The diaspora communities and individual independence fighters were encouraged when Daejonggyo became involved in counter-colonial protests even before the establishment of the Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea (大韓民國臨時政府, PGRK, 1919).

Modernisation (i.e., national enlightenment) was another campaign, whereby the new religion received great appreciation from Korean people who had lost their nation. Education on Korean history and Korean

linguistics became two founding sources of social enlightenment in a colonial context. Thus, Daejonggyo was not only a religious organisation, but also actively played the role of a nationalistic identity characterized by striving for independence. The politico-military involvement of the group is comparable to the external character of the Vietnamese new religious movement, Caodaism (Oliver, 1976, pp. 98–102; Jammes, 2016, pp. 247–294). Ultimately, the modern Korean government acknowledged Daejonggyo's commitment to patriotism, extending the official recognition. However, the historical legacy and religiosity of Daejonggyo failed to find a widespread acceptance in contemporary society, as it was often criticised as an idealistic religion worshipping the abstract Korean progenitor, Dangun. The contemporary situation of the new religion in terms of adherents rapidly deteriorated due to inability to attract the digital generation which is not interested in the religious nationalism.

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DAESOON JINRIHOE IN LIGHT OF ANTHONY F. C. WALLACE'S REVITALIZATION THEORY

Officially registered in 1969 in South Korea, Daesoon Jinrihoe ("The Fellowship of Daesoon Truth", derived from Daesoon meaning "Great Itineration") has experienced such rapid expansion that it is now the largest new religious movement in the country with as many as half a million to one million members (estimate given by the group). It runs several large temple complexes, hospitals, schools, a university and research facilities. It is the heir of a spiritual genealogy that began with Kang Jeungsan (1871–1909) held as the human incarnation of the Supreme Being, Gucheon Sangje. His revelation was transmitted through Jo Jeongsan (1895–1958) who, in turn, before dying bestowed his authority upon Dojeon Park Wudang (1917–1996). The purpose of the article is to try to understand why, out of the approximately one hundred groups that sprang from the same spiritual lineage, Daesoon Jinrihoe has been the most successful. How can we account for its gaining such influence on one of the world's most diverse and dynamic religious scenes?

Keywords: *Korean religions, new religions, Daesoon Jinrihoe, revitalization movement, ritual, cultural transformation*

Introduction

Several theorists have explained why certain historical periods or some geographical areas have seemed more religiously active than others. Sociologists and economists such as Rodney Stark, Roger Finke and Laurence Iannaccone view religious success stories as the result of intense marketing crusades better organized then and there, for they consider that offer (in this case, religious offer) prevails over demand, and that the demand for religion/spirituality remains constant in history and geography.

Another explanation is given by Lee Chengpang, who has explained that the parallelisms and divergences between the religious evolution in Taiwan (another region of the world that ranks amongst the most religiously diverse and active) and South Korea were due to the impact of the state-building process since WW2 (Lee Chengpang, 2017, p. 473).

Having observed the South Korean religious stage for several years now, I have found that while those preceding theories were useful, the one that helped me most to understand the circumstances of the origins and development of its major actors and of Daesoon Jinrihoe in particular was that devised by anthropologist Anthony F. C. Wallace (1923–2015) in his landmark 1956 article "Revitalization Movements". His study tried to assess the birth and development of religious groups based on his 1952 exploration of the Long House movement that appeared among the Iroquois in the early 19th century with the message of the Seneca prophet Handsome Lake (1735–1815).

Wallace defines a revitalization movement as "a deliberate, organized, conscious effort by members of a society to construct a more satisfying culture." The need is felt to do so because the current system is unsatisfactory. People will innovate new features, new systems, and this leads to chain reaction effects. Revitalization implies seeing society as an organism. Under stress, society will "take emergency measure to preserve the constancy of" its "life-supporting matrix for its individual members" (Wallace, 1956, p. 265; all further references are to 1956) "It is [..] functionally necessary for every person in society to maintain a mental image of the society and its culture, as well as of his own body and its behavioural regularities, in order to act in ways which reduce stress at all levels of the system [..]. This image I have called the 'mazeway' [..]. [It] is nature, society, culture, personality, and body image, as seen by one person" (Wallace, p. 266).

When individuals are confronted with heavy stress and realize their mazeway does not provide relief, they are confronted with a choice: either to leave it as it is, or alter it. "It may also be necessary to make changes in the 'real' system in order to bring mazeway and 'reality' into congruence. The effort to work a change in mazeway and 'real' system together so as to permit more effective stress reduction is the effort at revitalization;

and the collaboration of a number of persons in such an effort is called a revitalization movement" (Wallace, pp. 266–67).

The process of revitalization follows "five somewhat overlapping stages: 1. Steady State; 2. Period of Individual Stress; 3. Period of Cultural Distortion; 4. Period of Revitalization (in which occur the functions of mazeway reformulation, communication, organization, adaptation, cultural transformation, and routinization), and finally, 5. New Steady State" (Wallace, p. 268).

I will follow the unfolding of his reasoning and apply his typology to Daesoon Jinrihoe's stages of development with a particular focus on its 19th century genesis; on the figure of the prophet; on the articulation in the theological make-up of the Three Harmonies with idiosyncratic imports and on its artistic policy promoting Korean ancestral culture.

To conduct my research, I have relied on my own observation and on the elaborate explanations offered by the authorities and scholars of the religion who invited me and several scholars to speak at their Daejin University, Pocheon, in October 2017 and October 2018. Some of them accompanied us during the guided visit to their headquarters temple in Yeoju and in Geumgangsan Toseong cultivation centre in the East. They explained in detail the theology and the rituals: Bae Kyuhan (Chairman of the Daesoon Academy of Sciences), Cha Ikje (Leader of International Affairs Team), Yoon Eun-Do and Kim Wook (Chairman and Managing Director of Yeoju Headquarters), Professor Lee Gyungwon. Daesoon scholar Kim Taesoo and Ha Jee Young have kindly enriched my understanding of their religion. Outside the movement, the writings of Massimo Introvigne have been most useful, as well as the advice of Stéphane Couralet who teaches Korean linguistics and culture at my university.

The Daesoon Fellowship has produced several general documents in English that give a good overview of the history and doctrines of the movement, but it was the English-language publication of *The Canonical Scripture* (654 pages) at the end of 2020 that has really allowed those of us who do not read Korean to penetrate into its complex spiritual system. It contains Acts, Reordering Works, Dharma, Authority and Knowledge, Saving Lives, Prophetic Elucidations (altogether 317 pages), followed by

a rich Literary Companion Dictionary (286 pages). It was accompanied by *The Guiding Compass of Daesoon* (152 pages) and *Essentials of Daesoon Jinrihoe* (58 pages).[1]

The first stages: cultural distortion leading to the genesis of Daesoon Jinrihoe

The steady state corresponds to a satisfying organization of society that minimizes stress, but such a state never remains steady for a long time. It may be disrupted by a "period of increased individual stress" when familiar techniques no longer function efficiently. This can occur in times of acculturation, of colonization. If the stress level increases unbearably, alternative ways must be considered. Then comes "the period of cultural distortion":

"The prolonged experience of stress, produced by failure of need satisfaction techniques and by anxiety over the prospect of changing behaviour patterns, is responded to differently by different people. [..] In this phase, the culture is internally distorted; the elements are not harmoniously related but are mutually inconsistent and interfering" (Wallace, p. 269).

All those who have written about the Korean religions born after the mid-19th century, have underlined the chaotic context of the time that led to dramatic social and political upheavals inspiring some individuals to search for solutions in the spiritual realm: the message and mission of Kang Jeungsan must be understood as part of the wide revitalization movements that rose at that point (Lee Gyungwon, 2016, pp. 35, 43–48, 87–90). The even more devastating crises Korea has undergone in the 20th century

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[1]   *The articles of Journal of the Academy of Daesoon Science, as well as those of the Journal of the Korean Academy of New Religions* (each volume of five or six articles carrying at least one paper on Daesoon) are very useful but I could only read their English abstracts, since my knowledge of Hangeul is minimal. The religion is launching a new journal entirely in English. The only book-length study is David Kim's *Daesoon Jinrihoe in Modern Korean Society* (2020).

can similarly explain the forces at work in the very beginning of Daesoon Jinrihoe itself in the 1960s.

In the 19th century, the inefficiency of the government combined with the reliance on strict Confucian social hierarchy prevented progress; climate disruptions such as floods and droughts worsened the living conditions of the people. In the country, peasants were impoverished and exploited by corrupt officials and landed gentry. These systemic shortcomings were viewed as possibly linked to the weakening of the country by foreigners, the Christian missionaries. Although Catholicism was not introduced in Korea from the outside but by Koreans themselves who, having heard of the Jesuits in China, went there to learn from them and be baptized (see Dalet, 1874), Catholic missionaries did arrive as well in that century, followed by Protestants. Most active in hospital work and schools, the Christians all vied with one another and against traditional spiritual leaders to impose "Western learning" or *Seohak*.

To counter such influence, several individuals felt the need to strengthen "Eastern Learning", or *Donghak*. A specific movement, Donghak Undong, religious in tone, was initiated in 1860 by Choe Jewu (Cho Je-u) (1824–1864) to preserve and promote Korean traditional culture. Paradoxically, whereas it aimed at countering Catholicism, it was accused by the government of being Catholic and Choe was beheaded like many missionaries. In reaction to this, the movement grew radicalized and nationalistic. Choe Si-hyeong (1827–1898) then led the movement that participated in the Donghak Peasant Uprising of 1894. The latter failed to reach its goals and ended in even more persecution and the execution by a firing squad of Choe Si-hyeong (Lee Gyungwon, 2016, pp. 35, 43–48, 87–90; Guex, 2016, pp. 218–222; Bell, 2008, p. 86).

The 20th century was an era of even more dramatic disruptions in the country, with the invasion by Japan and its official annexation in 1910 (until 1945). Koreans lost many rights and their religious freedom under Japanese rule and its Shintoization policy. Later, the Cold War struck with particular force in the country that, like South Vietnam later, was held as a rampart against communism and was ravaged by conflicts that went from internecine to international. The Korean war (1950–1953)

almost entirely obliterated the country. The South fell to its own form of dictatorship focused on rebuilding the country at all costs, forcing even more westernization and modernization than in the previous decades. Daesoon was organized in this context in 1969. It was only with the democratic election of Roh Tae-woo in 1987 and the end of martial law that the country reached "a steady state".

Wallace explains that after major social disruptions, "as the inadequacy of existing ways of acting to reduce stress becomes more and more evident [..] symptoms of anxiety over the loss of a meaningful way of life also become evident" (Wallace p. 270).

The situation observed by Kang Jeungsan unsurprisingly led him to envision the world as totally in chaos. It is believed that, as God Sangje, he observed it for some thirty years before planning his overall re-ordering. Though the disorder is supposed to have been going on for centuries in the three realms of Heaven, Earth and the People, we can imagine that his mission was conditioned by the historical circumstances of Korea. It was geared to relieve the intense individual and collective stress resulting from those successive "periods of cultural distortion" in terms formulated by Wallace. Along with Kang, some 400 new groups often indigenous, bloomed in spite of persecution during those trying times. (Lee Gyungwon, 2016, pp. 50–54; Kim Andrew Eungi, 2002).

The period of revitalization

Excessive level of deterioration can lead to disappearance of society, or, on the contrary, it can be saved by a revitalization movement that can be religious and which will need to perform the major tasks: Mazeway reformulation; Organization; Adaptation; Cultural Transformation; Routinization (Wallace, p. 270).

Mazeway reformulation: the rise of a prophet

"With a few exceptions, every religious revitalization movement [..] has been originally conceived in one or several hallucinatory visions by a single individual. A supernatural being appears to the prophet-to-be, explains his

own and his society's troubles as being entirely or partly a result of the violation of certain rules, and promises individual and social revitalization if the injunctions are followed and the rituals practiced [..]. The prophet feels a need to tell others of his experience, and may have definite feelings of missionary or messianic obligation" (Wallace, p. 270). Wallace follows what Max Weber theorized in chapters IV & V of *The Sociology of Religion* (1922).

Daesoon Jinrihoe is proud of its three figureheads considered as a trinity of prophets: the first one is believed to be God himself, the second is the executor of his revelation, but the third is the very organizer and founder of the group as a separate religious entity.

The terrestrial life of Kang Jeungsan is narrated as that of a prophet and messiah uttering words of wisdom and predictions on the situation of Korea and on specific human matters. He can be called in Weberian terms the mystagogical prophet that performs "magical actions that contain the boon of salvation" (Weber, 1964, p. 54).

To his followers, though, Kang ranks far above the prophet level, he is God himself, Gucheon Sangje in a human form. Like that of numerous founders of religions, notably that of Lord Lao,[2] his birth had been prophesied and was miraculous after a supernatural conception and an abnormally long pregnancy. He was born out of a woman of the Gwon family who had married into the Kang family of Jeolla Province, a noble genealogy being required to vouch for the legitimacy of the newborn. Act 1, verse 1 of the Canonical Scripture opens thus: "Of all the surnames, the most ancient is the surname Kang which originated from Shennong millenia ago." The details of the records are then given. A prophecy came to the mother: "One night when she visited her parents [..], she dreamed that the sky had been torn in half. From the fissure in the sky, north and south before her, a massive ball of flame emerged and covered her body. After that, she showed signs of pregnancy and after 13 months, Sangje was born" (Acts 1:9).

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[2] Daesoon Jinrihoe reactualizing many Daoist concepts, it is interesting to compare the mythical birth of Kang to that of Lord Lao. See chapter 10 "The Birth of the God" of God of the Dao: Lord Lao in History and Myth, where Livia Kohn narrates his incarnation (Kohn, 1999, p. 235).

The birth itself, on September 19, 1871, is just as supernatural: "On the day Sangje was born, the delivery room was filled with light; two celestial maidens descended to Earth from Heaven" to attend the newborn. "An auspicious vapor enveloped the entire house [..] and its light, extending up to the sky" (Acts 1: 10).

Kang revealed his prophetic mission to the world in 1902 when he declared that he was the "Lord of the Nine Heavens" who had descended to earth to reorganize the chaos the world had reverted to. He is believed to have opened the Great Daesoon Truth the previous year.

In fact, he had already assumed a divinely prophetic function earlier when, along with some other sensible individuals, he had not followed the Donghak movement. Though he felt that its goal was good, he sensed danger and advised his followers against joining it, for he knew it would soon be crushed. He narrated a poem to his people, metaphorically prophesying that: "the Eastern Learning troops would be completely routed at the time of falling snow", which was the case in the winter of that year (1894) (Acts 1:23). Yet, "disorder increased" even though in the spring of 1895 "the rebellion was temporarily suppressed, and the Confucian scholars advocated for peace to prevail throughout the land [..]. Thus, he decided to rectify the faults of the world and save it from itself" (Acts 1:25).

Several disciples followed him. Typically, he experienced the suspicion prophets have always provoked in their own countries: seen as a sorcerer he was arrested by the Japanese on December 25, 1907, and incarcerated for forty days.

Jo Jeongsan (1895–1958) is the second prophet, the Holy Founder, the one that maintained the charisma of Kang strongly enough to perpetuate it until today is. As organizing prophet, he streamlined the teaching and is held as the Root of Daesoon Truth: "Our fountainhead originates from the Holy Founder Jo Jeongsan who received the lineage of religious orthodoxy from the Supreme God Kang Jeungsan and succeeded Him in carrying out the mission of His Great Itineration (The Dao Constitution 3:13).

His life and achievements are presented in "Progress of the Order 2" (34 pages). His birth is again miraculous and his physical features

supernatural: "As the baby grew, he exhibited distinguished physiognomic traits: His voice was resonant, his eyes were as glittering as those of a tiger, his neck was like that of a crane, his back was like that of a turtle, and his forehead shone like the sun and the moon" (Progress of the Order 2:3).

In 1917, he received a revelation from "a man of divine power" who showed him a piece of paper with writing on it: "If you recite this incantation, you shall save the world from chaos and relieve people of their despair." Wallace explained: "The fundamental element of the vision [..] is the entrance of the visionary into an intense relationship with a supernatural being. This relationship, furthermore, is one in which the prophet accepts the leadership, succor, and dominance of the supernatural" (Wallace, p. 273).

When in 1958 Jo fell ill, he told Dojeon Pak Han-gyŏng's [Udang]), or Park Wudang "to come close and then ordered him to manage the comprehensive affairs of his religious order" (Progress of the Order 2:66).

Park Wudang (1917–1996), the Holy Leader, founded a different entity altogether, registering it as Daesoon Jinrihoe in 1969. The most pragmatic of the three figureheads, he is responsible for the doctrinal make up, for the definition of the rituals that perpetuate the original charisma in a fashion more palatable for our times, for the rigorous organization of the group and for the material implementation of all this through impressive real estate projects: in particular the huge temple complex of Yeoju completed in 1986, the Jeju Training Temple erected in 1989, the large cultivation centre in Geumgangsan Toseong, inaugurated in 1996 where he is buried.

With Wudang, Daesoon Jinrihoe fully entered into modernity: The Educational foundation launched in 1984 led to the construction of Daejin University, of several state-of-the art scientific research facilities and of several hospitals.

Thanks to Wudang's strategy, Daesoon has incorporated many elements of modernity, without fully becoming a 'vitalistic movement' strictly speaking for, according to Wallace, this is a category that emphasizes, above everything else, "the importation of alien elements into the mazeway [..]" (Wallace, p. 280).

Communication: the prophecy

Fulfilling the second requirement for revitalization, Kang's prophecy and accomplishment are 'communicated' in *The Canonical Scripture*. Those bearing on the relations with Japan need to be quoted here in order to show how his mission corresponds minutely to the stages identified by Wallace: the mazeway for the Koreans being no longer tenable under their own failed government that has signed the country off to the Japanese, Kang stands up as the saviour who smooths out disruption by literally 'reordering the world' and even history. Furthermore, he presents the problems as very ancient ("I will resolve the grievances that have accumulated since time immemorial" (Reordering Works 3:4), he lifts the weight of guilt from the present-day Koreans.

Although he did not live to see the annexation in 1910, he did witness the events leading to it after the signing of the Japan-Korea Treaties of 1876 and 1905, the latter turning Korea into a protectorate. Very interestingly, not in a merely prophetic mode but in a performative declaration (with a post-colonial turn in advance), Kang as Supreme God Sangje explains that Korea was not conquered at all but that it was he who had decided to lend it to its long-time enemy. Joseon (Korea) was in a pitiful state and needed help, but, says he, if he had chosen to give it to the West, "it could not survive, being abused due to racial discrimination"; nor to China, because its people are "dull and stupid". But since Korea had entertained grievances against the Japanese since their invasion in 1592–1598, he felt the two countries needed to make peace, "redress grievances", the expression that has become the ultimate goal of Daesoon. To this end: "I will hand Joseon to Japan in order to resolve the grievances there. I shall temporarily give them the power of unifying the world and let the greatly bright energy of the sun and moon do the work." Yet, Kang would not grant the Japanese what would become the major quality for a Daesoon disciple, benevolence: "If they were endowed with benevolence, the entire world would be under their control [..]. When they finish the work [the occupation of Korea], they will return to their country empty-handed without wages." (Reordering Works 2:4). History has proved him right.

Organization

"Converts are made by the prophet. [..] A small clique of special disciples [..] clusters about the prophet and an embryonic campaign organization develops with three orders of personnel: the prophet; the disciples; and the followers" (Wallace, p. 273).

Park Wudang organized Daesoon in a hierarchical manner, defined in the 126 articles of the "Dao Constitution". At the top, the Prophet, or Holy Leader, *Dojeon*. Wudang was the last (so far, as another one may yet rise). Now leadership is held by the Head of the Central Council which determines all administrative matters. His term is not limited (art. 25). The Council holds the authority to elect the directors of the Institute of Religious Services and the Institute of Auditing and Inspection (art. 38) and various executives (art. 44). Issues are decided by a majority vote (art. 49). Six divisions manage the whole institution: Educational Enterprises, Institute of Instruction in Daesoon Theology, Institute of Auditing and Inspection, Institute of Religious Services, Institute of Proper Guidance, Institute of Propagation and Edification, each of them subdivided in departments. Executives retain their position for one year. Dao cohorts and clergy members are appointed according to their achievements (art. 55, 66).

Group cohesion is strong and recommended by the Constitution: "Dao cohorts create relationships of a karmic affinity via mutual discipleship. (They should mutually transmit teachings to one another while acting as masters)" (art. 14). The Followers give a lot of their time to the maintenance of the facilities and must dedicate part of their time to humanitarian activities. They participate collectively in the major rituals.

Adaptation

"The movement is a revolutionary organization and almost inevitably will encounter some resistance. Resistance [..] is held either by a powerful faction within the society or by agents of a dominant foreign society. The movement may therefore have to use various strategies of adaptation: doctrinal modification; political and diplomatic manoeuvre; and force" (Wallace, pp. 274–5). Itself the schismatic offshoot of a long line, Daesoon

Jinrihoe has experienced internecine rivalries with members founding other groups. It also received negative press several years ago because of its proselytizing tactics that some found too aggressive. This was corrected. I am not aware of any change in the theology.

Cultural transformation

"As the whole or a controlling portion of the population comes to accept the new religion with its various injunctions, a noticeable social revitalization occurs, signalized by the reduction of the personal deterioration symptoms of individuals, by extensive cultural changes, and by an enthusiastic embarkation on some organized program of group action" (Wallace, p. 275).

This links up with the final considerations of Wallace on the choice of secular and religious means: "There are two variables involved here: the amount of secular action which takes place in a movement, and the amount of religious action. [..] No revitalization movement can, by definition, be truly non-secular, but some can be relatively less religious than others [..]." (Wallace, p. 277).

Daesoon is both secular and religious, as it has clearly opted for strong social engagement, viewed as inherent to the theology of benevolence, different from the more self-centred forms of cultivation exhibited by other movements, such as the self-ascetism of Daoism (Park Maria, 2011). It runs programs initiated by Wudang, as mentioned above, to help transform the surrounding culture: schools, Daejin University, several hospitals etc. Its scholars are involved in the scientific research of what is now called the Fourth Industrial Revolution (So-Myeong Jeong, 2018). Their activities are visible on the website of the institution.

Routinization

"If the group action program in nonritual spheres is effective in reducing stress-generating situations, it becomes established as normal in various economic, social, and political institutions and customs [..]." (Wallace, p. 275). In my observation, this seems to be the case.

The new steady state

"Once cultural transformation has been accomplished and the new cultural system has proved itself viable, and once the movement organization has solved its problems of routinization, a new steady state may be said to exist" (Wallace, p. 275).

The country itself has definitely reached a "steady state" politically and economically, as is well known, though we cannot attribute this success only to Daesoon, since it is but one of thousands of religions groups there. Yet, South Korea is constantly on the alert because of the tension with North Korea. In this respect, it is important to note that Daejin University in Pocheon offers a full program dedicated to Reunification Studies. If the topic is obviously spurred by the geo-strategic situation (Pocheon is close to the DMZ, the demilitarized zone at the border with North Korea), it is also fully congruent with the theology that revolves entirely on the "solving of grievances thanks to benevolence".

Reversely, it may be this permanent danger lurking over South Korea that feeds its religious ferment. Several of its messianic groups do rank in their list of prophesies the defeat of communism as we can observe in Moon's program, and as I have seen on Victory Altar.[3]

Varieties and dimensions of variation, nativism and revivalism

Wallace classifies the new religious movements according to their strategy *vis-à-vis* the traditional culture and the possibly imported ones: nativistic, millenarian, messianic, and revivalist, but the categories are not exclusive, many movements borrowing "from each formulation" (Wallace, p. 267). "[A]lmost every revitalization movement embodies in its proposed

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[3]   "The Five Covenants of a Prophet Like Moses: 1. The Victor said, 'I will destroy communism'. 2. 'I will stop typhoons coming to South Korea'. 3. 'I will stop rainy seasons'. 4. 'I will make Korean harvest abundant'. 5. 'I will keep Korea from Korean wars and I will unify Korea'." (On-site presentation. Oct. 20, 2017)

new cultural system large quantities of both traditional and imported cultural material" (Wallace, p. 276).

Spiritual manipulations, so to speak, were already at work in Donghak as alluded to earlier. In spite of its appearing at first as nativistic in its intention to "eliminate" Western influence ("Nativistic movements are characterized by strong emphasis on the elimination of alien persons, customs, values, and/or materiel from the mazeway" (Wallace, p. 267), Donghak evolved in a revivalist manner as well, for the type emphasizes "the institution of customs, values, and even aspects of nature which are thought to have been in the mazeway of previous generations but are not now present. They profess to revive a traditional culture now fallen into desuetude" (Wallace, p. 275).

Daesoon has ingeniously combined all these spiritual transactions to give rise to a novel message. I will present here how, in its nativistic identity, it has preserved indigenous spiritual and cultural traits, and how it has revitalized these traits, i.e., how it has given them an idiosyncratic turn.

Shamanism alive and well

As is well known, shamanism has remained very active in the country until today, either as a somehow autonomous world view and activity or as part and parcel of many spiritual movements or simply in the general culture under all sorts of expressions: cloud shape interpretation, geomancy (probably the most widespread creed and practices), votive slips of paper in sacred spots [..]. Predating the introduction of the Three Teachings from China, it got embedded in their Korean adaptations and even in today's new religions.

Daesoon, for one, proudly exhibits its reverence for it. Nothing is built without propre geomancy calculations.[4] Shamanism presides in the

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[4]   When I said to my friends that I felt perfectly at ease in Yeoju temple but did not feel comfortable in Geumgangsan Toseong, they explained to me that somehow the geomancy had not been so aptly calculated there and that it was normal if I could feel the discrepancy between the two grounds. This also implied that I was positively attuned to their conception of the universe.

births of Kang and of Joe Jeongsan that duplicate not only those of Daoist immortals, but also that of Tan'Gun, the national mythic founding hero brought back to light precisely in the wake of Donghak.[5] Many passages of Kang's revelation can only be understood by those familiar with Korean shamanistic esoterism, in particular his strange drawings in "Progress of the Order". Kang refers to sprites and goblins (*mangryangs*) who govern Heaven and Earth and advises to keep company with them (Progress of the Order 1: 7, 44…). Spirit possession seems to be performed. "Spell training" is definitely a major practice: "Spells are symbolical phrases summarizing the truth and aid of people." There are about 3 500 of them. "The core spell used [in Daesoon] was Taeeulju" (Lee Gyungwon, 2012).

For an outside observer, the iconic statues that guard Daesoon's holy spaces are the most explicit signature of shamanism. At the entrance of the Yeoju temple complex, as well as on the grounds of Geumgangsan Toseong cultivation centre sit two archaic and phallic looking stone statues (some 1.5–2 metres high), the *harubang* or *munyin-seok* (a stone for civil servants) or *muyin-seok* (a stone for a general). "They are considered to be gods offering both protection and fertility and were placed outside of gates for protection against demons travelling between realities." (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dol_hareubang). They can be guardians of temples or of tombs and also fertility symbols. Not coincidentally, two also stand in Geumsan temple complex where Sangje prepared his incarnation. Daesoon Jinrihoe authorities felt it logical to partake of their

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[5]　It seems that it was Hongam Na, a contemporary of Choe Jewu (the founder of Donghak) who in order to better implement their general project, decided to restore the Tan'gun myth. This was accomplished in 1909 by one of his successors who founded the nationalist religion Dangungyo (the teachings of Dangun/Tan'gun), whose name became Daejonggyo (Teaching of Great God) in 1910. The other major actors of the revival of Tan'gun were the historians Sin Ch'aeho (1880–1936) and Ch'oe Namson (1890–1957) who wrote *Tan'gunnon*, a historical treatise on Tan'gun, in 1926. Those historians wanted to prove the originality and superiority of Korean culture over that of its eternally aggressive neighbors. *Tan'gunnon* "succeeded in bringing attention to the shamanistic tradition hidden in ancient Korean mythology and consequently helped establish Tan'gun as a supreme symbol of Korea's cultural and historical heritage" (Allen, 1990, p. 788).

potency in their own temples in the North and East even if their more common traditional location is the southern parts of Korea, in particular Jeju island.

The Three Teachings revitalized

Just like in most Asian religions, the three are inextricably compounded, yet one may occasionally detect the particular origins in this or that tradition, as Daesoon does identify them. Kang is the human incarnation of God Sangje, whose name is that of God in Confucianism, and he is the "Lord and Supreme God of the Ninth Heaven, Celestial Worthy of Universal Creation through His Thunderbolt", whose acolytes are the Jade Emperor, the God of Thunder [..], more Daoist. Sangje came down in the Tower of Heavenly Revelation to answer the call of Buddhist entities: "in response to the earnest appeal and petition of all the divine sages, buddhas and bodhisattvas" (Essentials, p. 17).

Dao might be most present in the theology, the term itself recurring in all the literature. Jo Jeongsan is called Doju or "The Lord of the Dao", the disciples are termed Dao cohorts, the Regulations are named "The Dao Constitution". The teaching revolves around an understanding of the complementary functions of the yin and the yang that must be 'reordered' in Virtuous Concordance for the world to regain its steady state (as Wallace would say), and function in "Harmonious Union between Divine Beings and Human Beings", with the Dao as tenets. Followers must cultivate "the three focal dharmas of sincerity, respectfulness and faithfulness and practice" (Essentials, p. 25)

The ethical rules originate more particularly in Confucianism, for example n°1 dictates: "You should obey national laws and observe moral standards for the benefit of your country and happiness of the citizenry." The second, or "Three Bonds and Five Relationships", expressly explained as coming from Confucianism, are the "essential values to smooth human relationships through which a harmonious society and nation can be realized." They stipulate: "Maintain filial piety towards your parents, perform devoted service to your nation, create a peaceful family by achieving

harmony in your marriage, show respect to your superiors and show love and sympathy to your subordinates" (The Fellowship, p. 39).

Buddhism is present from the inception of the lineage, since it was in a golden statue of Maitreya in the Buddhist Geumsan Temple at Moak Mountain (Jeolla Province) that Sangje is believed to have observed the world for thirty years before proclaiming his revelation. He said "I am precisely Maitreya," or Mireuk in Korean. Daesoon interprets this as symbolically explaining that he is a Messiah who "will descend to this world in the future to deliver sentient beings from suffering" (Temple complexes, p. 40).

The most visible reverence for Mireuk is exhibited in the large statue (18 metres high) in white granite in the grounds of Geumgangsan Toseong training complex. If the statue is a perfect example of the local adaptation of Buddhism with the specific iconography of the headpiece "a heavenly crown upon his head" (Temple complexes, p. 40),[6] Daesoon has radically modified the representation altogether so that this statue is very different from that of the archetypal Buddha/Mireuk, best seen on the grounds of Bongeung-sa Buddhist temple in Seoul. The latter is only Koreanized by the stupa table on its head but all the other iconographic details are canonically Buddhist. The Mireuk statue of Daesoon does not hold his hands in the same position, the dress is different, and mostly the shape of the head differs, as it is more conical than the usual round and square Buddha head, and the curls only one small line around the forehead instead of the usual dense curls fully covering the head. This modification of an archetypal icon demonstrates that when Daesoon borrows elements from other traditions it immediately reappraises them to fit its own vision and define its specific identity. Its Mireuk has become its unmistakable signature.

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[6] While the origin of such representation may come from Tibetan texts, it is mainly in Korea that the statues are thus topped. The headpiece has been analyzed as a platform with objects on it "resembling stupas and pagodas" according to Griffis quoted in Lancaster (Lancaster, 1988, pp. 144–46).

In the spiritual domain, it is through its Pure Land concept that Buddhism offers the channel through which Daesoon expresses its messianic calling, yet, again, it is in an idiosyncratic manner, for Sangje explained that it only resembled the Buddhists waiting for the coming of Maitreya, or Christians – for the second advent of Christ. The Earthly paradise of Sangje will fully content humans: "In the Latter World, all people shall acquire eternal youth and immortality. When they open a chest, clothing and food shall be available. All countries shall enjoy peace, and jealousy and war shall disappear." (Prophetic Elucidations, pp. 79–80) It will be "a paradisial land of immortals" (Reordering Works 1:3 and many other chapters).

All the activities of the Dao cohorts are geared (thanks to their cultivation into benevolence) towards the implementation in the very near future of this perfect state of harmony between the different realms of Heaven, Earth and the People. The development of Daesoon here again corresponds to the stages identified by Wallace: the founder formed a vision expressing "longings for the establishment of an ideal state of stable and satisfying human and supernatural relations (the restitution fantasy or Utopian content)" (Wallace, p. 270). This is in keeping with his definitions: 'Messianic movements' emphasize the participation of a divine saviour in human flesh in the mazeway transformation" (Wallace, p. 267). If, according to him, "Millenarian movements" emphasize mazeway transformation in an apocalyptic world transformation engineered by the supernatural (Wallace, p. 267), then Daesoon is not millenarian *stricto sensu*, since no dramatic apocalypse is envisaged but rather a smooth and harmonious evolution to Pure Land soon to be reached, a progression that reminds of the Western New Age, but far more adamantly expected to be implemented in the coming years.

The possible impact of Christianity
on Kang's personal revitalization

Kang's reinterpretation of Korean spiritual traditions may have been spurred to some extent by the contact with Christianity that he also read in an original manner. Like several individuals within the Donghak movement, he saw positive imports from the West that should be integrated into the new worldview. In the context of revitalization, the imports introduced by the invaders could prove useful to better cope with the new situation these aliens have caused, and appease the tensions due to inadaptation to the novel environment. This is definitely the meaning of the considerations Kang shared with his followers: how are we to handle those alien novelties? He told his disciples:

"Do you think it is better to leave modern conveniences invented by Westerners as they are or [reject them]?" The disciples answered that they should be kept to benefit humanity. Sangje answered: "You are right, their devices have been modeled after those in Heaven [..]. Daoism, Buddhism, Confucianism, Christianity have become foundations within their ethnic cultures", but since they all fought among themselves, Sangje summoned "the deities of enlightenment and civilization to set a foundation for a future civilization by extracting the essences of each different culture and unifying them. Then, He appointed heavenly leaders for each religion [..] and Matteo Ricci as the leader of Christianity" (The Fellowship, pp. 17–18; Progress of the Order 1:65).

In typical revitalizing mode, Kang interpreted the mission of Ricci (1552–1610) in a very positive light, far from the true goal of Ricci, which was the conversion of the elites to Catholicism that he imagined would succeed better if he sinicized himself and his teachings. Kang admired him, because he "came to the East to build an earthly paradise, but he failed to achieve his goal because he could not reform the East due to the deplorable practices that Confucianism had amassed over a long time. However, he opened all the borders in and between Heaven and Earth so that the divine beings who previously maintained their own territories and were unable to cross into the territories of others could now come and go freely. After his

death, [Ricci] opened a new age of cultural enlightenment by leading the gods of civilization from the East to the West." But Western "civilization was weighted towards materialism" and this led to transgressions [..] (Progress of the Order 1:9). Kang later even called upon the spirit of Ricci to hold a burial for him in Mount Equality at a luminous court (Prophetic Elucidations, p. 66).

The influence of Christianity might be observed in different traits: one simple simile might be the fact that like Jesus, Kang waited thirty years (as Sangje in the Buddha statue) before beginning to teach. More profoundly, it would seem that the type of salvation preached by Kang moves away from the traditional Asian concept and closer to Christianity. As Daesoon scholar Park In-gyu wrote: "Kang's soteriology was very different from Oriental tradition, although it maintained the Oriental emphasis on human work and performance, [it was] somewhat similar to Christianity, as it emphasized the power and grace of an absolute personal god" (Park In-gyu, 2018, abstract of oral presentation).

Also, Park Jae-Hyun has explained that Donghak did integrate some Christian elements, such as the terms 'the Lord' with the same meaning as 'Hanulnim' (Hanul = heaven, nim = godhead which led to Hananim = the supreme God) 'Sangjaenim', for the Choseon people (Park Jae-Hyun, 2012).

The concepts of 'redressing grievances' and of 'benevolence' might be closer to the Christian concept of penance and of total love for one's neighbors and one's enemy than to Buddhist compassion. Another major novelty of Daesoon is its self-definition as both monotheistic and polytheistic. Yet, as I have explored in my paper on incarnation and divine essence (Rigal-Cellard 2021?), its monotheism is not to be equated with that of Christianity strictly speaking, but the concept itself was probably introduced in the continent by the missionaries, whom local spiritual leaders tried to emulate in order to rank themselves as being as 'advanced' as the Westerners (this is analyzed at length by Baker 2002, 2007…).

What may also exhibit another strong influence of Christianity is the complex organization of Daesoon Jinrihoe presented above. Vincent Goossaert and David Palmer (2011) have shown how the perception of

religion evolved in early 20th century China (with repercussions in Korea) since people tried to measure up to what was presented as the superior ways of the Westerners and one major evolution was towards strict organization. It seems fairly clear that Wudang modelled the pyramidal structure of Daesoon after that of the Roman Catholic Church, with the top tier elected and the lower ones appointed, a structure that has guaranteed twenty centuries of perpetuation.

The great novelties of Daesoon Jinrihoe

They result from of all the influences sketched above as reviewed through Kang's own visions and the reorientations operated by Wudang and the subsequent leaders of Daesoon. Kang's paramount unique heritage lies in the Great Itineration or procession within the Three Realms of Heaven, Earth and the People, leading to the Proclamation of Reordering the World to build a paradisial land, an announcement also called the Great Opening of the world, the emergence of Heaven and Earth (explained in many texts and defined in Literary Companion, pp. 412–413).

The conception of the temples derives from the theology proclaimed by the prophet. The observer might be particularly interested to see how they too combine nativism, revivalism and modernity in a fascinating manner.

Daesoon Jinrihoe shrines conducive to enlightenment through beauty

The visitor to South Korea is struck by the overpowering Christianized cityscape not just of the Seoul megalopolis but also of the provinces: the churches are either signalled by countless ugly cones topped with a plain cross that pop out of thousands of buildings of all heights or by Western looking church buildings, mostly Protestant, without much architectural value. One easily sympathizes with the heirs of Donghak who have sought to perpetuate their traditional architecture imperilled by such invasive and fairly ugly Christian markers.

The temples built by Daesoon Jinrihoe strictly follow ancient Korean building fashion, both in the shape and size of the buildings and in the technique of carpentry and decoration, the traditional Korean wood work called *dancheong* (a term meaning 'cinnabar and blue-green'). The roofing and awnings are characteristically made up of intricately overlaid beams, all artistically painted in several colours. Paint has, of course, always been used to protect wood against the rain and the snow, but rarely with such harmonious combination. The *dancheong* of Daesoon Jinrihoe temples perpetuates the grandeur of Korean culture, to my knowledge, today present only in few buildings: mostly the old imperial palaces, some old residences, the ancient Buddhist temples that could indigenize their own spiritual invasion.

Dancheong has a major spiritual function, because its colour symbolism points to heavenly mysteries. The temples of the religion are meant to embody here, *hic et nunc*, the future earthly paradise, somewhat like Catholic cathedrals and churches that represent and prefigure in stonework the Celestial Jerusalem. In both cases, devotees believe that the beauty they can summon in this world realizes heavenly divine beauty on earth (Introvigne, 2017b). In between the *dancheong* patterns, murals depict key religious themes, in particular, the initiation stages with the Ox paintings, or various symbolic animals or images of wise men and deities, etc.

The vividness and perfection of the colour schemes lead the visitors to see them as more beautiful than in the genuinely ancient buildings: the obvious reason is that the temples are just a few decades old, but above all, because of the spiritual intent, the disciples dedicate a lot of their free time to their constant upkeep, whereas it is harder for public buildings to finance constant maintenance. The colours are never faded and the hundreds of small paintings on beam ends or portions of wall always appear as if freshly painted. I have personally visited hundreds of religious buildings in many countries, from the plainest to the extremely intricate ones, and I definitely rank those of Daesoon Jinrihoe among the most aesthetically satisfying buildings I have ever seen.

They present several unique features. Firstly, Daesoon followers have wished to inscribe their openness to the whole world in the edifice itself:

if the major part is made of wood, the ground floor level of some of the buildings is constructed of stone in a complete break with tradition. It was explained to me that this was to prove the integration of Western mores into Korean traditions, as a gesture of openness.

Secondly, if the exterior architecture is traditional and can be recognised, as already noted, in Buddhist complexes, the inside is radically different. In no way does it resemble Daoist or Buddhist temples. Silence must reign. The atmosphere is more evocative of a Christian church than that of a Daoist temple or a Buddhist temple, where numerous gilded and coloured statues of all sizes, huge basins for incense burning and tables for offerings would stand with a constant movement of worshippers that are not always silent.

To visit or perform rituals in Yeoju temple (but not in the others), followers must wear the traditional ceremonial *hanbok*, with the style defined during the Joseon/Choson period (1392–1897). The first ritual, so to speak, is to put it on. It consists of a *jeogori*, or blouse shirt or jacket, and *chima,* the long skirt. Men's hanbok includes the *jeogori* and loose-fitting pants or baji.

The inner most sanctuary, Yeongdae, the holy of holies in the Headquarters temple of Yeoju that harbours the divine presence of Sangje and of his accompanying deities, is a large stark rectangular hall with a *dancheong* ceiling for sole decoration. In the middle of the altar, exhibited on the left wall stands a portrait of Kang/ Ginseng Sangje with the traditional *kat* (high-top hat). Other deities are displayed along the sides but it is to Kang that worshippers display the greatest reverence and towards whom they perform their rituals.

The rituals are original, meant to help practice cultivation (it is to "recite predesignated incantations" with sincerity, to focus the mind for "the purpose of attaining spiritual mastery" [Essentials, p. 35]). The followers visit the temples any time they can (I have witnessed constant streams of practitioners on temple grounds) but they try their utmost to participate in the collective ceremonies.

The Memorial Devotional Offerings, *Chiseong*, are celebrated on the dates of birth and passing of Kang Jeungsan and Jo Jeongsan and of

other memorable events. *Gongbu* is a ritual performed by 36 disciples who recite incantations in turn for 24 hours non-stop. They pray and recite incantation (*Gido*) several times a day in their homes or the temples, on alternate days according to what they call *gab and gi* days that alternate every five days. These "5-day periods cover the time of the ebb and flow of yin and yang energy throughout the cosmos, and thereby these are special days for worshi." (Details are given Essentials, pp. 35, 43).

All of them open with disciples lining up in a very orderly fashion, lines for men, lines for women. In Yeoju Yeongdae, one must bow at an acute angle, since one is in the presence of God. Then the bowing becomes very intricate and physically demanding (and is more complex for women) in order to express reverence but also sacrifice. The consecutive performance of the specific type of dropping from the standing position to the ground in the lotus position, then touching the ground with the forehead, kneeling etc. can be painful, indeed. Prayers, chanting and other rituals follow.

Conclusion: reclaiming the past to improve the future

Clearly, Daesson Jinrihoe has followed the whole gamut of the stages identified by Wallace. Now we need to address the issue of its unique appeal, since amongst all the groups spawned by Kang's vision and all those new religions born from the same national circumstances, it is by far the most successful (in Korea, Moon's Unification Church does not count as many members as Daesoon).

The last point Wallace addresses is the issue of "Success and Failure". "[M]any movements are abortive", but Daesoon successfully passed the "first three stages (conception, communication, and organization) and entered the fourth (adaptation)". He adds that "Two major but not unrelated variables seem to be very important in determining the fate of any given movement: the relative 'realism' of the doctrine; and the amount of force exerted against the organization by its opponents" (Wallace, p. 278).

It seems that Daesoon has developed doctrines and rituals that appear as realistic to their Korean following and as suited to their expectations, thus lowering their own stress level and that of their society at large. Born

in a country where pluralism reigns supreme and state regulations have largely disappeared, it has met with relatively low opposition.

What it does face, however, is maximum competition from a myriad of other religious groups, all highly competitive among themselves: either the now well-established Christian churches, or the temples of the Three Harmonies that are quite revivified as well, and notably, the huge Buddhist religious movements. Here, the theory of Finke, Stark, Iannaccone enters into the equation:

"Religious economies are like commercial economies in that they consist of a market made up of a set of current and potential customers and a set of firms seeking to serve that market [..]. The fate of these firms will depend upon (1) aspects of their organizational structures, (2) their sales representatives, (3) their product, and (4) their marketing techniques. Translated into more churchly language, the relative success of religious bodies (especially when confronted with an unregulated economy) will depend upon their polity (political system), their clergy, their religious doctrines, and their evangelization techniques" (Finke & Stark, 1994, p. 17).

In the case of Daesoon, the quality of the product, Kang's revelation, is particular appreciated by followers who hold him to be God. One major key to Daesoon's achievements is the work carried out by Wudang: he was the successful religious entrepreneur whose strategic choices to give the group its specific identity worked miracles. The current leaders have inherited from him the capacity to adapt to the modern world and they have pursued a very dynamic policy of engaging in social activities (at schools, university, hospitals, care centres etc.) for they have understood that, like any company, they need communication and missionizing. The other key is the tight and coherent organization of the whole institution. One of the major subdivisions is the Institute of Propagation and Edification with an International Affairs Team dedicated to the opening of branches abroad and to media coverage. The organization of international conferences at Daejin university by DAOS, Daesoon Academy of Science, implement the dissemination of the theology and the practices in order to gain the name a recognition and further success (with the present author fully conscious of her function in this respect).

The followers are fully dedicated to Daesoon Jinrihoe, and some have told me they received more than spiritual well-being. being healed of physical ailments medicine could not cure. It is a religion that demands a lot from its members, but as Stark (1993) explained, the more demanding a religion is, the more its members feel attached to it and the greater their confidence that their investment in terms of time, money, energy, is well secured. Daesoon is one of the winners in the national religious marketplace, because it maximizes attractivity for South Koreans by catering to their nostalgia for the culture of the past as well as to the desire to surpass the rest of the world in high technological progress.

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SUCCESS OF CHRISTIANITY IN KOREA AND GOVERNORATE OF LIVONIA: TWO CASES OF SPIRITUAL REORIENTATION IN THE 18TH–20TH CENTURIES[1]

The rapid spread of Christianity over the entire world in the 18th through the early 20th century was closely related to the Protestant movements of religious awakening (Great Awakening) in Europe and America, as a result of which Protestant missionaries extremely intensified their work by establishing communities and promoting their revivalist religious fervour. This time coincides with the spiritual-social transformation of society and modernisation trends both in Europe and Asia. Christianity was present in these processes alongside other spiritual and social teachings, and in certain cases played a very significant role, such as in Korea and the Governorate of Livonia of the Russian Empire. Although Christianity in Korea has been the subject of an extensive range of studies, comparative material is needed for its analysis in order to better understand common and differing phenomena in the intercultural context. In this regard the Governorate of Livonia is a good comparative example, clearly showing how in the context of particular geopolitical circumstances identical spiritual teachings may be, with great success, transplanted from outside into the suppressed layers of European and Asian societies due to their similar social situation.

Keywords: *Korea, East Asia, Governorate of Livonia, Christianity, Protestantism, Pietism, Great Awakening, missionaries, shamanism, syncretism, social emancipation*

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[1] Due to the source materials available to the authors, this article mainly concentrates on the part of Livonia populated by Latvians and does not include the Estonian material in the detailed analysis.

Historical background

The Reformation era of the 16th century, which – depending on the circumstances of each particular region or country – continued in Europe until the middle of the 17th century, reoriented devotional life towards the person and the individual quest for God (Fernández-Armesto and Wilson, 1996, p. 9), as well as provided Christianity with extraordinary energy that developed into a framework of global missionary movements by various Christian denominations. One may fully agree with John Renard (2011, p. 8) that, specifically:

> Protestantism continued to spread in new forms, such as German Pietism, exemplified by Count Zinzendorf (1700–60) and his initiation of the Moravians, and Methodism under the leadership of John Wesley (1703–91), bringing to North American Christianity the Great Awakening.

Regarding East Asia, Christianity played an important role in the national-patriotic movements of both China and Japan. Let us remember, among others, the Taiping Rebellion from 1850 to 1864 in China against the Manchu-led Qing dynasty, or the activities of the Japanese patriot and Christian Nitobe Inazō (1862–1933), who is known as the author of the famous work *Bushido: The Soul of Japan* (1900). In Korea, however – a country that opened to foreign influences later than Japan and China – the influence of Christianity was much greater relative to the size, activities and political importance of the local Christian community. In this respect, the Korean example is unusual in the Asian context, given that in China and India, where Christianity continuously persisted in the 20th century, it was accepted only by a very small proportion of the population. In rural, pastoral-agricultural societies with a high level of group solidarity the eschatological and world-rejecting message of Christianity cannot fulfil the needs of the wider population, just as in societies with a strong sense of social unity and collective security (Russell, 1994, pp. 4–20). In view of the abovementioned, it seems at first glance that all of the preconditions were in place for Christianity to not take root in Korea, because, as James C. Russell (1994, p. 20) rightly emphasised:

> Christianity tends to flourish in heterogeneous societies in which there exist high levels of anomie, or social destabilization.

This is even the more surprising if we consider that precisely in the case of Japan group loyalty over individual accomplishment – which in Korea is completely analogous – is often expressed as an obstacle to the success of Christianity (Wysocki, 1986, pp. 1, 20). However, despite its official ideology of harmony, stability and human enlightenment, the Kingdom of Great Joseon was at the brink of a social explosion in the 19th century. As a hierarchical society based on birth and bloodlines, the Joseon dynasty, due to external and internal disturbances, developed into a cruelly oppressive social system in which people of lower status endured lifelong oppression (Choi, 2006, p. 140). Discrimination of women, widespread slavery, bound servitude (Hwang, 2010, p. 78) and strict segregation of society (Choi, 2005, p. 19) were maintained with ruthless corporal punishment and absolute control. If we rely on the method of analogy in the assessment of historical events, the situation in Korea at the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century could be to a certain extent compared to the Roman Empire during its collapse, when Christianity as the ideology of the oppressed gained increasing acceptance (Hwang, 2010, pp. 123–127). The situation in Korea at that time may also be compared with very similar, and in some cases even identical, processes in Eastern Europe. Certainly, it is known that between the early 17th and the late 18th centuries about 30% of the Korean population were slaves (Lee, 2000, p. 157). This situation was completely analogous to the 18th century in Poland, Brandenburg, Prussia, part of Bohemia, Hungary, the Baltics and Russia, where limits on the rights and personal freedom of peasants "forced them practically into the status of slaves" (Chirot, 1989, p. 69). Many similarities can also be found when comparing peasant uprisings in the 19th century in Korea and Eastern Europe, and social reforms (such as the abolition of serfdom in Eastern Europe and slavery in Korea). Although the mass victory march of Christianity in South Korea started in the middle of the 20th century, especially after the gruesome Korean War (1950–1953), the early Christian missions in Korea were extremely important from the vantage point of establishing medical centres, providing new social

ideas, formal education (reading and writing skills) and establishing schools, which was of huge importance in the later transformation of the entire society (even the Ewha Womans University, so famous today, was established already in 1886). To a certain degree, this education promoted patriotism and a desire for national independence among the Koreans during the Japanese colonisation. Therefore, after the catastrophe of the Korean War, the spiritually more active part of the population was already prepared for the "second wave of Christianisation" as a result of positive past associations. Also, in these circumstances, according to Russell (1994, pp. 21–22), the success of Christianisation in South Korea may be related to the Korean sense of anomie derived from the protracted military and political conflict, which had geographically split the nation in half. This was further facilitated by the ruthless dictatorship supported by the United States (1948–1960) and the forced industrialisation that followed it (1961–1980), as a result of which the Christian feeling of fairness and egalitarianism made the population oppose the dominance of big business, wild capitalism and the authoritarian government, to the point of being unafraid of kidnapping, torture and imprisonment (Vassiliev, 2005, p. 93). From this point of view, Christianity had an important role in achieving democracy in Korea, being almost the single (apart from students) force of opposition against the dictatorship during the 1970s and 1980s.

The Governorate of Livonia of the Russian Empire (1721–1918), which occupied a part of present-day Latvia and Estonia, serves as a good comparative example to Korea, because the Baltics were affected by Christianity relatively late compared to Western and Central Europe and the Latvian and Estonian peasants held on to their syncretic folk religion (Klavins, 2011) until the 18th century, when, due to the activities of Protestant (Moravian) missionaries, Christianity was transformed into an acceptable form for them. Like in Korea, Livonian peasants used Christianity in their efforts to achieve self-assurance and social emancipation. Similar to Korea, the largest audience for Christian ideas in Livonia originally consisted of farmers (of Latvian and Estonian ethnicity). The aristocracy in the Governorate of Livonia, in turn, was German-speaking nobility who had monopolised political and economic power

in the Baltic provinces of the Russian Empire. In Korea, the aristocrats (*yangban*), despite belonging to the same ethnicity as the peasants, were literate in Chinese, which was the classical language of education for officials during the Joseon dynasty, and behaved according to the stylised etiquette of Confucianism. A Korean farmer who lived in an atmosphere of marginalised Buddhism and shamanism, being illiterate and an agricultural worker, seemed to belong to another world. As a result, the spiritual gap between the social layers there was not less deep than the gap in Eastern Europe between the nobles and the peasants under serfdom. Unlike in Livonia, the Korean aristocracy was included in the ruling class not on a hereditary basis, as was the case in Europe, but by passing state-organised exams, according to the Chinese example (although on a provincial level their status was de facto hereditary). Also, unlike Livonia, where the Russian Empire represented a foreign power, the Korean Kingdom of Great Joseon (from 1897 onward, the Korean Empire) existed until 1910, when it was occupied by the Empire of Japan.

Whereas in Korea Confucianism held the absolute spiritual monopoly, in Livonia such a monopoly from the 17th century belonged to orthodox Lutheranism, which, although it represented Christianity, like Confucianism during the last period of the Joseon Kingdom, was unable to address the hearts of the majority of the population, namely, the peasants. In Livonia, orthodox Lutheranism symbolised the church of aristocratic power, which sought to control the daily lives of peasants by means of instructions, penalties and threats, failing to provide them with emotional satisfaction and social protection. Yet, as in Korea, it was precisely Protestant revivalism (Revivalism, 2000) with its affective type of mysticism on the one hand, and its extraordinarily active work in facilitating evangelical and general education on the other hand, that enabled Christianity to become an element of spiritual identity for many Latvians and Estonians. By *a priori* focusing on the esoteric unification of the church community, instead of only formal preaching "from the pulpit", it won peasant hearts both in Livonia and Korea. In both countries, the religious awakening movements of Protestantism became the cornerstone for the spread of Christianity in the lower, discriminated classes of society.

Social and psychological causes
behind the spread of Christianity in Korea

In the 18th century, when the early Catholic mission began operations in Korea, it was surrounded entirely by the Neo-Confucianism supported by the ruling Joseon dynasty, and the ruling *yangban* class stressed to the ruled class the importance of faithful service to society and Confucian moral ethics. (Choi, 2005, p. 19). This sparked a number of disagreements between missionaries and the Joseon government and scholars already in the late 18th century, which led to the persecution of Catholics and mass executions over several subsequent decades, of which the massacre of 1866 was particularly extensive (Hwang, 2010, p. 122). From the perspective of the agnostic, rationalist and Confucianism-oriented society, Christianity was at best a curious superstition, akin to a marginal form of Buddhism, or even less worthy. The theory of heaven and hell was perceived as psychologically understandable desire and rooted in the selfish nature of human beings (Choi, 2005, p. 213). Furthermore, Christianity was considered to destroy the social order, because it placed God above one's parents and the king, in contrast to Confucianism, which stressed the paternal relationship between the king and his people, as well as filial piety as the most essential virtues (Choi, 2005, p. 219). Nevertheless, despite its initial failures, Christianity did continue to succeed. A special feature of the Christian missionaries was their ability to charm the population with their knowledge of technology, which had been gaining recognition already since the Jesuits' successful activities in China. At the same time, Confucianism gradually lost its freshness as a teaching based on empirical principles, which dictated increasing openness among the ruling social strata with regard to "practical learning" (Choi, 2005, p. 19). The official persecution of Christianity in Korea ended in 1884, and the decisively influential Protestant missionaries – the Americans Horace Newton Allen (1858–1932), Horace G. Underwood (1859–1916) and Henry G. Appenzeller (1858–1902) – then began their work in the country. From then on, Protestant missionaries began to enter Korea in large numbers; as a result, Korea became known as a "wonder of the modern mission" (Oh,

2006, p. 373). Returning to the social factors that determined the positive perception of Christianity, it must be remembered that Catholicism, which had entered Korea earlier, had already gained a certain positive response among the population because, in contrast to the Neo-Confucian class hierarchy, it stressed the equality of all before God. Yet, due to the hierarchic church structure and regulated ceremonies, the Catholic priests reminded Korean farmers too much of *yangban* scholars (Baker, 2006, p. 293). One can fully agree with Fernández-Armesto and Wilson (1996, p. 150), who rightly indicate that:

> only when and where the Church breaks out of its cosy complacency and motivates its lay members to discover and exercise their ministry does Christianity make significant forward strides.

This aspect was taken into account and developed in Korea by Protestantism, which took over the baton from Catholicism and continued the commenced mission of Christianisation, gaining especially great support among peasants and the lowest caste of commoners in dynastical Korea (Cheonmin) as well as occupations whose technical labour was considered "low" in Korea's status-minded society: carpenters, merchants, policemen, interpreters (Matsutani, 2012, p. 103). Of course:

> The Korean ruling elites who suppressed the Catholics for so many years in order to protect the Confucian orthodoxy could not favour Protestantism. Not only were the major teachings the same in both religions but the Korean Protestant converts were no different from the Catholics in terms of their class background and their relation to the foreign missionary. In their eyes, Christians were all an impoverished, ignorant mass who blindly followed foreign authority for money and protection (Matsutani, 2012, p. 102).

Taking into account that the *yangban* maintained an antagonistic attitude toward the missionaries and Christians, Korea's ruling elite was completely alienated from the Church, and as a result Protestant Christianity, which in general did not break traditional social status distinctions, underscored these differences by infiltrating mostly into the lower classes, while alienating the upper class (Matsutani, 2012, p. 103).

This probably explains the sympathy for Christianity among the broad population normally practising Buddhism (and shamanism in certain situations). It should be taken into account that Buddhism, which Buddhist monks from Korea had in the past also introduced to Japan, had deep roots in Korea. However, the Joseon dynasty oppressed Buddhism in favour of the leading Confucian ideology to the point that Buddhism became almost exclusively the religion of women and people in the countryside (Oh, 2006, p. 372); Buddhism also gained more and more influence in the folk religion of the rural population (Choi, 2005). This part of the population was psychologically ready for the message of Christianity, which, like Buddhism, is more based on a practical, persistent improvement of one's own qualities rather than formal performance of rituals accepted by a ruling elite of civil servants. A very important yet less-studied factor of Christianity's success is the practice of Christian meditation and its likely transplantation in Korea. Meditation, or "mental development" (*bhāvanā*), is a very important part of Buddhist practice as a path toward purity of mind and favourable rebirth, and therefore a new religion could have proven attractive to the followers of this spiritual tradition provided it offered a similar methodology of spiritual evolution (Ven. Nyanatiloka, 2011, p. 36). It should be noted that 18th- and 19th-century Protestant revivalism, the missionary endeavour and the Great Awakening relied heavily on Pietism (a movement within Lutheranism), which had begun with the teachings of Philipp Jakob Spener (1635–1705) in 17th-century Germany. Specifically, Pietism was a crucial introducer of meditation in Protestantism by urging the believer to "look into one's inner EGO" (Sträter, 1995, pp. 36–41) in order to achieve complete peace of mind in union with God, achieve ultimate happiness in this life through the Light of Knowledge, etc. (Sträter, 1995, p. 163). One may agree with the opinion of Sträter (1995, p. 83) that this in fact meant extreme approximation of the Christian church to the people by focusing not only on the "teaching as such" but also on the "listener". With regard to discrimination against women in Korean Neo-Confucian society, the activities of women, to whom the egalitarianism proposed by the Christian teaching was particularly attractive, were, without doubt, of great importance in the dissemination of Christianity. According to Lee Younghee (2002, p. 107):

> Christianity provided women with opportunities that otherwise would never have been available to them. Church attendance resulted in women leaving the house, learning how to read and write, experiencing the external world, and interacting in society.

Especially the Korean Bible Women (*chŏndo puin*) – although considered "lower-status people" – did pioneering work in mission, church foundation and church organisation in Korea (Chang, 2006, p. 304). In Korea, women had particularly close ties to traditional shamanism, and shamanism was another, even more important, phenomenon with enormous importance in promoting Christianity in Korea as a religion of revelation. Certainly, the image of female shamans had an impact on the leadership of the Bible Women as well (Chang, 2006, p. 67). Along with slaves, shamans under Joseon rule belonged to the lowest social class (*ch'ŏnmin*) (Choi, 2005, p. 19), which in certain cases might have facilitated their attraction to Christian egalitarianism. At the same time, shamans identified themselves with the majority of the rural population, from which the ruling yangban elite had gradually distanced themselves. One can fully agree with Donald Baker (2006, p. 293) that: "Many Koreans preferred the individual variations and the personal emotional release allowed in revival meetings because that was the sort of religiosity they had grown accustomed to in shaman rituals." As in shamanism, spiritual ecstasy occupies a significant role also in Christian mysticism, especially in the religious awakening movements of Protestantism (Great Awakening) in Europe and the United States in the 18th–19th centuries, and Protestant missionaries introduced the methods they practised also in Korea. It must be taken into account that Protestantism was very rich in especially the affective kind of mysticism. For example, the Methodist Church so influential in Korea, which grew out of foreign mission work that began in the late 19th century (History of the KMC, 2020), had already in the 18th century as a revival movement in Britain focused on "… mystical experiences [..] in which all rational and sensory faculties were numbed" (Fernández-Armesto and Wilson, p. 53).

The crucial question remains: what factors could have facilitated the harmonisation of certain aspects of Christian teachings – such as

the concentration on the afterlife and the concept of original sin, which were so crucially different from the Korean world outlook – with Korean religiosity? To understand this, one has to imagine the situation of the majority of the Korean people – the peasants – from the 19th century to the beginning of the 20th century. They associated the absence of rights in the face of the ruling class and the many physical hardships they faced, including illness and various dangers, with either the benevolence or disfavour of the many spirits and deities that made up the synthetic and specific Korean "folk religion" (Choi, 2006, pp. 89–101). Moreover, the proportions of "evil" and "good" spirits are very difficult to define in this regard, which could undoubtedly lead to increasing fears of the ill will of spirits (Choi, 2013, p. 26). Also, taking into account the political collapse and social disintegration from the second half of the 19th century onward, people were driven by the "desire for protection and power due to the uncertainty of the time" (Pak, 2005, p. 88). Apparently, the folk religion did not fill the emotional vacuum that the absolute majority of the people (the peasants) felt during this absence of social and economic rights, in which shamans were able to offer technical assistance to satisfy daily necessities, such as healing illnesses and handling secret areas of mutual human relations, but were unable to provide greater moral satisfaction and motivation for existence, which became more and more acute during the shocks Korea experienced at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. Assistance from "house spirits" was no longer enough. And this niche was filled by Christianity.

When compared with analogous developments among Livonian peasants who adopted Christianity in the 18th century (Klavins, 2019, pp. 17–19), or Southeast Asia at the turn of the 20th century, Christianity in Korea probably offered "… a refuge from the domination of these demanding spirits in a different vision of the cosmos. This was a predictable, moral world in which God would protect the devout from all that the spirits could do and would eventually be rewarded by an afterlife in paradise. The powerless too would be rewarded if they lived a life of personal virtue" (Steenbrink, 2003, p. 221). At the time of extreme changes in the 20th century, when Christianity became more and more present in the daily lives

of Koreans, the apolitical Koreans, "… who in the past would have turned to shamanism for otherworldly assistance in obtaining the good things of this world, choose Christianity instead as a more appropriate, effective, and modern tool to the same end" (Koo and Nahm, 1997, p. 194). Thus, the Christian orientation towards the afterlife was paradoxically incorporated in the world outlook and mentality of this East Asian population, which had traditionally concentrated on this life. Naturally, Korean shamanism (like shamanism elsewhere in the world) crossed the boundary of "this life" and could, to a certain extent, be seen as oriented towards the otherworldly, defining ways in which one can communicate with the spirit world and thus find release from life's entanglements. However, it is very difficult to explain the acceptance among Korean Christians of original sin, a concept which is indeed deeply rooted in the European spiritual tradition and which gained new popularity in the West during the Reformation in the 16th century and the subsequent renaissance of empirical science based on the understanding of religion in the 17th–18th century (Harrison, 2008). One can partly agree with the finding by Donald Baker that "the doctrine of original sin allowed Korean converts to Christianity to escape the conundrum of trying to reconcile belief in human perfectibility with the experience of moral failure by abandoning the traditional belief that human beings could reach moral perfection through their own efforts. Instead, Christianity in both its forms offered what was to Koreans a relatively novel solution – supernatural assistance from God above" (Baker, 2006, pp. 292–293). At the same time, such a paradigm shift in the worldview of broadly oppressed classes in both Korea and Europe (e.g., in the Baltics), where the mission of Protestant revivalism was strong among the peasantry, contributed to increased self-confidence among congregation members.

Social and psychological causes behind the spread of Christianity in the Governorate of Livonia

The development of medieval Livonia into present-day Latvia and Estonia was related to the "expansion of feudalism" eastwards from Central Europe during the 12th and 13th centuries, which in this region formed

a part of the German *Ostsiedlung* and reached its apogee in the crusades against the Baltic and Finno-Ugric "heathens". After the conquest, the native Latvians and Estonians lost their political independence, their native lords and principalities, and their right to self-government. However, until the end of the 15th century they retained their personal freedom, the right to bear arms, the right to own and inherit their farmsteads and the right to seek justice (Klavins, 2009, pp. 321–340). Medieval Livonia, also called the Livonian Confederation, was formed by the Teutonic Knights together with four dioceses and the city of Riga. It was a territory ruled by Central European colonists that had no common head and ordinarily no unified policy, either. The Pope was the spiritual overlord of Livonia, but his real power and influence in the 14th- and 15th-century Baltics was minimal; for the most part his authority was invoked to settle internal disputes between the territorial lords. Likewise, Livonia's relationship with the German Emperor was, at best, occasional (Hellmann, 1989).

From the perspective of spiritual culture, the model of legal and political administration, and the transplanting of the official canon of social values, the link between Livonia and Central and Western Europe can be compared with the link between the Joseon Kingdom and Imperial China before the Manchu conquest. The official written language of the clergy in Livonia was Latin, which the peasants could not read, nor did they understand the Latin texts chanted at Catholic services. The *lingua franca* of merchants and craftsmen in Livonian towns was also not Latvian or Estonian, but Middle Low German (Jordan, 1995). Protestantism entered Latvia and Estonia very soon after the first activities of Martin Luther, just after the Diet of Worms in 1522–1524. Riga became one of the first cities in Northern and Eastern Europe to be affected by Lutheranism (Zanders, 2000, p. 117). With time, the majority of landlords in Livonia transferred to the Lutheran faith, which thus automatically became the faith of their peasants, since the ruling principle then was *cuius regio, eius religio* (whose the rule, his the religion). In reality, Latvian and Estonian peasants continued to adhere to the old nature religion, which contained external attributes of the Catholic faith, including the cult of Mary and the many saints (O'Connor 2006, pp. 42–44). This aspect partly aligns

with the Korean situation, in which the ruling *yangban* elite adhered to Chinese literary culture and the Confucian spiritual framework, unlike the peasants, who continued for a very long time to practise the Korean folk religion. Unlike in Korea – where King Sejong (1397–1450) already in the mid-15th century created Hangul, the native script of Korea, which was used not only for folk literature but with time also became the official, belles-lettres script – in Livonia, literature written in Latvian and Estonian was created later, in the 16th century, when the first Protestant preachers approached the local population in their own language.

After the Livonian War in the 16th century, the situation of Livonian peasants worsened due to serfdom taking hold. Following the Polish-Swedish War (1600–29), Northern Latvia and Riga as well as southern Estonia came under Swedish rule, and thus the Province of Livonia was established. After the Great Northern War came to an end in 1721, Livonia was included in the Russian Empire as a particular governorate. However, the Governorate of Livonia retained its political, legal and cultural autonomy, with the Protestant faith as the dominant religious denomination. Politically and socially the absolute monopoly of power was held by the Baltic-German estate owners, who legally secured their rights to serfdom, thus gaining unlimited ownership title over the entire property and person of a peasant, which extremely worsened the social situation of Latvian and Estonian peasants (Blumbergs, 2008, pp. 47–55). In these particular circumstances, the Lutheran church ruling in Livonia entirely took the side of the nobility, opposing social efforts of Latvian and Estonian peasants from the pulpit and supporting repressions against peasants in cases of riots (Apīnis, 1987, p. 13). This situation was very similar to the Korean social reality in the late 18th and early 19th century, when, unable to deal with the worsening social and economic situation, the *yangban* class and government officials who supported Neo-Confucianism abused their powers and increasingly alienated themselves from the common people (Kim, 2006, p. 5).

The Livonian peasants were in acute need of a spiritual teaching that would provide them with self-assurance, consolation and motivation for social and economic activity. Exactly this type of motivation was offered

by the Moravians (*Unitas Fratrum*, or Unity of the Brethren; *Herrnhuter Brüdergemeine* in German), also called the Herrnhuters, who appeared in the Governorate of Livonia in 1729, when the first Moravian mission was sent there from Germany. This was a supranational Christian movement that needed permission from no earthly leader to transplant itself (Fernández-Armesto and Wilson, p. 57). The Moravian Brethren insisted that spreading the Gospel was a task incumbent on every Christian and not one reserved for the clergy, evangelists or missionary societies. The United Congregation of Moravians was founded by Count Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf (1700–60) in 1727 and took its name from Herrnhut, the town the persecuted Protestant refugees had established under his protection. Moravians not only preached Christianity but also organised a unique form of local government by establishing congregations that were not directly affiliated with the official church. Due to this, the movement was very attractive to Livonian peasants, who were hostile towards the official Lutheran Church. Thanks to the Brethren congregations, a unique form of handwritten Latvian and Estonian literature began to flourish. This literature differed from official forms of literature at that time in that it involved a variety of genres: speeches, biographical literature, historical literature, political literature and even political journalism. At the same time, personal religious experience provided the enserfed peasants of Livonia with a new sense of self-confidence and local pride (Jürjo, 2012). The chiliasm of the Moravians – a legacy of the Hussite movement – demanded extreme spiritual strictness and fearlessness from the Latvian and Estonian peasants. When thinking about the Day of Judgment and the millennium of peace, all the worries and fears of daily life were moved aside into second place, because it was more important for a person to think about the "purity of his or her soul" and its readiness for this great event. Guntram Philipp (1974, p. 235) emphasises that a positive attitude toward death began to spread among the Latvian and Estonian Moravians during the 18th century that had nothing to do with the indifference and resignation common among peasants during the era of serfdom.

As in Korea, in Livonia the religious awakening promoted by Protestant missionaries was of a paradoxical, double-faced importance. Pietism *per se*

did not pose a danger for the aristocracy; it accepted the existing order. Meanwhile, the self-organisation, acquisition of reading and writing skills and religiously motivated self-assurance of peasants facilitated by the Moravians became a cornerstone of social struggle for the lower strata of the population, at the same time encouraging handwritten literature in the Latvian and Estonian languages, and hence building a foundation for the Latvian and Estonian national self-confidence and accelerating the process of genesis of modern nations in the Baltic countries. Peasants looked down upon the previous Lutheran religious literature as being "wisdom of the head", whereas they considered the Moravian practice a religion of the heart and their texts to contain "so much nourishment as if presented by an abundant mother's hand" (Apīnis, 1987, p. 18). Regardless of the initial support of the Moravians by a part of the nobility, the majority of the aristocracy felt an increasing threat from the social radicalisation of the peasants, which was further accompanied by a hatred of the Moravians by the official Lutheran church. As a result, even in Livonia the activities of the Moravians were prohibited for some time in the middle of the 18th century (1743–1764) (Apīnis, 1987, p. 13).

In their difficult daily lives, Livonian peasants were so thirsty for emotional satisfaction that they succumbed to Moravian mysticism, reaching a spiritual ecstasy similar to the experience of Korean shamanism. This evidence is highly interesting when comparing the Livonian and Korean material, considering that shamanic practices similar to those of Korean and Siberian peoples specifically in regard to seeing visions and gaining spiritual ecstasy had not survived into the modern period in the traditional paganism of the peasants in the Governorate of Livonia (at least the source material does not provide such evidence). The spiritual ecstasy referred to as a mass phenomenon among the peasants in 18th-century Livonia was undoubtedly a result of the reception of Protestant mysticism. The issue of elements of shamanism in the Finno-Ugric Estonian traditional folk religion is still open to discussion and serious research. Likewise, one must not accept the interpretation of modern Estonian shamanism (Parks, 2015, pp. 103–126) and its national-romantic dimension as the true, historical Estonian folk religion. There is evidence that Latvian

and Estonian peasants deified trees, rocks and household spirits. There is also evidence of many traditional sorcery-related elements of healing. Yet, seeing visions, "journeying to heaven and hell" and religiously motivated ecstasy was something new. An in-depth study of the particular material shows how important it is to not assume that later elements of religious practice are remnants of a pre-Christian mythology and world outlook, even if we find analogous terminology in the manifestations thereof. We could raise similar questions in relation to the Korean material. Only there, unlike in the Baltics, Protestant mysticism latched on to a long and ancient tradition of shamanism, of which spiritual journeys and specific techniques of ecstasy were an integral part. Moravian mysticism in Livonia manifested itself in the seeing of visions, the interpretation of dreams, and the active search for a personal connection with the spiritual world (and also with God, who was very central to the Brethren tradition). Sources also mention episodes of hysteria-like spiritual ecstasy, during which it was believed that the affected person could interpret God's word. This mentality in Livonia even developed into a special "cult of tears", in which people showed solidarity in common crying during worship (Philipp, 1974, p. 226). In his 1878 work *The Brethren Congregation in Livonia* (Latvian: *Brāļu draudze Vidzemē*), author Matīss Kaudzīte (1848–1926) (1878, p. 32) described these processes:

> ... because everyone began having visions, they fainted and lay as if they had died, and when they awoke they told of having received mercy and of having been in heaven, where they had been appointed as prophets; the sensory organs of others had been overloaded so greatly that they trembled and quaked, almost as if plagued by a disease, during the reading of holy texts and fell to the floor, cried, wailed, and spoke in a delirium, calling the names of deceased people whom they had supposedly seen either in heaven or in hell ...

This description sounds very similar to the state of trance-possession of shamans achieved in order to contact the world of spirits. However, this is only a manifestation of European Christian visionary experience and not the rebirth of traditional beliefs in new circumstances. For a comparison, a description of a religious revival meeting at Pyongyang (Korea) in 1907:

> The prevailing characteristics of this revival were a hunger for the Word manifesting in intense Bible study and intense prayer with everyone praying at the same time. During these times of prayer, there occurred what could be best described as a great wave of weeping and prayer that swept over those present, which included both Methodist and Presbyterian missionaries as well as the Korean laymen. Observers called the meetings indescribable (Reynalds, 2000).

When reading this evidence, let us remember that the German Pietism of the 17th century, which in many aspects influenced Protestant revivalism, so important in both Livonia and Korea, already at the very beginning proposed itself as the "religion of the heart" (emotions) and was oriented towards active mysticism, as opposed to the theoretical dogmatism of the official church (Hazard, 1961, pp. 399–400). This completely corresponded to the concept presented by the Moravian founder Zinzendorf that true faith has nothing to do with reason and the essence of religion must be grasped by sensation (Vogt, 2005, p. 213). The 18th and 19th centuries were the period during which this "heart religion" expanded and developed; it was also closely associated with Protestant Revival Movement missionaries on the outskirts of Europe and in Russia, North America, Asia and Africa. The renewed Moravian Church, which was so important in the Governorate of Livonia, has also significantly contributed to American life (Durnbaugh, 1986); for example, the Pietism ethic was originally characteristic to American religious orientation more than the Calvinistic theology of Puritanism, thus affecting the temper in the Methodist churches. According to Gaustad (1957, p. 113) the representatives of the Great Awakening felt that:

> the kingdom of God was within them; their private divine vocation, be it called new light, inner light, or sense of the heart, was their ultimate and occasionally their only appeal.

All of this must be taken into account, considering the later enormous importance of Protestant missionaries in Korea as well (Paik, 1971). However, these couple of pieces of evidence are not enough to fully judge the common aspects of the Livonian and Korean Protestant religious

mentality during the period of Christianisation, and therefore further study would be very welcome.

Along with Pietism from the West, the Brethren congregations in Livonia inherited an entire Western (mainly German) heritage of mystical thought, which the Livonian peasant writers of hand-written literature creatively reworked to satisfy their own emotional needs (Latvian handwritings of the Moravian Brethren). As an example, we can name the German visionary Hans Engelbrecht (1599–1642), who by his own assertion had spent time in both heaven and hell. Latvian peasants, for example, were familiar with his life through a work titled *The Life Events of Hans Engelbrecht* (Latvian: *Tie dzīvības notikumi no tā Anča Eņģeļbrekta*) (Apīnis, 1987, p. 29). The Latvian Brethren congregations were also acquainted with the essays of Johann Heinrich Jung-Stilling (1740–1817), a noteworthy German author and mystic. For example, *Transcript and Message Regarding Heaven and Life in Heaven, or, From Under the Cover of Shade* (Latvian: *Noraksts un ziņa tās debess un viņas dzīvošanas, jeb, No tā ēnas klajuma*) is a reworking in the Latvian language of his treatise *Das Heimweh* (1794–96) (Apīnis, 1987, p. 30). In this work Jung-Stilling comes to the conclusion that a true mystic's path in life is an unceasing process of purification, through which he gains an even greater clarity in reaching his goal of uniting with God. A person can supposedly sense God's presence in himself already during his life here on Earth. According to Jung-Stilling, mystics are people who have had "experience with God" and therefore feel a continual longing for it (Dinzelbacher, 1989, p. 289).

Syncretism of pre-Christian religions and Christianity in Korea

The elements of syncretism in Korean Christianity have been widely written about. Within the framework of the present study, it is only worth having a quick look at the abovementioned issue from the aspect of comparative opinion. Of course, we must not forget the numerous changes brought about by Koreans themselves both in Christian preaching and content, thus creating synthesis with earlier Korean spiritual teachings and traditions, among which shamanism certainly occupies one of the

central roles. There is an abundance of source materials about shamanistic traditions in Korea, and a significant range of scientific literature has been devoted to it. Shamanism has survived in Korea up to present day; according to Andrew Eungi Kim, approximately three million Koreans still regularly consult shamans nowadays (Kim, 2011, p. 217). And yet, it is worth again raising a number of questions regarding the syncretism of Korean Christianity (especially Protestantism) and shamanism.

At first glance, the spiritually charged "revival meetings" of Korean Christians show many similarities with Korean shamanism. As indicated by Joon-sik Choi (2006, p. 51):

> What could be the underlying motive for most Christians to take part in revival meetings? To experience a moment of spiritual ecstasy and utter a few words in an unknown tongue is most likely. Indeed, it takes little effort to realise that there runs a great similarity between the procedures many Christians go through to experience spiritual ecstasy and the ones that *mudang* and their clients undergo to achieve revelations.

And yet, very similar, even analogous revelation meetings with a similar methodology of reaching spiritual ecstasy were organised elsewhere in the world by the Protestant Revival Movements of the 18th–19th centuries, for example, the already mentioned Moravians (Burns, 2015, pp. 19–34). Such practising of religion followed from the Moravian position that personal salvation was more important than dogmas and ecclesiastical establishments (Fernández-Armesto and Wilson, p. 195). The Livonian example, in turn, reminds us of similar manifestations in the reception of religion in different cultural environments, which is partly related to analogous social and psychological circumstances.

Despite the numerous existing publications and opinions, it is still worth continuing the discussion about the proportion of spiritual methodologies transplanted by Evangelical Revival missionaries into Korean Christianity to the methodologies borrowed from traditional shamanism. It is always important to ask, as Choi does, whether certain phenomena that we attribute to a locally specific tradition are actually expressions of human desires recognised by all known religions (Choi,

2006, p. 50). Furthermore, when understanding religion as a projection of a person's basic needs in the spiritual dimension, the socio-economic and political context within which the world outlook of the respective society is transformed must also be taken into account. In his study, Jinseok Seo performs a very interesting analysis of Korean Protestantism, indicating a range of regional characters, especially in Pentecostal churches (Seo, 2019, p. 51). As typical manifestations of local Korean Christianity, Jinseok Seo (2019, p. 51) correctly mentions, for example, that physical good fortune in this world was the most important goal for the believers; that, in order to pursue goals, believers used sorcery techniques; etc. Among these techniques, the Bible as a sorcery instrument was especially important. Such practices can be perceived as the impact of shamanism, but on the other hand, in Pentecostal circles everywhere, not just in Korea, the Bible was used "… almost as a material weapon during exorcism or spiritual healing" (Fernández-Armesto and Derek Wilson, 1996, p. 32). As indicated by Felipe Fernández-Armesto and Derek Wilson (1996, p. 32): "Such thinking was more common – even the norm – in an age when *any* book was a thing of wonder, commanding the price of a noble's ransom. People expected their priests to read out Bible passages over the sick and women in labour, or if that was beyond their powers, at least to touch them with the sacred tome." Undoubtedly, early Protestant missionaries (especially from America) who had arrived in Korea were able to use elements of the folk religion to cultivate the Christian faith, as was the case in Livonia during the Catholic mission in the Middle Ages and the subsequent Jesuit activities in the 17th–18th centuries, as well as during the Moravian movement in the 18th–19th centuries. Certainly, confrontations with supernatural powers (and evil spirits in particular) were some of the underlying factors "…that produced an interest in Christianity and led to the revival movements in the Korean Protestant churches" (Choi, 2013, p. 28). If we understand the space of cooperation between Christianity and shamanism in Korea, it becomes self-evident that fortune telling and divination practices grew into Korean Christianity, in certain cases adopting the terminology of the Bible and external facade of Christianity while keeping the essence of ancient Korean beliefs (Yoon, 2003, p. 261).

When comparing Korean and Livonian religious syncretism, it is necessary to mention the extremely important *jesa* ritual, or ancestor worship, which has been preserved to this day in its Neo-Confucian form and was widely practised during the Joseon dynasty. Part of this ritual also involves feeding the spirits of dead ancestors. This part of the ceremony is illustrated by Choi: "In order for the ancestor to enjoy sacrifices, people open the lid of the rice bowl, and stick the spoon and chopsticks into the rice bowl. While the spirit has his meal, the participants may stand waiting [..]. The last stage is *sashin*, to bid farewell to the spirit and send it back to where it belongs" (Choi, 2006, pp. 71–72). It is difficult to tell what these rituals contain from the time before Confucianism, but in any case, ancestor worship in Korea existed before the introduction of Confucianism (Choi, 2006, p. 67). Shamanism also considers dead ancestors to be members of the family, and still today, depending on its financial situation, a family must worship its ancestors through *gut* so that the living and the dead benefit from the family's prosperity (Yi, 2015, p. 274). The tradition did not survive in the Korean Protestant environment. Catholicism, on the contrary, was forced to respect the *jesa* ritual in Korea, and the Catholic ban on ancestor rituals was lifted in 1939.

Syncretism of pre-Christian religions and Christianity in the Governorate of Livonia

As in Korea, also in European pre-Christian societies the sharing of food and drink with dead members of the family was intended to propitiate them and win their help. In the ancient material of Western Europe, the practice of sharing food and drink with the dead is mentioned by Caesarius of Arles (468/470–542), Gregory of Tours (c. 538–594), Burchard of Worms (c. 950/65–1025) and others. The cult of the dead was the most vital and ancient cult in north-eastern Europe, which was affected by Christianity comparatively lately. Livonia may again be provided as an example, with information on graveyard feasts honouring the dead, which can be found in written sources up to the modern day. In autumn, during "the time of souls", special soul feasts were celebrated, in the belief that

dead relatives, friends and acquaintances would attend (Pumpurs, 2007, p. 337). Seventeenth-century church visitation records include references to food, eggs and beer being left on graves with a written request asking: "Old folks, please help our barley and rye to grow well, and our horses and farm animals to grow strong!" (Šmits, 1941, no. 32523). If the ancestor worship took place in a farmhouse or farm outbuilding, then one of the first things the worshippers did was to invite the dead souls in. When the mistress of the house had set the table, the master lit candles or wood splinters and called the dead ancestors by name, asking them to come dine and drink. The farmers, hoping to receive especially benevolent treatment from the dead, saddled their horses and rode to the cemetery or nearest tavern in order to bring back the dead souls so that they could partake of the prepared feast. The purpose of lighting candles or wood splinters at the beginning of the feast was "to provide the dead souls with better lighting for dining" (Šmits, 1941, no. 32545). Similar information regarding the cult of ancestors in the Governorate of Livonia has been preserved in documents dating to as late as the 18th century (Adamovičs, 1933, p. 486). Only unlike in Korea, where such practices were supported during the entire period of the Joseon Kingdom as a component of the official state ideology, in Livonia the feeding of the spirits of ancestors was qualified as "paganism" already since the Middle Ages and combated by the official church. There are also many records from the 18th century regarding the worship of sacred trees by the peasants in eastern Livonia (Kleijntjenss, 1940, pp. 287–391), similar to the worship of divine trees in Korea.

One can fully agree with the opinion of Chong Bum Kim, who stresses that "… Korean folk religion seemed to have had a more positive view of the natural world than that prevailing in the West. The forest, for instance, was not the abode of evil spirits and frightening creatures such as witches, goblins, and dragons, as the Western literary imagination often presented it. On the contrary, in Korean folklore it was a place of hidden paradises and sacred sites" (Kim, 2006, p. 215). It should be remembered, however, that huge differences are revealed when comparing the official ideology of the European church, which was related to the political and economic powers, and the nature-based religiousness of the people. The actual taking

root of Christianity among the peasants in Livonia essentially began only in the 18th century with the success of the Moravian mission. However, many magical formulas, concepts from fortune telling, aspects of ancient folk magic, mythology and folklore have been found in the handwritten peasant literature even in the 19th century, which at that time continued to flourish in the Governorate of Livonia due to the earlier support of education by missionaries. This heritage of sorcery techniques was partly taken over from Western and Central European, especially German, books of magic, however, in combination with the older layer of Baltic and Finno-Ugric folklore and mythology, it indicates an interesting form of syncretism in modern times. As with Korean shamanism, the purpose of Latvian and Estonian ancient magic was also to protect against various illnesses, accidents and threats. The decorative invocations of biblical terminology that these traditions bear sometimes only form a facade that covers a much older, pre-Christian tradition (Straubergs, 1939; Straubergs, 1941).

Conclusion

When evaluating the success of Christianity in Korea and in the Governorate of Livonia in the 18th–20th centuries, we repeatedly observe the importance of comparative material in intercultural studies. Attempting to fit a country or region within stereotypically drawn borders of "East" or "West" means reaching a stalemate already at the very starting point of research. The examples of Korea and Livonia show that analogous foreign spiritual traditions (in this case, religious awakening movements of Protestantism) take deeper root in countries with similar social and psychological preconditions.

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CHRISTIAN SYMBOLISM IN MULTILAYERED CONTEXTS OF SOUTH KOREAN POETRY[1]

History of Christianity-related elements used in Korean verse dates back to Late Chosŏn period. One of the earliest examples is the kasa-poem "Song of Ten Commandments" Sipkyemyŏng-ga dedicated to Christian values. In the poetry of Colonial period (1910–1945), one may find elements related to Christianity. Poems by Yun Dong-ju (1917–1945) actively addressing Christianity-related concepts (e.g., repentance) and symbols (e.g., Cross) are a famous example. The second half of the 20ᵗʰ century introduces new names, and witnesses a rise of Christian poetry in the Republic of Korea. At the same time, readers can also find Christian symbols used in poems not necessarily associated with this type of poetry. This kind of texts primarily serve the focus of the current paper, which aims at analysing the meanings of biblical symbols and other elements relating to Christianity in various contexts, as well as the ways of applying them in South Korean poetry. For this purpose, we chose four poems of four representative poets of South Korea. Kim Nam-jo (born 1927) is associated with the religious views of a Catholic believer, her work was chosen as an example of Christian poetry. Pak Kyŏng-ni (1926–2008), Chŏng Hyŏn-jong (born 1939), and Chŏng Ho-sŭng (born in 1950) represent different trends. The result of the analysis can serve as the basis for further research on the subject.

Keywords: *Christianity, Christian symbolism, Korean poetry, Korean culture, East Asia*

In the poem "Poet 2" *Siin 2* (Pak, 2012, p. 200) by Pak Kyŏng-ni, Christian symbolic appears in the last strophe of three, but is called for conveying the main idea of the text. The poem is an example of a political rhetoric, marked in the text with the help of the official name of the state

("Republic of Korea" instead of usual "Korea") and the phrase "Let us live well", the motto of a popular song and a slogan associated with the rule of Pak Chung-hee widely criticized as a dictator (Lee, 2020, p. 8). In this context, the characteristic "the country of the endless freedom" is an ironical expression.

> Can there exist a poet in our times?
> Oh, can there be one?
> They say, in the Republic of Korea, the country of the endless
> freedom
> There are so many thousands of them…
>
> Let us live well! Let us live well! –
> That's what the echo carries over the passes.

The atrocities of the rule cause the poor condition of cities and villages ("cities are all ill and are in pain", "villages are short of breath blocked with vinyl"), besides, the passage attains some environmental connotation. Following the ancient East Asian idea of a ruler's actions relating to the general state of the Universe, Pak Kyung-ni emphasizes the danger for life itself in the given circumstances ("What can be done if life is gone?").

The author addresses political issues through philosophical lenses as she is looking for "extra-political" means to solve the situation. The main subject of the poem is a figure of a poet able to evaluate the situation adequately. In the third strophe, the author draws a parallel with a Messiah.

> Is there such a poet – the one who'd wear beggar rags
> And look up at the sky
> Then look down to the earth
> And weeping would beat himself in a breast–
> His appearance would be as dazzling, bright as the Second Coming
> of Christ!

The idea of a poet being responsible for the society through the sacred act of writing poems traces its roots to the Unified Silla (667–918), when a ritual meaning was attributed to *hyangga* (verse in Korean) and the act of composing it. Considering the fact that Christianity came to Korea

centuries later, the parallel with Christ serves to present a 'modernized' version of such poet. It emphasizes the exceptional character of a true poet, as well as the importance of the poet for the country.

Thus, in this poem, one can find a combination of two different cultural layers concentrating in the description of a true poet. It contains two groups of expressions, i.e., the first one refers to Bible (weeping, beating in a breast), and the second one is rooted in the authentic tradition – the order of motions "look up-look down"[2] and being dressed in rags are the features of the model of a poet (acting as a priest) found in *hyangga* and related texts[3]. Some of these allusions address a well-read group, but the parallel with the 'Second Coming of Christ' make the idea recognized by a wider circle of readers. Just as Christ, the Messiah bestowing life, the true poet is to bring back life to the cities and villages in the times, when life itself is in danger. The author uses this parallel with Jesus Christ as an ideal of the world scale to endow the figure of a poet with crucial meaning.

The poem "Heartful tenderness of Things" *Samul-ŭi chŏŏngdaum* (Chŏng, 1974, pp. 14–15) by Chŏng Hyŏn-jong can serve as another example. The general idea of the poem is not obvious, and tracing the meaning of different elements, including Christian symbols, can serve as a key to unlock it. The first strophe speaks of "end of consciousness" and "death", the second – of "salvation", and the narrator seeing manifestations of life, and the third one lists different things which narrator "learned".

Each of the three strophes contain Christian elements. In the first one, the citation from the Ecclesiast, "vanity of vanities" points out the state of the narrator facing lost, parting and being on the edge of death. In the second one, the author choses the variant *kuwŏn* for 'salvation' to add Christian connotations to the word. An opposite to death, it also brings a new vision of the world to the narrator, whose eyes opened to the "tenderness of things" (put in the title of the poem). The "apple" in the

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[2] A representative example of using such a 'formula' is *hyangga* "Praising *hwarang* Kip'a".

[3] For a detailed explanation, see the monograph by M. I. Nikitina (1984).

third strophe can be regarded as the Biblical symbol of knowledge (it is used together with the word "learned"). Following the Christian symbols in the poem, one can discover cognition as its main subject: the things and actions steadily attain meaning for the narrator.

In this poem, Christianity related symbols interweave here with elements rooted in East Asian vision of the world: e.g., a special attention to the moon ("This tender event of the Universe, when the moon is rising at the meaningful moon-night") or leaning on an "unsupported support" relating to Taoism ("the red apple which I lean on"). This results in forming different layers in the text. References to the Bible may be interpreted as a part of the idea of joining the world's intellectual tradition (along with, for example, a reference to Ovid: "the song of the wandering bed of Ovid"). These elements bring up associations with life and knowledge, and the interrelation of life and knowledge serves the subject of the poem.

The complexity of symbolism marks many texts by Chŏng and may relate to his background. Raised in a Catholic family, he was influenced by the ideas of an intellectual activist and philosopher Ham Sŏk-hŏn (1901–1989), he indulged in the world literature, and became a professor of Philosophical Department of Yonsei University[4]. This multilayered weltanschauung of the poet made him especially popular among South Korean intellectuals.

Chŏng Ho-sŭng's poem "Seoul Jesus" *Sŏul-ŭi Yesu* (Chŏng 1982) depicts Jesus Christ spending lonely time in Seoul. Though the text is full of citations from both Old and New Testament, from the very first line the readers recognize in the image of Jesus the features of a man in everyday life ("Jesus is holding a fishing rod"). The act of fishing has a Biblical connotation, but is associated with disciples rather than with Jesus. The author sees God in ordinary people "drying wet clothes by the bonfire", "crying when leaning on the prison fence", or even spending a "groggy evening" and having a "lonely smoke". Chŏng emphasizes the

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[4]   The author of the paper thanks Prof. Chŏng Hyŏn-jong for sharing the story of his formation as a poet in his interview given in 1997.

Seoul setting in the text mentioning the name of the river where fishing takes place (Hangang) and the place where the prison is situated (locating it at Sŏdaemun creates a relation with the Colonial period history, when this prison was used by the Japanese). At the same time, Jesus does not belong to Seoul citizens. He has a part with people (being "treated with a life bowl of cold rice"), but holds a position of an observer. He is not recognized by men, possibly due to His actions making Him look just like themselves.

Looking at the people from the outside, Jesus wishes "to drink a man's cup", "to share *ttŏk* cakes of tears drinking *soju*". The combination of a Biblical element ("cup" as in Mark 10:39) and an element associated with everyday life (specifically Korean in this case with *soju* beverage and *ttŏk* rice cakes) in one phrase is a literary tool the poet applies in the text. Tears, sadness are general motives of both groups of elements (e.g., "gnashing of teeth" (Matthew 8:12), "sitting and weeping" (Psalm 137) "in the dust" (Jonah 3:6)). Late autumn (winter rain, fall of a leaf) emphasizes this setting and creates additional parallels. The falling leaves "stay in Seoul for a short while", and Jesus "has nowhere to lay his head" (Matthew 8:20; Luke 9:58).

All five parts of the poem are written in rhythmic prose, which adds to its narrative character. This may be one of the reasons that the poem served the inspiration for a movie. In 1986, four years after the poem was published, the movie "Seoul Emperor" *Sŏul-ŭi hwangje* was released. This debut work by Chang Sŏn-woo is evaluated as having "a similar atmosphere" (Kim, 2005) with the analysed poem.

The poem "Winter Christ" *Kyŏul-ŭi Kŭrisŭdo* (Kim, 2012, pp. 64–65) by Kim Nam-jo belongs to a large number of poems based on Christianity-related subjects. The poem draws the image of Jesus Christ as "walking snow-covered mountains and plains" with His "bare feet whiter than snow". This image makes the narrator "want to shed tears" as "the cold is severe and fierce".

Various interpretations are possible on the opposition between the "days in the past" when Christ "walked on the water" and the present,

when the water has "turned into ice". This may be the metaphor of frozen human hearts Jesus may find when He comes (Luke 18:8: "However, when the Son of Man comes, will he find faith on the earth?"). It may also be an artistic experiment of picturing the Lord in winter – the season serving as a frequent leitmotif in Kim Nam-jo's poems.

The main idea of the text concentrates in the following explanation the painful actions of Winter Christ ("the surface of crystal and glass so cold like needles which pierce"), who steps on the ice "elevating the sap" "from the depth of the earth and the seas" in order "to make blood of new springs circulate". Thereby the poet portrays Jesus Christ helping new spring, moreover, new life to come. Respectively, in its core the text speaks of the Saviour bringing new life, and this is life of a new quality as is conveyed in the comment "adding there the Blood that You shed".

As one can see, the poem is abundant with Gospel metaphors, e.g., Christ walking on the water, shed Blood, the very idea of the Lord giving life are the most obvious of them. At the same time, the author wraps this Christian idea in a specific expression. Thus, the association between spring and new life is universal for many cultures. It is also common for East Asia and is actively used in Korean poetry since ancient times until today with the emphasis on the cyclic character of seasonal alternations. According to East Asian cosmogony, winter is the period of concealed processes forming potentials for the life coming in spring. Kim Nam-jo's poem features both the idea of life circle (winter to spring), and the perception of winter described above. Besides these East Asian specifics, the poem contains an element tracing roots to a deeper layer of Korean culture: in Korean ritual, the act of stepping played an important role as an act of conceiving life[5]. The same parallel serves the semantic base for the poem and explains the meaning of the emphasis on Christ's feet and stepping on snow and ice in the text.

The poem "Winter Christ" exemplifies a combination of several cultural layers as a Christian idea lays on the authentic vision of the world.

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[5] For the detailed explanation of this feature in relation with Korean myth, see Nikitina (1984).

This is one of many texts where Kim Nam-jo or other Christian poets apply East Asian symbols or concepts to convey a Christian idea, but we will leave the analysis of this particular aspect for another occasion.

Conclusion

The above analysis showed that South Korean poets apply Christian symbolism in various contexts. It may be done to discuss such subjects as politics, environmental issues, social problems, philosophical issues of cognition and knowledge or life origin.

Christian elements in such cases may vary and may be classified as follows: specific words and terms (e.g., salvation), citations from the Bible (e.g., "vanity of vanities"), depicting Biblical figure as a metaphor (e.g., "Seoul Christ"), Biblical images (e.g., Christ walking on the water), Christian ideas (Christ giving life). Such elements are interweaved in the texts with the perception of the world traditional for Korea or East Asia in general, with the elements tracing their roots to ancient (mythological, ritual) layer of the culture, with elements associated with other religion (e.g., Taoist elements), and multiple elements belonging to the world cultural tradition.

In the examined cases, "Christian elements" are used as an organic element easily recognized by anyone even slightly familiar with Christian tradition. In this sense, they may be even opposed to some authentic elements demanding a profound knowledge of ancient Korean culture. The authors appeal to the figure of Jesus Christ as a Messiah, as a Saviour, as a Redeemer Who suffered and shed Blood to give life. Eventually, these texts deal with life: birth of life, life as an opposition of death, life in a social discourse, principles of life and its core. A brief analysis limits the conclusion to the above preliminary remarks, and a larger number of texts should be further explored to consider new possible features of Christianity-related images and the ways they are applied in South Korean verse, including new contexts and creative experiments.

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NEW ROLE OF RELIGIOUS PRACTICES AS TOURIST ATTRACTIONS IN SOUTH KOREA

The positive effects of the highly developed country image and the soft power has turned South Korea into a well-known country popular almost all over the world. Compared to its small size, huge numbers of people in the last three decades have become interested in its modern and traditional culture, history and heritage. Constant effort is made to satisfy the needs of these foreign visitors and to raise the interest of the Koreans about their homeland. Several old customs, traditions and rituals changed over the last century firstly to survive the difficulties of the era, but also to fit into the new lifestyle of the society and to meet the demand of the people who are curious about them.

This paper aims to examine the Gangneung Dano festival as a cultural heritage in the context and aspects of cultural tourism. After the definition of the keywords, brief introduction will be given about the origin and the events of the ritual itself, highlighting its syncretic nature and examining its current shape as a modern tourist attraction. The basic examined concept rises from the question whether the festival is able to ensure the continuation of an old, religious ritual in a new appearance without losing its traditional meaning or not.

Keywords: *cultural tourism, cultural heritage, South Korea, Gangneung Dano*

Introduction

Firstly, it is important to outline the framework of the discussed topic regarding South Korea. In general, everyone understands what tourism itself means and how it can influence economic potential of some countries or regions. On the other hand, cultural tourism (문화 관광) as a phenomenon is quite new. According to the United Nation's World Tourism Organization, cultural tourism is "a type of tourism activity in which the visitor's essential

motivation is to learn, discover, experience and consume the tangible and intangible cultural attractions/products in a tourism destination. These attractions/products relate to a set of distinctive material, intellectual, spiritual and emotional features of a society that encompasses arts and architecture, historical and cultural heritage, culinary heritage, literature, music, creative industries and the living cultures with their lifestyles, value systems, beliefs and traditions". (World Tourism Organization n.d.) This definition was created during an assembly in 2017, but of course the culture in tourism has attracted attention long before that. The World Tourism Organization also conducted surveys focusing on importance of cultural heritage in tourism in several countries. It was revealed that over 90% of the countries found it important to include both tangible and intangible assets into tourism activities and promotions, and over 80% would include contemporary culture (such as film, performing arts, design, fashion, new media) as well. There were other opinions added, to broaden the area of cultural tourism with language education, sport events, religious festivals, and so on (UNTWO, 2018, pp. 15–17).[1]

In the case of South Korea, we would probably highlight language education in this aspect. This paper emphasizes the potential of the religious festivals in both the cultural field and tourism. However, we cannot separate this examination from K-brand. As today, it is well-known that the Korean wave has gained popularity for Korea all over the world with its modern cultural products like music songs and videos, television series and movies. This encouraged people who got interested in this country to learn more and more about it in general, inspiring curiosity about history, traditional culture and customs. In other words, K-traditions have established a place at the centre of attention. According to the definition of cultural tourism suggested above, today cultural heritage is certainly a factor when choosing a travel destination. Cultural heritage (문화유산) includes customs, practices, places, objects, artistic expressions and values

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[1]   Notably, the publication *Tourism and Culture Synergies* by the World Tourism Organization in 2018 was compiled with the support of Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism of South Korea and Korea Tourism Organization.

of a community, whose members have perpetuated these phenomena from generation to generation over several centuries. This is an extensive concept, containing both tangible and intangible cultural assets. The purpose of the ongoing conservation projects is to keep these assets alive. The heritage cycle is an idea to ensure that this process could continue constantly. Firstly, we have to understand the meaning of cultural heritage to perceive its real value. Then, by estimating its value, we will fully realize its importance and feel the need to cultivate and safeguard this heritage. Consequently, we will invest effort into the conservation projects by various means, and ultimately an increasing number of people will learn about it, and enjoy it. Since its popularity will rise, more and more people will be curious and eager to learn about it, at least as a vising tourist or, more seriously, as a student or a researcher. Learning will help us to understand the details and to find the answers to the upcoming questions, thus the cycle can start again (Culture in Development, n. d.).

If we connect cultural tourism and cultural heritage, cultural heritage tourism is easily understandable. However, this new field of tourism is still young and there are many flaws to correct. People in various countries and regions have realized that tourism means a remarkable financial source for the local people, additionally, their cultural assets will gain wide recognition, and eventually serve as an impetus for economic development. However, unprofessional approach or lack of knowledge can cause difficulties. Sometimes, there may be exaggerated expectations and the cultural assets can be used improperly. The initiators of cultural tourism at times fail to pay sufficient attention to improving the conditions linked to a heritage, for example, traffic, price control and environmental protections, to name a few. To prevent these errors, the initiators should be aware of the limits and cooperate with the authorities, facility maintenance representatives and local entrepreneurs. It is in their common interest to achieve a success in this venture with the minimum loss. They will require education in different levels to acquire the relevant knowledge and the basis of the professionalism. Furthermore, they must learn effective marketing strategies. The people who participate in the project, from the locals to government authorities, must see the whole picture to manage

the cultural heritage tourism well (Jamieson, 1998, pp. 65–57). Tourism may bring numerous destructive side-effects, which must be avoided. The local people have to protect their traditional culture while obtaining the advantages of the economic development of their area. Their cultural identity is embedded in the very object they are going to sell, whereas for tourists it can be just a stop among others while traveling, they might not realize the cultural value behind the heritage and their insensitivity results in degradation and sometimes destruction. The aim is to present the deeper meaning of a heritage which represents country's or a local group's cultural identity to enable the visitors to understand it in detail and have a motivation to perceive it more profoundly (McIntosh & Hinch & Ingram, 2002, pp. 39–42).

This paper examines the representation of intangible cultural heritage through the example of religious festivals in South Korea. Intangible cultural heritage (무형문화유산) contains traces from the past and can present the value systems, beliefs, traditions and lifestyles of a nation (Culture in Development, n. d.).

Gangneung Dano – religious festival as tourist attraction

Originally *dano* (단오 端午)[2] was one of the main seasonal customs[3] in the traditional life of Korea.[4] On the 5th day of the 5th month according to the lunar calendar, the sun had the strongest rays, but it was a refreshing spring day before arrival of the hot summer. The first big agricultural works were already done, so the people dedicated this day to prayer for good harvest. This is called *kipungje* (기풍제 祈豊祭).

The events of this day involved the commoners and the aristocrats likewise. Even in the royal court, there was a custom to offer things to

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[2]   In other terms, it was called수릿날, 중오절(重午節), 단양(端陽) or 천중절 (天中節).

[3]   In 1518, it was designated as one of the three main seasonal customs (삼대명절) of Korea.

[4]   For further reading on the origin of the customs and the terms see Kim Hogarth 2001, 258–259.

the king like옥추단(玉樞丹) and 제호탕(題湯)[5], and the king distributed those among the subordinates around him. Fans were also given to each other as gifts, suitable during hot summer. The commoners usually spent this day near fresh water, like a pond or riverbank, the girls washed their hair in water with iris (창포탕) to ensure the beauty of their hair and prevent hair loss. Furthermore, the iris was said to be good for health, so they drank water with iris, too. They used the stem and root of iris as a hairpin, sometimes various Chinese characters were carved into them to bring luck and prosperity. Painting red dots on the cheeks was a custom, because red was a colour to keep away the bad spirits. This day, they collected motherwort (익모초, *Leonurus japonicus*) and mugwort (쑥, *Artemisia indica*) from the field, especially around 5 p.m. The first plant is believed to increase the appetite which they might lose in the hot weather, the latter was used to make rice cake and iris water. More importantly, mugwort was an essential herb used in traditional medicine[6] ('Dano' 한국민족문화대백과사전 and Kim Hogarth, 2001, pp. 259–260).

Regarding the religious customs and community life, one of the most important elements was the *jesa* ritual for the local guardian spirit (수호신) called (단오제 端午祭). All of the customs varied regionally, the *dano* events themselves were more celebrated in the Northern regions of the peninsula. In fact, the most well-known *dano* ritual was held in the region of Gangneung city.[7] Here, not only the rich harvest, but the safe and successful fishing (풍어) and the peaceful household was included in the prayers. The *jesa* held for these purposes is categorized as a ritual

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[5]   Okchudan was an emergency remedy to prevent gastroenteritis, and jehotang was also a traditional medicine taken mixed with honey. ([세시풍속] 8. 단오 2015.)

[6]   Further customs included "marrying the tree", which consisted of putting a piece of rock between two branches of a tree, in Korean it was called가수(嫁樹) or 나무 시집보내기. Its aim was to ensure the rich harvest. As for the mugwort, it was dried and the stems bundled together to form a torch. The big ones could burn almost all day long. One of these was erected in front of the gates of the houses, to keep away the misfortune ('Dano' 한국민족문화대백과사전).

[7]   It was mentioned in the동국세시기(東國歲時記), a compilation about the seasonal customs of Joseon, published in 1849.

for local deities (향토신제).[8] According to the records, already in the 10th century rituals were held following the king's order for the local mountain spirit (대관령산신). Actually, several records mention the Gangneung dano, however, the information differs. There is one main legend describing the spirits revered by the locals. There was a woman who visited a stream in the mountains and used a pumpkin bowl to get some water. When she held it in her hands to drink, the Sun seemed to appear in the bowl. She threw it away and tried again, but she saw the Sun again. Finally, she decided to drink it and got pregnant. Later, she gave birth, but did not want to raise a child without a father, so she left the baby in the mountains. Yet, she could not stop thinking about the baby, so, after a few days, she went back to find him. Surprisingly, the baby had been fed by forest animals. Seeing this, she assumed this boy would be a remarkable person, so she took him and raised him well, even sent him to study to the capital city. Later, he returned to his birthplace and threw his stick away. On the spot where it lodged into the soil, he erected a Buddhist temple. Once, during a war, he used magic to save his village. After he died, he became their local guardian spirit, later called 대관령국사서낭. There is an additional story about this spirit. In that village lived a person called Jeong. He had a daughter, and once in Jeong's dream the spirit came and proposed to marry this young maid, but was rejected. One day, when the maid was sitting on the *maru* of their house, a tiger appeared and took her on his back into the forest. It is believed the tiger was sent by the guarding spirit. They ran to the shrine of the guardian deity, and their daughter's memorial was already erected there. They called a painter and commissioned a painting of their daughter. Consequently, the guardian deity could marry the girl with the help of the tiger. The day when it happened was the 15th day of the 4th lunar month. They held the memorial service on that day every year, not dedicated solely to the deity, but for the couple together (부부신). These can be considered the beginnings of the so-called Gangneung Dano ritual ("Gangneung Dano" 한국민족문화대백과사전). Here, the practice is not focussed on

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8   About the deities and their origin see Kim Hogarth, 2001, pp. 261–268.

the elements of the seasonal customs (explained above), but rather on the religious practices of the community according to the local belief.

If we examine the symbolic elements of the myths one by one, some interesting features appear, which might have been important in the traditional Korean society. First of all, the pregnancy achieved by the Sun is a typical motive of folk tales regarding fertility (many visitors attended Gangneung festival in wish for a baby).[9] The hero born from this miracle survived death already as a baby, which was interpreted as a power to overcome danger and being able to beat death. The hero of the myth later saved his city in the water and secured a flourishing life for the local people, ultimately becoming their guardian spirit. People's general wish for prosperity and well-being became expressed in the form of a festival (Lee, 2014, pp. 4950).

The limited scope of the present paper does not permit to explain the whole process of the aforementioned ritual in details. Here, the emphasis will be placed on the analysis of practices in the recent decades, considering the syncretic nature of the ritual. Currently, a committee (강릉단오제위원회 Gangneung Danoje Festival Committee) is tasked with controlling the preservation of this ritual, originally founded in the 1970s. It is one of the most unique festivals in South Korea, because it combines the elements of Buddhism, Taoism, Confucianism and Shamanism, while showing the activity and belief system of the local community. It has been transmitted from generation to generation,[10] preserving the original form of the ritual. (인류무형문화유산 강릉단오제! danojefestival official website) Basically, it is a long sequence of several rituals, starting with the preparation of the sacred liquor (신주) in the 3rd lunar month. Until the 5th day of the 5th lunar month comes, there are several events to hold. Originally, there was a visit to the shrine of the local guardian in the mountains, implemented in a group of 50–60 people, they had *gut* rituals at that sacred places and

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[9] Further reading on the fertility cult of the Koreans in Kovács (2019).

[10] During the Japanese colonial period, the regulations and policies of the Japanese made it almost impossible to continue the ritual for guarding, they even replaced the local shrine with a Japanese one, but the community was persistent enough to preserve the traditional ritual and the Gangneung Dano could survive.

also a *gut* for the dragon king (용왕굿), and additionally a memorial *jesa* directly for the local deities. As a consequence of service conducted by a female shaman, one of the trees in the forest started to move and behave strangely, finally to be chosen as the sacred tree or spirit tree (신간목 神竿木). The tree then was carried by the group back to the village where people greeted it. In the next days, other shamanistic rituals and the local mask dance was performed. On the 5th day of the 5th month, the main ritual was performed, included a procession, several shamanistic rituals, hanging taboo ropes, eliminating negativity. On the next day, the main tools used for the processions and rituals were collected and put on fire, and the sequence of the events ended here. During these 21 days, the appointed representatives had to visit shrines every day, and people who wanted to seek success of their business, agricultural activity, or fishing, also went to the shrines to pray. The general wish expressed through the main rituals was to ask for safety of the household and good health, the sacrificial services with these aims were performed by an appointed leader of the community (제관), also representing the Confucian elements. ("Gangneung Dano" 한국민족문화대백과사전) This is a brief summary of the events of the Gangneung dano festival conducted in the traditional way. Clearly, it originated from a basic local belief requiring regular paying of respects to the local guardian, later combined with certain Shamanistic, Confucian and Buddhist elements to attain the same goal. It has an immense cultural importance, because it makes the entire community stop their everyday life for a minute and focus on the traditional heritage while preserving it, representing syncretic demonstration of different belief systems.

The appealing nature[11] of the festival is not surprising, if we are aware of the main purpose of those rituals – to invoke, invite holy spirits and provide them with entertainment and joy. To achieve that, as many people gathered as possible and lots of them tried to contribute to the success of

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[11] The form of a festival has a long history, because people always combined serious and less serious elements under the auspices of large events. The ritual part is solemn, containing religious aspects and obligations, but the entertainment part aims to release the tension and stress from the daily life (Kim Hogarth 2001, 257).

events with their own musical or artistic talent. That is exactly how the songs, playful dances and mask play became attached to the traditional ritual (Lee, 2014, p. 47).

However, in the latest years, many other events appeared in the programme of this festival. Now, the aim is not only to preserve the national heritage in a constant form, but to attract many visitors from inland and foreign lands by offering various types of activities. The official website of the Dano festival gives information about experiences like talisman drawing, rice cake making, stamping of zodiac symbols, drawing masks, washing hair in iris water and preparing iris hairpin. Notably, the seasonal customs thus once again entered the religious festival. Furthermore, there are Gwanno mask drama performances, farmers' music contests and folklore performances, supplemented by programmes provided by invited international performers. Like this, the event became appreciable because it combines traditional Korean performances with foreign performances, and fuses the religious acts of the festival with traditional customs like usage of the iris water. to the artistic significance is yielded by various types of music and mask dance performances. Last but not least, visitors can enjoy further traditional elements like wrestling (씨름), folk swing (그네), *tuho* game (투호)[12], samulnori contest – these can be observed all over the country during the main celebrations. Modern Korean people do not indulge in these kinds of activities anymore on everyday basis because of the urbanized lifestyle. Moreover, they may have already forgotten many elements of the seasonal customs and folk games, but these experiences enable them to explore the traditional leisure activities again and show them to their children.

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[12]   In other words, the game is called Pitch-pot, where the players had to throw sticks from a set distance into a canisters. It originated in China and is mentioned already in the *Book of rites*.

Current state and aspects of cultural tourism

The current form and programme of the Gangneung Dano Festival perfectly complies with the definition of cultural tourism. It embraces a very well-known and well-respected cultural tradition. Gangneung Dano Festival is not only designated as an Intangible Cultural Heritage (No. 13) of Korea since 1976, but also as an Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity by UNESCO since 2005. Most of the parts of the whole ritual sequence are performed according to the original, traditional practice, involving scholars and shamans, and, of course, the community itself. They visit the shrine in the mountains and bring the spirit tree, have the parade in the city centre. Today, the information about the ritual, its origin and traditions, events and programmes is readily available in different languages, well-written pamphlets help visitors to understand the details of the rituals and performances, providing a wide range of entertainment possibilities and leisure. The official website of the festival provides old and new images to show the scenes of the events, and video material is also available.[13] Another new aspect is the exploration programme planned and provided by Gangneung city for a quite reasonable price, which includes an introduction in the shamanistic *gut* and the Confucian ritual with visiting the cultural heritage venues. Furthermore, a cultural transmission educational institute was established in Gangneung city in 2004. Its responsibilities include supporting the annual festival preparations and educating public about the traditions of the Dano ritual, as well as providing cultural classes for disseminating information about the traditional Korean culture in general. The building provides place to host various cultural performances, especially Korean traditional ones, additionally, they offer courses mainly for Gangneung citizens to study about the Dano. (Gangneung Dano ritual educational institution website)

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[13] Official video material can be found on YouTube, especially extensive materials can be found since 2020, because the COVID-19 situation prevented celebrating the ritual in its regular form. To overcome this difficulty, several short and long videos were uploaded to present the different phases of the festival.

Along with the national and international heritage programme, city's crucial mission is to secure the place of this unique traditional festival in the modern era. Even though the city reaps the benefits of the high number of the visitors economically, from year to year, the programmes of the festival attract Korean and foreign participants to enjoy the combination of different religions, old traditions, entertainment activities, and, at the same time, they may be able to raise awareness about the preservation and the value of a cultural phenomenon like Dano ritual and festival.

According to news portals, in 2019 460 000 people attended the event, the majority of them was in their 50s, but the ratio of the visitors in their 20s still was greater than of the other age groups (News1, 2019.06.20). The official report[14] on the Dano of 2019 revealed that the most popular part of the event today is the parade (41% of the respondents), and the actual shamanistic ritual of Dano is an interesting cultural content rather intended for the foreign visitors (25% of the respondents). The most attractive characteristic is the focus on the participating people who can gather outside to enjoy various forms of entertainment. Of course, being a UNESCO heritage is prestigious, but for Koreans the continuation of several centuries old traditional heritage is more appealing (Gangneung Danoje Festival Committee, 2019, pp. 29–47).

Conclusion

This paper could only examine the Gangneung Dano festival in a narrow aspect, but further research could be conducted to yield a wider interpretation. In conclusion, it is evident that this valuable event represents traditions spanning centuries, especially illuminating the combination of various religions and folk customs. Affirmations of respect and gratitude should be extended to the local community of Gangneung for protection of their home region, simultaneously advertising the cultural heritage of

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[14] The report includes the details of the evaluation system, as well as the description of the programme, events, venue and marketing strategies of the festival, concluding with evaluation of those elements separately.

Korea in a welcoming form. While providing possibilities for learning and leisure, the event raises interest about the preservation process of this heritage and prevents its disappearance in the near future.

South Korea has a well-structured heritage management system and not only the capital city area, but countryside regions can be proud of their well-preserved traditional culture. Many characteristics of their system and activity could be followed as a role model by other countries.

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JOHN ROSS'S "COREAN PRIMER" AND "KOREAN SPEECH" – THE FIRST TEXTBOOKS OF KOREAN IN ENGLISH

In this paper, I present the features of two late nineteenth-century Korean language study materials, entitled "Corean Primer" and "Korean Speech with Grammar and Vocabulary". "Corean Primer" is the first textbook to examine the Korean language in English, "Korean Speech with Grammar and Vocabulary" is an updated version of "Corean Primer". The author of both volumes is the missionary John Ross. I compare both books and present their grammatical and teaching content. Observations about the Korean language and the format of presenting the language developed from John Ross's work are still found in contemporary language teaching materials.

Keywords: *"Corean Primer", "Korean Speech with Grammar and Vocabulary", John Ross, missionaries, Korean early grammar*

Introduction

The history of Western missionaries on the Korean Peninsula is vibrant and exciting. Although writings about missionary missions in Asia are abundant, there are only a few examinations in English that describe missionary output when it comes to teaching of the Korean language. General information about authors of textbooks focusing on this general topic, their work, linguistic content can be found in academic articles by Ross King (King, 2004; 2005) or David Silva (Silva, 2003; 2008). King (2004, p. 7) challenges "the idea prevalent among Korean scholars of the history of Korean linguistics and language reforms that Western missionaries" linguistic research from the 1880s to 1910 had no tangible

or lasting effect on the work of Korean scholars and language reforms' and proves that missionary debate over spelling was the foundation to Korean linguists' language reform they proposed. Furthermore, King (2005) argues that the beginning of teaching Korean as a foreign language (KFL) was able due to missionaries' work, and the today's teaching content is largely their achievement. He also regrets the ignorance of history, which tells about the foundations of KFL started by missionaries among Korean scholars. Silva (2003; 2008) provides general information about published sources written by Christian missionaries and analysis of western attitudes toward Korean language and promotion of hangul by Christian missionaries. This paper will particularly focus on John Ross's contribution to the first description of the Korean language in English. His book was the first textbook for learning Korean as a foreign language.

John Ross (1842–1915) has been well remembered in the history of Christian missions in Manchuria and Korea. Ross was born on 6 July 1842 as the eldest son of Hugh Ross and his wife Catherine Sutherland. He started his theological education in 1865 at the Theological Hall of the United Presbyterian Church in Edinburgh. Ross worked for the missions to Gaelic speakers in Scotland of the United Presbyterian Church until he decided to go to China. Ross and his wife left Scotland in April and arrived in Chefoo (formerly known as Zhifu or Chefoo, now Yantai) on 23 August 1872. John Ross's first contact with Korea took place in October 1874, two years after he arrived in China. Ross made his journey from Yingkou to the so-called 'Korean Gate' – Funghwang (or Kaolimen), located on the China-Korea border, a place where Koreans could have contact with foreigners. His first trip was not successful because he arrived at the gate a week early at the start of the tradesman's autumn market, and Koreans there were not interested in his preaching, as they were busy making money. Although on this first trip Ross could not obtain a Korean teacher, he managed to distribute some Christian books and buy old Korean historical novels. During his second visit to the gate in the spring of 1876, he found a person to teach him Korean, a merchant Yi Ung-chan. "Corean Primer" published in 1877 must have been a joint work with his language teacher.

Ross contributed to missionary activities in Korea and translation of the Bible into the Korean language. He was under the influence of Alexander Williamson from whom he learned about Chosŏn, its culture, people, customs, and language[1]. However, the most striking aspect is his extensive knowledge of other languages and their analysis; he had a command of eleven languages (Grayson, 1999, p. 167). During his missionary activities in China, he published the first textbook of Korean in English titled "Corean Primer" (hereafter CP) in 1877, and then revised it and republished as "Korean Speech with Grammar and Vocabulary" (hereafter KS) in 1882. It must be mentioned that the CP is based on "Mandarin Primer" – a Chinese language textbook published by John Ross in 1876. After his arrival to China, Ross quickly learned Chinese, and after three years, he published "Mandarin Primer". The structure of CP is very similar to "Mandarin Primer"[2], having the content list Ross was able after one year to publish CP in 1877. Ross (1876) claims that while preparing "Mandarin Primer" no book of a foreigner or Chinaman has been consulted, but everything was taken down from a spoken language. However, as mentioned, one year of learning Korean was a short period, so the help of a merchant Yi Ung-chan was inevitable. Nevertheless, it was not an easy task to hire a Korean teacher. Chosŏn was the Hermit

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[1]   Alexander Williamson was an English missionary to China, he belonged to National Bible Society of Scotland and acted as a head of the society in China, Yantai. That time he must have met Ross.

[2]   *Mandarin Primer* consists of forty-three chapters. The titles of them are almost the same as in *CP*. For the reference they are as follows: I-Library, II-Speech, III-Kitchen, IV-Dining Room, V-Drawing Room, VI-Bed Room, VII-Housebuilding, VIII-Compound, IX-Domestic Animals, X-Wild Animals, XI-Travel, XII-Horse, XIII-Walking, XIV-Inn, XV-Position and Direction, XVI-Exchange, XVII-Renting House, XVIII-Merchandise, XVIII-(repeated) Numbers, XIX-Length, Capacity, Land, Weight, XX-Spring, XXI-Summer, XXII-Autumn, XXIII-Winter, XXIV-Grain, XXV-Vegetable and Fruits, XXVI-Time, XXVII-Weather, XXVIII-Body, XXIX-Feeling, Sight and Hearing, XXX-Clothing, XXXI-Taste, Smell, XXXII-Sickness, XXXIII-Relationship, XXXIV-Mourning, XXXV-Criminal, XXXVI-Soldier, XXXVII-Colour, XXXVIII-Astronomical, XXXIX-Knowledge, XL-Moral, XLI-Soul, XLII-Salvation, XLIII-The Negatives.

Kingdom remembering the Pyŏnginyangyo[3] and Shinmiyangyo[4], when any connection with foreigners was forbidden and Yi Ung-chan could have been killed. Ross notes:

> One evening he came with the others, and waiting about half a minute after the others had departed, he engaged himself to be my teacher (…) It appeared afterwards that he had not informed even his own brother of his intention; and he gave me as the reason for his jealous secrecy that if it were known in his native country that he had gone to serve a 'foreigner' , all his relatives would be thrown into prison, abd the principal men among them probably beheaded (Ross, 1890, p. 242).

Although the are some research papers about John Ross's life and missionary work (Choi, 1992; Grayson, 1999; 1984; 1982) in English, we still lack a comprehensive description of CP and KS from a linguistic point of view. Choi (1992) provides a piece of detailed information about the political condition of Chosŏn, the invention of hangul, and early contact with Protestantism. Further, he describes the life and activities of John Ross in China and Korea. Finally, the process of Bible translation and Ross's impact on it. Choi's doctoral dissertation is a broad insight into John Ross's life and career. Grayson (1999; 1984; 1982) also describes life and education of Ross, his evangelistic work with a foundation of Church in Korea, Bible translation and his legacy.

Therefore, this article provides more detail on (i) grammatical content presented in CP and KS, (ii) a linguistic analysis of both works, (iii) a comparison of the two textbooks, and (iv) an assessment of their contribution to the teaching of Korean.

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[3] Pyŏnginyangyo – Western disturbance of the pyŏngin year, French expedition to Korea in 1866, in retaliation for execution of seven French catholic missionaries.

[4] Shinmiyangyo – Western disturbance of the shinmi year, The United States expedition to Korea in 1871 to establish diplomatic and political relations.

"Corean Primer" and "Korean Speech with Grammar and Vocabulary" – structure of the book

The purpose of writing the first Korean textbook in English was evident to John Ross: to provide better communication for those who come to the Korean Peninsula. Ross explains:

> The following lessons are intended to introduce to the Corean languge those desirous to prepare for the official, mercantile, and chiefly the missionary intercourse with Corea, which cannot be of distant date. The Corean words are given in the Corean alphabet in syllables, under which is the Corean pronunciation in Roman letters, and the interpretation in English, according to the Corean idiom, viz. nom. obj., verb, negative (Ross, 1877, p. 3).

CP consists of eight pages of introduction and eighty-nine pages of the textbook itself. The introductory section, not only states the purpose of writing the textbook, it also covers personal pronouns, verbs, the alphabet, and some pronunciation rules. The textbook includes a detailed Korean alphabet overview and thirty-three lessons: I Library, II School, III Kitchen, IV Dining room, V Visitors, VI Bed room (sic), VII House building, VIII Compound, IX Domestic animals, X Wild animals, XI Travel, XII Horse, XIII Walking, XIV Inn, XV Direction and Position, XVI Exchange, XVII Merchandise, XVIII Number, XIX Length, Capacity, Land, Weight, XX Grain, XXI Vegetables, Fruits, XXII Time, XXIII Weather, XXIV Body, XXV& XXVI Senses: Touch, Sight, Hearing, Taste, Smell, XXVII Sickness, XXVIII Relations, XXIX Criminal, XXX Soldier, XXXI Colour, XXXII Moral, XXXIII[5] Soul[6].

As we can see above, all lessons have a title that represents a situation. Ko (2013, p. 29) points out that CP is a conversation book with short discourse and grammatical description at the beginning of the textbook.

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[5]   The last lesson XXXIII is marked as XXII in the textbook – it is a printing mistake.

[6]   Given titles and spelling are the same as they appear in *CP* without any correction from the author of this article.

Titles of the lessons are almost the same as in "Mandarin Primer" (see endnote 2) except: II School, V Visitors. "Mandarin Primer" also includes such units as: II-Speech (which can interchange with II School in CP), V-Drawing Room, XVII-Renting House, XX-Spring, XXI-Summer, XXII-Autumn, XXIII-Winter (there is no description of seasons in CP), XXX-Clothing, XXXIV-Mourning, XXXVIII-Astronomical, XXXIX-Knowledge, XLII-Salvation, XLIII-The Negatives. This layout upholds the hypothesis that CP is a reflection of "Mandarin Primer"[7].

KS, an upgraded version of CP, is composed of twenty pages of preface and one hundred and one pages of the textbook. Ross states:

> The first edition of this book was issued to prepare for intercourse with Korea, which I then believed imminent. It was, however, printed under such circumstances as rendered mistakes inevitable. I regret these were so numerous; though they were mostly of such a nature as no careful student could fail to detect (Ross, 1882, p. 1).

The introduction part consists of a preface, index, and grammar with the alphabet, some phonology rules, and detailed information about verbs and nouns. The textbook has thirty lessons: 1 Speech[8], 2 Kitchen, 3 Dining room, 4 Visiting, V Bed-Room (sic), VI Building, VII Compound, VIII Domestic animals, IX Wild animals, X Travel, XI Inn, XII Direction, XIII Exchange, XIV Merchandise, XV Number, XVI Length, XVII Grain, XVIII Vegetables, XIX Time, XX Weather, XXI Body, XXII Sight, XXIII Hearing, XXIV Sickness, XXV Relations, XXVI Crime, XXVII Soldier, XXVIII Colour, XXIX Moral, XXX Soul, Errata, Vocabulary[9]. This index presents the titles of the lessons; however, in the textbook, we can find inconsistencies in the titles. Lessons III, V, VI, XII, XVI, XXVI have slightly different titles from those presented in the index: III Speech, V Bed-Room (sic), VI House-Building, XII Direction & Position, XVI Length, Capacity, Land & Weight, XXVI Prisoner.

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[7] Kim and Hong (2017) have compared units of *Corean Primer* and *Mandarin Primer*. According to them the text of two books is similar in 85.24%.

[8] The first four lessons are marked with Arabic numerals others with Roman numerals.

[9] The same case as in endnote no. 3.

KS, just like CP, is a textbook of conversation type with titles of the unit, but despite a more systematic description of the grammar, it also includes a small English-Korean dictionary at the end.

Both textbooks consist of two parts, an introduction and teaching material. The first part clarifies aspects of the Korean language and its rules; the second part provides lessons with titles. Both textbooks seem to have similar content, although we notice that CP has more lessons such as a library, school, dining room, horse, walking (the last two might be treated as sub-lessons focused on travel). Lesson twenty-nine "Criminal" in CP is titled "Prisoner" in KS. Lesson eighteen in KS, "Vegetables" in CP is titled "Vegetables, fruit". Additionally, lessons twenty-five & twenty-six "Senses", presented as one lesson in CP, breaks into two lessons in KS – "Sight" and "Hearing". Besides this, KS has an erratum and an English-Korean vocabulary list arranged in alphabetical order at the end of the book. Kang (2005, 58) noticed that all lessons can be classified into four categories. The first one considers units treating about Korean life, for example, VIII Domestic animals, IX Wild animals, VIII Domestic animals, the second one is about communication with Koreans as a foreigner for example X Travel, XI Inn, XIII Exchange, XIV Merchandise, the third one is about colour, feelings, directions, positions etc., for example, XII Direction, XXII Sight, XXIII Hearing, and the last one regards religious life with missionary work, for example, XXIX Moral, XXX Soul. This last part is both in CP and KS.

Grammatical content

Grammatical content presented by John Ross can be divided into three parts: alphabet representation, phonological rules, and basic grammar. Ross's alphabet has an absolute rule "no two italic letters represent any one sound, and two no sounds are represented by any one letter". It means that each Korean character has only one sound value. The values of the italics are, as follows[10]:

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[10] All examples provided in this article are extracted from *CP* and *KS*. No alternations are made by the author to show the authenticity of digressions.

1) Alphabet: Value

CP: A(*a*rt), B(*b*an), Ch(*ch*um), D(*d*are), Ds(lan*ds*), E(m*e*t), Ê(m*a*de), G(be *g*an), H(*h*appy), I(*i*t), J(*j*am), K(*c*an), L(*l*ow), M(*m*an), N(*n*o), O(p*o*t), OO(m*oo*n), P(*p*an), R(*r*an), S(*s*on), T(*t*an), Ts(ren*ts*), U(f*u*n), V(*v*an), W(*w*an), wh(hw) *wh*y, Y(*y*ard)

KS: ㅏa(*a*rt), ㅂb(*b*an), ㅊch(*ch*um), ㄷd(*d*are), ㅈds(en*ds*), ㅇ|e(m*e*t), 에ê(m*a*de), ㄱg(g*o*t), ㆆh(*h*appy), ㅣi(*i*t), ㅈj(*j*am), ㅋk(*c*an) ㄹl(*l*ow), ㅁm(*m*an), ㄴn(*n*ot) ㅇng(lo*ng*), ㅗo(p*o*t), ㅓö(Möller), ㅜoo(m*oo*n), ㅍp(*p*an), ㄹr(*r*an), ㅅs(*s*on), ㅌt(*t*an), ㅊts(an*ts*), ㅡu(f*u*n), ㆆwh(*wh*y), ㅑya(*y*ard)

As seen in the example above, the alphabet is constructed with the Latin order of letters from A through Y with some special letters like *OO* and *Ts*. CP provides only Latin letters not accompanied by Korean characters, while KS gives them accordingly. Sounds given in brackets represent a sound as close as possible to the Korean character. However, the rule "no two sounds are represented by any one letter" is violated by ㅈds(en*ds*) and ㅈj(*j*am) in KS. Ch'oe (1988, 307) asserts it was an incorrect adaptation of aforementioned rule made by Ross. Additionally, the letters V(*v*an), and W(*w*an) disappeared from CP in favour of new letters ㅓö(Möller) and ㅇng(lo*ng*) in *KS*. Ross (1877)'s observation about Korean sounds is very insightful. He presents seven vowels such as A(*a*rt), E(m*e*t), Ê(m*a*de), I(*i*t), O(p*o*t), OO(m*oo*n), U(f*u*n), two semivowels W(*w*an), and Y(*y*ard) and eighteen consonants B(*b*an), Ch(*ch*um), D(*d*are), Ds(lan*ds*), G(be *g*an), H(*h*appy), J(*j*am), K(*c*an), L(*l*ow), M(*m*an), N(*n*o), P(*p*an), R(*r*an), S(*s*on), T(*t*an), Ts(ren*ts*), V(*v*an), wh(hw) *wh*y. The system of vowels and semivowels is similar to the contemporary Korean.

Both CP and KS give nine finals.

2) Nine finals

CP& *KS*: ㄱG(giug), ㄴN(niun), ㄷD(dighud), ㄹL(liul), ㅁM(mium), ㅂB(biub), ㅅS(shiut), ㅣI(oi) ㅇNG(iheng)

Example 2 shows that nine finals have two more letters, ㅅS(shiut) and ㅣI(oi), which do not exist as part of the seven final consonants of contemporary Korean. Kim and Hong (2017, p. 105) explain that the

number of nine finals result from the fact that a consonant ㅇ(yeshiŭng) was divided in Middle Korean into ㅣ(i) and ㅇ(iŭng).

It is worth to mention that Ross also includes a chart with consonants and attached vowels for the purpose of learners to practice Korean, a so-called *kagya* chart.

3) Consonants with vowels attached

> *CP*: 가ga 갸gia 거gu 겨giu 고go 교gio 구goo 규giw 그gu 기gi ㄱ ga …
>
> *KS*: 가ga 갸gia 거gö 겨giu 고go 교gio 구goo 규gioo 그gu 기gi ㄱ ga …

Example 3 presents an approach to learning Korean syllables as a means to master reading of the language. However, we find two differences in the representation of vowels in syllables such as 거gu and 거gö, also 규giw and 규gioo. After 'g' another element is the appearance of 'lower a (ㄱ ga)' in the *kagya* chart when practicing syllables. Nowadays, we use the same chart but without 'lower a', as follows: 가(ka/ga), 갸(kya/gya), 거(kŏ/gŏ), 겨(kyŏ/gyŏ), 고(ko/go) 교kyo/gyo 구ku/gu 규kyu/gyu 그kŭ/gŭ 기 ki/gi[11].

4) Compound vowels

> *CP*: ㅘwa ㅝwu ㆎe ㅖê
> *KS*: ㅘwa ㅝwu ㅚoi ㅟwi ㅢui ㅞwê ㆎe ㅖê

The catalogue of compound vowels is more expanded in KS than in CP, although we notice that what Ross had in mind were diphthongs in the Korean language; however, ㆎe ㅖê do not match this list. It is compelling that even though Ross presents the *kagya* chart with consonants and vowels, it is not reflected in the alphabet given in example 1. Based on this chart, he could have presented Korean consonants and vowels but chose to start from Latin alphabetical order and presented the letters from A to Y. This adjustment seems to be useful for English speakers who study foreign Asian languages.

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[11] This chart is given in McCune-Reischauer Romanization.

Euphony is another term used by Ross that catches the eyes of a contemporary reader of the textbook. He explains that two different consonants usually collide into one and make another sound. Ross gives basic phonological rules he observed while writing textbooks, although he does not assign them proper names like assimilation or palatalization etc. The first rule is the pronunciation of the syllable-final consonant ㅅ(s). Ross (1877, p. 7; 1882, p. 6) observes that ㅅ(s) is *t* before *d* or *t*, *k* before *g* or *k*, *sh* before *i*, or retains a proper *s* sound only before another *s* or a vowel. The second rule is the nasalization rule in three examples: ㅂ(b) becomes *m* before *n* , ㅅs is *n* before *n*, and ㄱg before *m* becomes *ng*. The third rule is a liquidization rule: if ㄹl precede ㄴn they form a double *ll*, but if ㄴn precedes ㄹl a double *n*[12] is formed. Unfortunately, Ross does not explain those phonological rules giving examples, making it harder for a learner to apprehend.

Grammatical explanations in CP and KS are confined to the description of the usage of nouns and verbs. According to Ross (1877, p. 4), the Korean language has no cases for nouns or persons for its verbs, but has inflection according to the rank of the person addressed. CP provides an elementary description of personal pronouns and verbs, such as "to go, to eat". Ross (1877, 4) presents singular and plural personal pronouns, reminding the reader that a superior is always addressed by his title. Ross also points out that inflection is carried out with the proper termination affixed according to the ranks of the persons speaking, whether they are superior, equal, or inferior, relative to one another.

5) Verb - Root 가(ga) to go(imp.) – Inflection

> Addressing superior 가우 (ga-oo); equal 가시(gashi); inferior 가라 (gara)

According to Ross (1877), endings attached to the root form an inflection of the verb. However, in KS, the author points out that nouns receive cases in agreement with the postpositions attached.

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[12] Actually this is an exception to a liquidization rule, with Chinese affixes for ex. 량 , *l* becomes *n* before *n*, ex. 생산량 (saengsan-nyang).

6) Noun and cases

Nominative	사람이(sarami)	머리가(möriga)
Possessive	사람의(raramui)[13]	머리의(möriui)
Objective	사람을(saramul)	머리를(mörirul)
Vocative	사람아(sarama)	머리아(möria)
Accusative	사람에(saramê)	머리에(möriê)
Ablative	사람에셔(saramêshiu)	머리에셔(möriêshiu)
a. Locative	in the man	in the head
b. Locomotive	사람으로(saramuro)	머리로(möriro)
	from, towards the man	from, towards the head
c. Instrumental	by a man	by a head

Ross (1882) states that 이(i) or 가(ka) always denotes the nominative; the Latin genitive is expressed by 의(ŭi). The objective case is marked by 을(ŭl) or 를(lŭl), but today's grammar books present them as the accusative case. The term "objective case" might be presumed to be part of the "subject-object-verb" basic Korean sentence structure to mark an object in the sentence because accusative is presented by Ross as 에(e) or 예(ye) and denotes "at" and represents the Latin "ad" and "coram". Ross says that vocative is not always used, as it is disrespectful. Under the ablative case, he mentions three cases: locative, locomotive, and instrumental, which in English are expressed correspondingly, as: in, towards, and by. He also mentions that adjectives are verbs, and they can describe nouns.

A considerable portion of the grammar part in KS is devoted to showing verbs in different moods. Ross (1882, p. 10) maintains that the Korean verb has three fundamental tenses such as present, past, and future, and moods: indicative, imperative, potential, conditional, and infinitive. The usage of the mood is presented with the verb "to go", as follows:

7) Mood

Indicative: 간다(ganda), Imperative: 가라(gara), Potential: 갈거슬 (galgösul), Conditional: 가면(gamiun), Infinitive: 가기를(gagirul)

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[13]   In this example the word is miswritten in the original text; it should be saramui.

The above verbs represent the morphological mood, which means the structure of the word expresses the mood, not the syntactic construction. He seems to apply the inflectional approach claiming that, for example, 라(ra) or 면(myŏn) are not endings attached to the root but inflectional forms of the verb.

Small portion of grammar is devoted to other parts of speech such as adjective and pronoun. While in CP Ross presents only personal pronouns, in KS he divides them into personal, interrogative, relative, impersonal and demonstrative, which as a matter of fact proves his good observation of language at that time and deep analysis of it. Ross (1882, 10) argues that adjectives are verbs because when they qualify the noun 은(eun) is attached to the root. This is another proof of his smart language analysis, in contemporary Korean grammar the term active verb and descriptive verb(adjective) are used to explain the category of verb in Korean.

Lessons

Textbooks made by Ross are of the conversational type. Each lesson has a title, for example, a kitchen, school, so a learner can choose a situation or a conversation type. There are different types of sentences provided: declarative, interrogative, imperative, propositive. However, CP and KS differ in the presentation of the teaching material as follows:

8) Sentence – pattern

CP: 되션말 보이기 쉽다   딕국말 보이기 얼엽다

doeshun mal boigi sooipda   de ghoog mal boigi uryupda

Corean speech (to) learn easy   Chinese (to) learn difficult
(Ross 1877, 6,7)

KS: Korean is easily learnt, Chinese is difficult.

조션말은 븨오기 쉽고 딕국말은 븨오기 얼엽소

Dsoshun marun beogi sooipgo degoog marun beogi öryupso

Korean speech learn easy, Chinese speech learn difficult
(Ross 1882, p. 1)

Example 8 shows the degree of difference in the layout of the sentences in the textbooks. CP first presents the Korean sentence, followed by a transliteration, and then a word for word translation. By contrast, KS gives a full sentence in English, followed by the Korean sentence, then a transliteration, and lastly, a word for word translation. It is evident that the second pattern is more transparent and more comfortable to study. Students can find a sentence he/she wants to learn or utter and practice. Ko (2013, p. 35) highlights three types of talks that can be found in CP and KS classifying them as: mutual conversation, one-way conversation, statement. Let us see the examples below:

9) KS: How many fox furs have you? I have many, you can have as many as you want (Ross, 1882, p. 39).

10) Today I have no leisure, come tomorrow to settle accts, as I go away next day (Ross, 1882, p. 49).

11) The Chinese shave off their hair, the Koreans tie it up in a knot (Ross, 1882, p. 55).

Example 9 presents the mutual conversation type. There is a question and the answer, however, example 10 is a one-way conversation type because there is no response in a dialogue. Ko (2013, p. 36) argues that one side conversation is a part of a situation in which a conversation is made. Last type is a statement that explicitly incorporates information about Korean culture. As seen above, example 11 presents the difference in hair style between Chinese and Korean people. According to Ko (2013, p. 37), KS has more one-way conversation patterns than mutual conversation patterns, showing Ross collected everyday colloquial sentences while writing his textbook[14].

Ross realized that Korean writing from top to bottom, right to left does not present an easy task for students to learn Korean. He used a word spacing that is used in contemporary Korean teaching. He knew that

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[14] Ko (2013) enumerates forty-five mutual conversation patterns, seventy-six one-way conversation patterns, and sixty-six statement patterns.

word spacing, and word to word translation, as seen in example 8, will help students to master language. Ko (2013, p. 44) claimed that it was an intentional action from a teaching perspective. Another factor that upholds the above claim is the fact that in KS two last lessons – twenty-nine and thirty are without word spacing, written from top to bottom, left to right for those who had mastered the basics from previous units. According to Ko (2013), this word spacing helped students understand the correct pronunciation of each word and its meaning. In addition, Kang (2005, p. 73) indicates that John Ross first used word spacing in his textbook for teaching purposes[15].

Another important thing in teaching Korean language is vocabulary and proper usage of words in a given situation. Ross did not present a separate word list at the end of each lesson but used one to one translation, namely Korean word and English word beneath that. KS additionally has an English-Korean glossary at the end of the textbook, so a student can find a needed vocabulary. Kang (2005, p. 69) claims that this glossary plays the role of a small dictionary with words of high frequency in a number of 1040 total. He also points out that in this glossary, there are words that are not of high frequency but useful from a foreign point of view during living on the Korean Peninsula, for example, yamen[16], magistrate, terrified, and tribunal. Additionally, it is worth to mention that some lessons include vocabulary consisting only of few sentences. Lessons fifteen and sixteen in KS have vocabulary presented for numbers, length, capacity, land and weight, lesson eighteen provides names for vegetables, lesson twenty-five vocabulary for names of the family members. Ko (2013, p. 37) enumerates twenty-one words for vegetables and twenty-eight words for family members[17].

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[15] Pak Yung-hio in his '*Sahwa giryak* [사화기략] (使和記略, 1882) for the first time used word spacing, however genuinely it was used in *Tongnip Sinmun* [독립신문] 1896.4.7.

[16] Yamen (아문) – name for public offices in Chosŏn era.

[17] Actually lesson twenty-five does not have 28 words but 18. Ko (2005) overlooked that some of the words are repeated, namely there is one word for father and another one for father but with a honorific form with the suffix 'nim'. There are 18 English words provided by Ross.

Reading each lesson, one can notice the cultural elements and etiquette of the period. From the lesson about visiting, we can retrieve a whole protocol on how to welcome guests: ask politely how many visitors came; sit them down and treat them with tea; ask about the journey; make introductions and exchange honours; treat them with food; after that serve them alcohol and smoke pipes. The lesson about the bedroom and inn includes sentences about dirty water and towels that reveal the poor sanitary conditions at that time. From the merchandise lessons, we can learn that pongee[18] was very expensive at that time, and that foreign currency was in demand. The last lessons from KS are written in a Korean style, from top to bottom, right to the left, and include short stories about God and how people should behave.

Conclusion

Writing a textbook about a foreign language, which includes presenting basic grammatical rules and choosing the content is a labour intensive task. From this perspective, John Ross's endeavour should be appreciated as well as his contribution to the teaching of Korean. Agreeing with the statement of (King 2004, 8) that the role of Western missionaries has been acknowledged by Koreans but underestimated, Ross's work is substantial. Taking into consideration, modern Korean language books, for example, Seoul National University Korean Language (Sŏuldae Han'gugŏ., Sŏul Taehakkyo, 2012), we find content to what Ross proposed like speaking, reading, pronunciation, vocabulary.

Firstly, he presented twenty-seven alphabet letters both in CP and KS; however, he chose the Latin way of presenting them from the letter A to the letter Y. His introduction of nine final consonants with phonological rules such as nasalization or liquidization helps give the student a better understanding of Korean pronunciation. The contemporary system of vowels and consonants is congenial to what Ross

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[18]   Pongee – silk of a slightly uneven weave made from filaments of wild silk woven in natural tan colour.

proposed. His observation about simple vowels, diphthongs was right. Although the description of grammar in the two works is essential and primary, it demonstrates the first attempts of missionaries to adjust the Korean language to Western grammar rules. Ross presents that verbs undergo inflection, and nouns have several cases. He differentiated verbs from adjectives however mentioned that adjectives are verbs what in contemporary Korean grammar is often described as active verb and descriptive verb. The lessons themselves seem to be very practical. Their conversational format allows a student to choose a topic, internalize a situation or topic relevant vocabulary, and practice with Koreans. Each unit presents situation, teaches pronunciation, vocabulary, speaking, and reading. Such a structure is what most contemporary conversational books exhibit these days. Therefore, although John Ross's first Korean language textbooks were written in the late nineteenth century, they still possess considerable value as teaching tools.

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SOUTH KOREAN POP CULTURE FLOWING TO NORTH KOREANS: PATHS AND FORWARD-LOOKING DISCOURSE FROM THE SOVIET ESTONIANS WATCHING FINNISH TV[1]

How exactly will the cumulative viewing of South Korean visual media by North Koreans reveal its potential? To address this question, this study examines the case of Estonia, a successful post-Soviet country and a parallel to the Korean Peninsula, looking back at times when Finnish TV and radio had become accessible in Tallinn, northern Estonia, from the early 1960s during the Soviet period. The method of this study is divided into two parts. The first part comprises a content analysis of previous studies related to the time-period-related dissemination of South Korean pop culture in North Korea, focused on visual media since the 2000s. The second part contains in-depth interviews with 20 Estonians, who had watched Finnish TV during the Soviet period to assess how these cumulative views function identified within North Korea and in the course of inter-Korean exchanges and cooperation.

Keywords: *K-pop, pop culture, Soviet Estonian, Finnish TV, North Korea, capitalist media*

Introduction

Has South Korea's pop culture, such as TV dramas, movies, and music, been flowing into North Korea that has long been known as a closed

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system? This question, which was raised by the media and academia in South Korea in the early 2000s, has evolved into the question of what are its diversified implications for North Korean society, culture, politics, economy, and inter-Korean relations, reaching back over two decades and exploring the course that South Korean visual media has traversed in North Korea.

This study to some extent was carried out according to Estonian case enabling to address these questions. Estonia, like present day North Korea, was formerly a communist state, but residents of Tallinn, the capital of Estonia, had access to capitalist TV from Finland. Estonia regained its independence in the early 1990s, and has since been regarded as stable, fast-evolving, and successful society in various aspects such as economic development, digitalization (e.g., e-Estonia, e-government), education, and infrastructure. Since regaining independence from the Soviet Union, there have been studies of this background along with positive changes in Estonia. One of these phenomena, viewing of the Finnish TV by the Estonian people in the Soviet period, is the subject of this study.

In brief, this study aims to examine the paths of South Korean visual media flow into North Korea, and to assess forward-looking discourses on what functions the North Korean residents' capitalist media viewing accumulated over a longer period of time will advance within North Korea, and, by extension, in the course of inter-Korean exchanges and cooperation.

The methods of this study are conducted in both content analysis of previous studies and in-depth interviews with 20 Estonians who have watched Finnish TV during the Soviet period. The interviewees were contacted in accordance with the factors such as job occupation, demographical variables, residences during and after the Soviet period and so on. As of 2019, when the in-depth interviews were conducted, the age group of 20 interviewees fell within the limits from 40s to 70s. In further detail, nine respondents were in their 40s, seven in 50s, two in 60s and two in 70s. By gender, there were twelve female and eight male respondents.

Dissemination of South Korean visual media
in North Korea by multi-layered environmental changes
since the 2000s

The 2000s was the bifurcation point of the dissemination of South Korean visual media to North Korea, where South Korean visual media flowed and spread across borders into all regions. That is, not only has viewing of South Korean visual media been localized to North Korean regions neighbouring on the border between China and North Korea, North Hamgyong, Yanggang and Chagang, but also across inland regions including Pyongan, Gangwon and Hwanghae provinces, as well as the capital, Pyongyang.

Against this backdrop, firstly, South Korea's pop culture arts, such as drama series and movies, have grown remarkably in number and quality, because of the South Korean government's support policy to make a good impact on developing popular culture, by extension, South Korea's IT development, and private broadcasters' support for the production of large-scale drama series.

Secondly, beyond the 30 years of antagonism between South Korea and China since the Korean War, diplomatic relations were established on August 24, 1992. This was to serve as a momentum for South Korean drama series, movies and entertainment programs to radiate off into China. In other words, the formation of bilateral ties between the two countries has become a watershed in which favour for South Korean popular cultural arts in China has flowed into North Korea, which borders China.

Thirdly, as China's economic growth accelerated in the 2000s, Chinese electronics companies gave impetus to the production of low-priced small portable devices such as EVDs, MP5s, and tablet PCs. The influx of the devices into North Korea entailed replacement of memory devices from optical disks such as CDs and DVDs to flash memory devices such as USB and SD cards, which have greatly improved storage capacity and transfer time. Thus, throughout the 2000s, full episodes of a drama series have become available for distribution through flash memory devices. Moreover, North Korea has become more dependent on imports from China since

the mid-2000s. Based upon the flow, adding to the growing imports of Chinese-made portable devices, footings in North Korea have been in place for dissemination of South Korean visual media.

Fourthly, since the 1990s economic crisis of North Korea, the expansion of marketization in North Korea has been in immediate conformity with the spread of South Korean visual media between regions. In other words, since the 1990s, the background of the spread of the Korean Wave in North Korea is related to the proliferation of markets and barter. Meanwhile, behind the curtains, smuggling of contraband through the unlicensed markets in North Korea also is on the increase (Cha V. & Collins L. A., 2018). Through the unlicensed markets, banned goods, DVDs, CDs, and USBs carrying recorded Korean movies and drama series have been clandestinely distributed farther and wider. Moreover, the increasing demand for South Korean films and drama series amongst North Koreans has been a driving force for further inflow from China to North Korea.

Fifthly, there has been an increase in activities behind closed doors, through which USB memory sticks containing South Korean movies and dramas have been sent to North Korea by the South Korean and international human rights groups since the 2000s. In addition to these activities, the increase in money transfers to North Korea by defectors residing in South Korea has not been irrelevant to South Korean visual media purchasing in North Korea. The remittances to family members in North Korea have been contributed by the considerable number of North Korean defectors who have entered South Korea in the 2000s.

Forward-looking discourse from the Soviet Estonians watching Finnish TV

How do Estonians, who watched Finnish TV during Soviet period, relate their experiences with North Korean residents who watch South Korean media? According to the analysis of the transcribed in-depth interviews, classifying it in context by topic, the predicted ripple effects that would be triggered by North Koreans' habitual viewing of capitalist media are:

Firstly, like the path taken by the Soviet Estonians, the understanding and conception of a free world, which has been disseminated through South Korean visual media, will make North Koreans regard the regime as repressive and totalitarian, and they will be able to think more independently. As the year progresses, North Korean viewers not only direct their own cross-currents away from brainwashing, but also may boost their self-selection ability (interviewee 13, 15, 17).

> Certainly, an advantage, because the inhabitants of Northern Estonia had a real experience of the coexistence of different worldviews, and this probably shaped a whole generation's analytical ability [..] (interviewee 13).

Further, this might lead to social agents forming their own personal opinions about their current environment and to sharing these opinions with each other. In the long run, South Korean media could provide directions to democratisation and reunification. (interviewee 6).

Secondly, South Korean media may have a good chance to raise the awareness of North Koreans, allowing them to achieve a better understanding about the possible ways in which their lives could be improved without instructions from their 'dictator'.

> I would rather say it was an advantage because people knew where to reach and how to set up their goals (interviewee 8).

> Finnish TV gave us ideas. We managed to aim at what was out there. The Finns were like us, that knowledge helped us a lot (interviewee 9).

This process will foster the integration of the two Koreas. Viewing Finnish TV became a stepping stone in Estonia's road to independence from the Soviets (interviewees 16, 17, 19, and 20), and became a hidden accelerator at the primary stage of subsequent political, economic and social betterment. In addition, it bolstered Estonians' psychological need, goal, and capacity to catch up with or surpass Finland (interviewees 1, 3, 7, 8, 9, 16 18).

Thirdly, North Korean viewers' perceptions of North-South relations can be determined by the gap in accessibility of South Korean media

between North Korean regions. Drawing parallels with the residents of Estonian capital Tallinn in northern Estonia, who were involved in the in-depth interviews of the current study, compared to those from the southern parts of Estonia, tend to perceive Estonia's relations with Finland as closer than those with its other neighbours.[2] In addition to geopolitical factors, Soviet Estonians' Finnish TV viewing has been positioned in the process of advancing the amity between the Estonians and their neighbours. On TV, Finland raised strong affinity from Soviet Estonian viewers. That is, feelings of kinship and similarity with Finland strengthened.

Fourthly, language acquisition by media viewing will be an indispensable human resource for North Koreans as well as South Koreans (interviewees 4, 6, 17). Watching Finnish TV gave Estonians revelatory insight and became an 'opportunity' to learn non-Soviet languages, such as Finnish and English. Estonians, who continually watched Finnish TV, were able to acquire Finnish language with little effort, they were favourably predisposed, perceiving an advantage in business exchanges with Finns and the chances of studying in Finland (interviewees 8, 14, 15, 18).

> Even Finnish-speaking Estonian people were already there when they opened up economic relations with Finland in the early post-independence period, thereby accelerating economic cooperation and development between the two countries. The reason why Estonia took off very fast in the 1990s compared to the other Baltic states was thanks to our language contacts and the exchange of information (interviewee 15)

Furthermore, the contribution of the Estonians, fluent in Finnish, yielded financial gains not only to Estonia but also to Finland. Consequently, North Korean fans of South Korean visual media are convinced that their competencies and differentiators will be identified in the course of inter-Korean exchanges.

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[2]   Latvia and Lithuania, which, along with Estonia, form the three Baltic countries.

Conclusion: Discussion of nonparallel aspects
for further paths

Aside from the aforementioned factors, some nonparallel aspects between Soviet Estonians and North Koreans are present. First of all, compared to the social control that had loosened through the 1980s in Soviet Estonia, the social control system in North Korea, such as the restriction of inter-regional mobility, the surveillance and punishment for capitalist media viewing, has persisted to this day. This thoroughly controlled regime, which is unlike that of Estonians in the later days of Soviet Union, results in two opposite consequences – being either precluded or immersed in the viewing of capitalist media.

In the former case, since North Koreans have usually been under the keen eye of surveillance and punishment, the long-term rooting of South Korean pop culture in North Korea would be undermined. In the Soviet era, the whole society, like North Korea, did not fall into mass psychosis (interviewee 5) and did not develop a deep belief in communism (interviewee 9, 12). It is summed up with the conviction of interviewees that the majority of Soviet Estonians were not as brainwashed as North Koreans. (interviewee 5, 9, 17, 19) On top of this, the Soviet authorities spelled out no obvious penalties for watching Finnish TV. There were only the jamming signals from Moscow that hindered broadcasts from the outside world. Nonetheless, the Soviet Estonians were able to cope with these by inventing an all-wave receiver. (interviewee 1)

On the other hand, North Korean regime is even more unduly restrictive in terms of its residents' mobility than its counterpart in the Soviet Union of the 1970s and 80s. It is implied that North Korean viewers, suffering from limited inter-regional travel, would invest their aspirations and hopes in South Koreans regarding their freedom of movement, just as Soviet Estonians felt towards Finland (interviewee 2).

Secondly, there is a historical factor in Estonia that is related to the ability of the Estonians to understand the reality of capitalism, which is distinct from the stage where North Koreans maintain a glamorized view of the Korean society that they have formulated through viewing

South Korean visual media. Its historical background is that during the 1st Republic of Estonia (1918–1940), the state had already established a Western-oriented government and experienced capitalism.

As time went by, the experience of independence and a free capitalist society was later passed onto children as habitus. Further, Finnish television was watched and interpreted in Estonia based on the historical experience of capitalism, which is not a part of the historical flows of the two Koreas. Thereby, unlike South Korean visual media in North Korea, Finnish media did not introduce a wholly new way of life to Estonians.

Thirdly, since the 1990s, when North Korea was in the looming food crisis, South Korean visual media began to flow into North Korea, and the truth about the South Korean imagery in visual media would have been more firmly rooted in the minds of viewers. North Korea's economy in the 1990s and 2000s, which was worse than that of Estonia in the late Soviet days, would become a favourable environment for the spread of South Korean pop culture, since it enhanced the credibility of South Korean visual media content.

Fourthly, the social alienation led to the tendency of Estonian viewers to become more immersed in Finnish TV than in the TV broadcasted from Soviet Russia. To rephrase, as a reaction to the Soviet Russians leaving the Estonians out in the cold, the Estonians turned to Finland as their friendly country. In the light of this, it is imaginable that, if North Koreans, having undergone great disparities, encounter South Korea's visual media, they become more immersed in South Korean media as a counteraction to the already privileged strata.

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STUDY OF TEACHER PROFESSIONALISM SELF-AWARENESS
OF KOREAN TEACHERS IN UKRAINE
교원 전문성에 대한 우크라이나 한국어교원의
자기인식 조사 연구

The purpose of this study is to examine the perception of Korean language teachers in Ukraine regarding their level of expertise as teachers. To this end, the qualifications for Korean language teaching in Ukraine were reviewed, and a survey was conducted, involving Ukrainian and Korean teachers. The results are, as follows: Most Korean language teachers in Ukraine lacked knowledge-based qualities, such as Korean language proficiency and knowledge of Korean language and teaching methods. In the case of technology-based factors, Ukrainians were found to have a good proficiency level, while Koreans were found to have a rather low level. It is presumed that it was due to the lack of professional teacher training for Korean teachers in Ukraine. Therefore, it is urgent to develop a systematic teacher education programme based on Ukraine's education policy and the survey of teachers' needs.

Keywords: *teacher qualifications, teacher education, teacher professionalism, Korean teachers in Ukraine*

이 연구의 목적은 우크라이나의 한국어교원이 자신의 교사로서의 전문성 수준이 어떠하다고 인식하는지 살펴보는 것이다. 이를 위해서 우크라이나에서의 한국어교원 자격 조건을 살펴보고, 우크라이나인 및 한국인 교원을 대상으로 교원 전문성 인식 양상을 분석하기 위한 설문조사를 실시하였다. 설문조사 결과는 다음과 같다. 먼저 우크라이나의 한국어교원들은 전체적으로 한국어

구사력, 한국어 및 교수법 지식 등의 지식 기반 요소가 부족하였다. 그 이유는 전문적인 교사 교육을 받지 못했기 때문으로 판단된다. 다음으로 기술 기반 요소의 경우 우크라이나인은 양호한 수준의 능력을 갖추었으나, 한국인은 수준이 다소 낮은 것으로 확인되었다. 이는 한국인이 학습자 언어에 대한 이해가 부족하기 때문으로 보인다. 따라서 우크라이나의 현실 상황과 교원의 요구조사를 바탕으로 하는 체계적인 교사 교육 프로그램의 개발이 시급하다. 그리고 이를 위해서는 우크라이나 한국어교원의 현황과 특징, 전문성 구성 요인을 밝히는 연구가 지속되어 기초자료 구축이 이루어져야 한다.

1. 머리말

이 연구의 목적은 우크라이나 한국어교원이 스스로 교원으로서의 전문성을 어떻게 인식하고 있는지 살펴봄으로써 현지 한국어교원의 비전문성 개선 방안을 논의하는 데에 도움이 될 수 있는 기초자료를 제공하는 것이다. 이를 위해서 우크라이나 한국어교원들을 대상으로 설문조사를 실시하여 전문성에 대한 자기인식을 분석해 보고자 한다.

우크라이나는 한국과 지리적으로나 역사적으로 큰 관계를 가지고 있다고 보기 어렵고 동양에 대한 관심도 주로 지리적으로 가까운 중동(인도, 이란 및 동남아 지역 등)과 근동(아랍지역)에 치우쳐 있었다. 마찬가지로 한국에서도 우크라이나 관련 연구가 전문적으로 논의되고 있지 않으며(최승진·김석원 2004:114) 이러한 상황은 한국어교육 분야에서도 크게 다르지 않았다. 그러나 최근 한류와 함께 산업, 경제면에서 세계적으로 한국의 위상이 높아짐에 따라 우크라이나에서도 한국어교육에 대한 수요가 증가하고 있다.

이에 맞추어 2017년 우크라이나 키예프에 한국어교육원이 개원하면서 한국어교육의 활성화를 이끌고 있다.[1] 그리고 2018년에는 우크라이나 초중등학교용 한국어교육과정이 개발, 현지 교육부에 등재되어 초중등학교에서

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[1]   한국교육원 자료에 따르면 2020년 12월 기준으로 우크라이나 초중등학교 11개교에서 한국어를 정규교과 및 방과 후 수업으로 채택하였으며 약 990여 명의 학생들이 한국어를 배우고 있다고 하였다.

한국어를 제1 또는 제2 외국어로 정식 채택할 수 있게 되었다(김지혜·박안토니나 2020:409). 또한 한국교육원의 지원으로 현지 맞춤형 교재를 개발하였으며 현재 교육부 인증교재로 등록, 초중등학교에서 사용되고 있다. 이처럼 정부의 정책적 지원을 바탕으로 교육 자료의 연구 및 개발이 이루어지고 교과과정을 수립하는 성과를 이루어 왔다. 그럼에도 불구하고 아직은 우크라이나에서의 한국어교육이 안정적인 체계를 갖추었다고 보기 어렵다. 이를 위해서는 앞서 언급한 성과와 더불어 학생들을 대상으로 이루어지는 한국어 교수 학습의 질을 제고하는 것이 근본적으로 이루어져야 한다(이선우·방성원 2014:65). 그리고 이것은 한국어교원의 전문성이 확보되어야 비로써 가능하다. 그런데 교사의 전문성이라는 것은 교사의 역할, 교수 학습 환경의 맥락, 시대적 변화에 따라 다를 수 있기 때문에 이를 무엇인지 정의하는 것은 쉽지 않다(방성원 2016). 그리고 한국어교원의 전문성을 객관적으로 판단하기 위해서는 전문성을 구성하는 요소들을 상세화할 수 있어야 한다. 교원으로서의 전문성을 확보한다는 것은 결국 비전문성을 개선한다는 것으로 이해할 수 있는데, 이를 위해서는 전문성의 어떠한 구성 요소가 문제를 야기하며 재교육이 필요한지 분명하게 제시할 수 있어야 하기 때문이다.

한국어교육 분야에서 교원 전문성에 대한 논의는 크게 한국어교원의 자질 및 역할과 전문성의 구성 요소의 두 가지로 논의되어 왔다(방성원 2016:82). 한국어교원이 갖추어야 할 자질과 요건, 교육자로서의 태도를 제시는 연구로는 백봉자(1991), 김중섭(2005), 민현식(2006) 등이 있으며 교육학적 관점으로 교사 전문성을 논의한 연구에는 강승혜(2010), 김아영(2012), 방성원(2016) 등이 있다. 전자의 연구들은 한국어교원으로서 역할을 수행하기 위해 종합적으로 요구되는 자질을 일정시간 이상 교육하는 양성과정 설계에 유용한 반면, 후자는 경력 교수들이 요구하는 교육의 내용, 특성을 특정한 요소로서 이해할 수 있다(방성원 2016:83). 이러한 논의들을 고찰하여 한국어교원의 전문성을 구성하는 하위요소를 명확하게 설정하면 한국어교원의 교육 전문성을 판단하는 기준을 객관적으로 제시할 수 있을 것이다.

그러나 국외 교원의 전문성을 제고하는 효과적인 방안을 논의하기 위해서는 해당 지역의 한국어교원이 가지는 특징을 고려해야 한다. 이는 현지

교원과 학생의 요구조사 및 교육정책 분석 등이 반영된 기초자료 분석을 통해 가능하다. 문제는 이러한 연구를 개인이 수행하는 것이 현실적으로 쉽지 않고, 특히 한국어교육 분야의 연구 대상으로 크게 주목받지 못했던 우크라이나 같은 경우는 더욱 그러하다. 이로 인해서 우크라이나 한국어교원의 현황을 살펴볼 수 있는 연구가 미흡한 실정이며,[2] 그나마도 현지 한국어교원의 양적인 현황을 제시하는 데에 그치는 경우가 많고 우크라이나 한국어교원의 교육학적 전문성과 교육 프로그램에 대한 요구분석 등 질적 요소에 대한 논의는 거의 없다고 할 수 있다. 따라서 우크라이나 한국어교원의 특징을 파악하고 현지 맞춤형 교원 교육의 개발을 위한 기초자료로 사용하기에도 아쉬움이 있다. 이에 본 연구에서는 우크라이나 한국어교원의 자격 조건을 살펴보고, 현직 우크라이나인 및 한국인 한국어교원을 대상으로 전문성 분석을 위한 설문조사를 실시하고자 한다. 지역적 특성이 반영된 이 연구의 결과는 향후 우크라이나 한국어교원의 비전문성 개선 방안을 논의하는 데에 기초자료로 기여하는 바가 있을 것이다.

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[2]　우크라이나의 한국어교원 현황을 참고할 수 있는 연구로 최승진·김석원 (2004)이 있다. 이에 따르면 1996년 키예프외국어대학교의 한국어과 개설을 시작으로 키예프국립대학교, 키예프국제언어법대학 등 우크라이나 대학에 한국어 관련 전공 설치가 이어져왔다. 초기에는 한국어를 학습한 현지 교수진에 의해 기초 수준의 수업이 진행되었으나 이후 코이카(한국국제협력단)과 한국국제교류재단(Korea Foundation) 에서 파견된 전문교원과, 한국에서 학위를 받고 돌아온 현지인 교수진을 기반으로 실질적인 한국어교육 및 연구가 이루어지고 있다(최승진·김석원 2004). 반면에 한글학교나 최근 증가세를 보이고 있는 현지 초중등학교의 한국어교원은 전문성을 갖추었다고 보기 어렵다. 적지 않은 수의 한국인 교원이 선교사 또는 유학생이고, 현지인 교원들도 한국어교육을 위한 전문적인 교육을 받은 적이 없는 경우가 대부분이기 때문이다. 대학에서의 한국어교육이 특정 도시에 집중된 것에 비해 한글학교와 초중등학교는 우크라이나 전역에 위치해 있으며, 따라서 한국어에 입문하는 학습자를 교육하는 교사의 비전문성 개선은 무엇보다도 중요한 사안이다.

2. 우크라이나의 한국어교원 양성 및 자격 조건

최근 우크라이나에서도 한국어에 대한 관심이 증가하면서 한국어교원으로 활동하는 한국인과 현지인이 늘고 있다. 그러나 주지하는 것처럼 비전문적인 교원의 수가 절대적인 데다가 현지인 한국어교원조차도 대부분 우크라이나 교육부에서 요구하는 자격 조건에 대해 정확히 모르고 있다. 따라서 우크라이나에서 한국어교원으로 활동하기 위한 자격 조건 및 취득 방법을 국내에서의 경우와 우크라이나에서의 경우로 구분하여 살펴보고자 한다.

국내에서는 대학(원)과 학점은행제, 비학위과정을 통해서 한국어교원 자격을 취득할 수 있다. 외국어로서의 한국어교육학을 전공(복수전공, 부전공 포함)으로 학위를 취득 시에는 무시험으로 한국어교원 자격을 받을 수 있다. 그리고 비학위 양성과정(120시간) 이수자는 한국어교육능력검정시험(Test of Teaching Korean as a Foreign Language)에 합격해야 자격증을 취득할 수 있다.

그러나 외국인이 한국어교원 자격을 받기 위해서는 외국어로서의 한국어교육학 학위와 함께 한국어능력시험(TOPIK) 6급이 반드시 필요하다. 비학위 양성과정에서는 이수자에게 TOPIK 6급을 요구하지는 않지만 한국어교육능력검정시험의 합격률이 응시자 대비 약 30% 내외(2019년 기준)인 만큼 외국인이 이 시험에 합격하기가 쉽지 않다. 또한 어렵게 취득한 한국어교원 자격증이 우크라이나에서 공신력을 인정받는 필수 조건이 아니라는 한계점도 있다. 한국교육원이나 세종학당에서는 공신력을 인정하여 교원 채용에 사용하지만 현지인 교원의 대다수가 소속된 현지 국가교육기관에서는 반드시 그렇지 않다.[3] 아울러 해외 현지에서 필요로 하는 교원의 자질과 전문성은 현실적으로 국내 한국어교원 기준과 차이를 보이기도 한다(박병선 2020).

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[3] 류승의(2018)에서도 중국인 (예비)교사들이 중국에서 자격증을 인정받지 못하고 교사 채용 조건이 아니라는 등의 이유로 한국어교원 자격증 취득의 필요성을 크게 느끼지는 못한다고 조사 결과를 밝혔는데 우크라이나에서도 이와 비슷한 상황으로 판단된다.

따라서 교사 채용에서 필수적인 조건도 아닌데 현지 교원이 시간과 비용의 부담을 감수하면서까지 한국어교원 자격증을 취득하려고 노력할지 의문이다.

결국은 우크라이나에서 공식적인 한국어교원으로 활동하기 위해서는 현지 규정에서 요구하는 자격 요건을 취득하는 편이 유익하다. 뿐만 아니라 우크라이나 한국어교원에게 맞춘 비전문성 개선 프로그램을 개발을 위해서도 현지에서 규정하는 교원의 자격과 양성 및 재교육 프로그램 현황에 대한 이해가 선행되어야 한다.

현재 우크라이나에는 한국어교육학 전공이 개설된 대학교가 없다.[4] 따라서 국내에서처럼 학위를 취득과 함께 공식적인 자격을 취득할 수는 없다. 그리고 교육정책 상으로는 한국어교원의 전문성 향상 프로그램을 연수 등의 형식으로 제공한다고 언급하고 있으나 교사 양성 및 재교육의 주체가 누구인지, 그것이 어디에서 어떻게 시행되어야 하는지에 대한 구체적인 지침은 제시하지 않고 있다 (김지혜・박안토니나 2020). 다만 우크라이나 교육부 법령의 초중등교육법에서 규정하고 있는 교사 채용과 관련된 사항을 참고하여 한국어교원의 자격을 살펴보았다.[5]

우크라이나에서 공식적으로 한국어교원이 되려면 대학(원)에서 한국어교육 학위를 취득하거나 현지 교육부에서 규정하고 있는 연수과정을 이수해야만 한다. 그런데 앞서 언급한 것처럼 현재 우크라이나 대학에는 현재 한국어교육 전공이 없기 때문에 학위를 취득하기 위해서는 한국으로 유학을 가야한다. 그리고 한국에서 취득한 학위는 우크라이나 교육부에 제출하여 공식적인 인증 절차를 밟아야 한다. 그렇게 인증을 받으면 현지에서 한국어교육학 전문가로서 공식적인 한국어교원으로 활동이 가능하다.

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[4]   2021년 1월 현재 신북방 사업의 일환으로 교육부에서 주관하는 현지 한국어교원 양성과정 사업을 통해 키예프외국어대학교와 오데사국립사범대학교에 한국어교육 전공을 설치하고자 노력하고 있다.

[5]   관련된 세부내용은 https://ips.ligazakon.net/document/view/T200463?an=1에서 확인이 가능하다.

[표 1] 우크라이나 교원 자격관련 규정

근거 법령	내용
초중등교육법 제 463-IX호, 2020년 1월 16일부(Закон № 463-IX „О полном общем среднем образовании", от 16.01.2020)	제 22항 교원 (채용 조건) 우크라이나어를 구사하는 내외국인; 사범대학 4년 과정을 마친 자, 4년제 대학에서 관련 전공을 마친 자 또는 전문자격을 가진 자
	제58항 5절 교원 학력 및 자격증 조건 현장에 특정 과목의 교사가 없거나 부족하면 유사교과목 교사가 가르치는 것을 허용. 다만, 이와 같은 자는 일정한 자격을 갖추지 않았을 경우 1년 계약으로만 채용. 사범대학을 거치지 않아도 국가자격증 시험 및 일정한 재교육 이수 시 교원자격을 획득 가능; 타 전공의 사범대 졸업자, 일반 대학의 관련 전공 졸업자가 교사 경력 1년 이상인 경우 국가지정기관(대학원, 연수원, 학교 교원 연구소, 사범대 부설 연수원 등)에서 재교육을 받아 교원자격증을 받아야 함.

　　다음으로 연수과정을 통한 자격 취득 방법은 기본적으로 사범대학교 졸업자, 또는 일반대학의 관련학과(한국학, 한국어통번역학, 한국어문학 등) 졸업자만을 대상으로 한다. 특히 일반대학 졸업자의 경우 5년 이내에 600시간의 연수과정을 이수해야 교원으로서의 자격이 부여된다.[6] 그리고 자격을 유지하기 위해서는 직위에 따라 대학 교수는 180시간, 초중등학교 교사는 150시간, 유치원 교사는 120시간의 연수를 5년 단위로 이수해야 한다.[7]

　　그러나 실제 교육 현장에서는 이와 같은 자격 요건의 충족 여부보다는 교장의 재량권에 따라 한국어교원이 채용되는 실정이다. 현실적으로 규정에서의 자격

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[6]　이러한 연수시간은 오데사 국립사범대학교의 연수원에서 제시하고 있는 내용이다. 그러나 실제로는 초중등학교에서 한국어교육을 담당할 전문 교원을 구하기가 쉽지 않은 관계로 자격을 갖추지 못하였다고 하더라도 교장의 권한으로 채용이 이루어지고 있는 실정이다.

[7]　https://mon.gov.ua/storage/app/media/news/Новини/2020/01/21/kvalifikatsii.pdf

조건을 충족하는 한국어교원을 찾기도 어렵고 전문성을 갖춘 교원을 양성하는 프로그램도 거의 전무하기 때문이다. 이처럼 비전문가 교원에 의한 한국어교육이 이어지다 보면 결국은 교수 학습의 질을 제고할 수 없게 되고 이는 한국어에 대한 학습자의 흥미를 떨어뜨리는 결과를 초래할 수도 있다. 따라서 정부의 신북방 사업과 같은 정책적 지원이 이루어지는 이때에 우크라이나 교육부의 교육정책과 조건, 교사집단의 요구 등을 반영하여 현지에서 공식적으로 인증되는 한국어교원 양성 및 재교육 프로그램 개발을 위한 시도가 필요하다.

3. 한국어교원의 전문성 조사 방법

주지한 바와 같이 우크라이나 한국어교원의 전문성을 판단하는 기준을 객관적으로 제시하기 위해서는 전문성을 구성하는 하위요소를 명확하게 설정해야 한다. 우크라이나 한국어교원의 전문성에 대한 선행연구들에서는 한국어와 한국문화에 대한 지식과 교육학적 지식, 교수법 그리고 인성 및 태도를 한국어교원에게 필요한 전문성으로 보았다.

[표 2] 한국어 교사 전문성의 구성 요소와 차원(방성원 2016:85)

지식 기반 요소	신념 기반 요소	기술 기반 요소
일반 교육학적 지식 언어 교육학적 지식 한국어 교육 내용 지식 한국어 교수학적 지식 문화 지식 언어 사용 지식	태도, 가치관 인성, 도덕성 소명의식 전문성 의지 실천 의지	상황 지식 수업 실행 능력 학급 운영 능력 학습자 상담 능력 자료 개발 능력
⇓ 인지적 차원	⇓ 정의적 차원	⇓ 행동적 차원

특히 방성원(2016)은 기존 연구에서의 교원전문성에 한국어교원으로서의 전문성 구성 요소를 적용하여 지역적 특징에 맞게 조정하여 전문성 구성 요소를 제시하였다. 위의 [표 2]의 내용을 보면 한국어교원의 전문성은 인지적 차원의

'지식 기반 요소'와 정의적 차원의 '신념 기반 요소', 행동적 차원의 '기술 기반 요소'
고 나누어 정리하였다. 그중에서 본 연구에서는 방성원(2016:145)에서도 지적한
것처럼 우크라이나의 한국어교원들도 전업 교원이 아닌 경우가 많을 것으로
판단되는 바, 현실적으로 모든 관점에서의 전문성 제고는 어렵다고 보고 정의적
차원의 항목들은 설문 내용에서 제외하였다. 물론 이러한 정의적 차원이 전문성
개발에 미치는 영향이 유의하다는 실증적 연구들이 진행되기도 했으나(김아영
2012), 이를 객관적으로 판단하고 상대적으로 비교하는 것이 어렵기 때문이다.
아울러 한국어와 한국문화에 대한 기본적인 지식이 갖추어진 후에야 정의적인
차원에서의 전문성을 목표로 하는 것이 적절하다고 판단하였다. 또한 한국어
지식과 수업을 운영하는 능력은 한국어교원의 전문성에서 가장 기본이면서도
현지 교원들에게 가장 근본적인 문제가 되는 부분이기도 하다(박병선, 2020).
따라서 이 영역에서 교원들이 전문성이 제고된다면 정의적인 차원 역시 동반
상승을 기대해볼 수 있을 것이다. 이에 본 연구에서는 기존의 전문성 구성 항목을
바탕으로 조사 문항을 다음과 같이 설정하였다.

[표 3] 질문 영역별 문항의 구성

영역		질문 항목
기본 정보	개인 배경	성별, 국적, 최종학력, 학위전공, 근무지역(도시), 근무기관, 한국어 강의경력, 한국어교원 자격증, 한국어능력시험 등급
	수업 환경	주당 평균 강의시간, 사용 교재, 대상 학생의 학습 목적 및 학습자 수준, 타 언어 교육경험
전문성 향상 활동		국내외 교원 양성과정 및 연수 참여횟수
		강의계획서/교안 작성, 교재/교보재 개발, 수업일지 작성, 교사세미나/모임 참석, 교수법 연구, 한국어 학습, 기타
전문성 자기인식	지식 기반 요소	한국어 구사력, 한국어학 지식, 한국어교육학 지식, 한국문화 지식
	기술 기반 요소	현지 학생 및 문화의 특성 파악, 수업 운영 능력, 교재 및 수업자료 이해 및 개발 능력

　　문항은 크게 응답자의 기본 정보, 전문성 향상을 위한 활동, 전문성에 대한 자기인식의 세 가지로 구성하였다. 첫 번째로 응답자의 기본 정보에서는 현지 교원에 대한 인적사항과 자신이 가르치는 수업의 현황에 대한 문항으로 구성하였다. 이를 통해 교원 개인의 배경을 파악할 수 있고 교실 상황에 대해서도 가늠해 보고자 함이다. 두 번째로 한국어교원으로서 전문성을 향상하기 위한 활동에서는 자신의 교육적 역량을 강화하기 위한 활동에 얼마나 적극적인지 확인하고자 국내외 교원양성과정 참여횟수와 교원 전문성 향상 활동 항목을 구체적으로 물었다. 세 번째는 한국어 지식 및 교수 능력에 대한 중요성과 자신의 수준에 대한 인식을 확인해 보고자 하였다. 끝으로 조사 질문의 형식은 문항의 특성에 따라 객관식, 단답형, 리커트 척도(Likert Type Scale) 등으로 알맞게 설정하였다.

4. 설문조사 결과의 분석

　　이 연구에서는 구글독스(Google Docs)의 온라인 설문지를 활용하여 응답자들이 편리하게 실시할 수 있도록 하였다. 조사 시간은 2021년 1월 10일부터 20일까지로 하였으며, 설문지는 한국어와 러시아어를 병기하여 제공하였다.[8] 조사대상은 현재 오데사국립사범대학교에서 현지 한국어교원 단기양성과정에 등록한 수강생 30명을 포함하여 한글학교 등에 온라인으로 설문 참여를 요청하여 가능한 한 많은 현지 교원을 대상으로 하고자 하였다. 그 중에서 응답자는 총 25명으로 우크라이나인이 13명(남자 3명, 여자 10명), 한국인이 11명(남자 7명, 여자 4명), 그리고 러시아인이 1명(여자)이었다. 본 논의에서는 러시아인을 제외하고 우크라이나인과 한국인의 설문조사를 대상으로 하여 두 집단의 특징을 비교해 보고자 하였다. 먼저 응답자의 기본정보를 살펴보면 다음과 같다.

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[8]　설문지를 우크라이나어 번역가를 섭외할 만한 시간적 여유가 없어서 러시아어를 병기하였다. 그러나 설문에 응한 한국어교원들의 경우 모국어인 우크라이나어이만큼 러시아어를 유창하게 구사하므로 설문내용을 이해하고 응답하는 데에 문제는 없었다.

[표 4] 응답자의 기본정보

구분	우크라이나인	한국인
인원(남/여)	13명(남3, 여10)	11명(남7, 여4)
최종학력	대학생1, **대졸5**, 대학원생3, 석사졸3, 박사졸1	**대졸5**, 대학원생2, 석사졸2, 박사졸2
학위전공	한국어교육학2, 한국어문학2, **교육학3**, 중등교육(컴퓨터)1, 언어학2, 심리학1, 사회학1, 회계학1	**한국어교육학3**, 한국어문학2 한국학1, 교육학1, 신학2, 목회학1
근무지역	**키예프6**, 오데사2, 기타 5개 도시 각 1명	**오데사4**, 키예프2, 기타 3개 도시 각 1명
근무기관	대학교3, 초중등학교3, 한글학교2, 한국교육원1, **기타6**	대학교3, **한글학교6**, 한국교육원1, 기타4
한국어교육 경력	6개월 미만3, 13-24개월3, 25-36개월1, 37-48개월1, **4년 초과5**	7-12개월1, 13-24개월1, **4년 초과9**
주당 평균 시수	**2-3시간6**, 4-6시간3, 8-10시간1, 12-14시간1, 15시간 이상2	**2-3시간4**, 4-6시간3, 8-10시간3, 15시간 이상1
한국어교원 자격증	**없음13**	1급1, 2급3, **없음7**
한국어능력시험 등급	**없음10**, 4급2, 5급1	미실시
타 언어 교육 경험	**영어8**, 러시아어4, 우크라이나어4, 없음4	러시아어3, 영어1, 기타1, **없음7**

　　최종학력은 우크라이나인과 한국인 모두 학사가 5명, 대학원생과 석사학위가 각각 2명으로 동일하였으며, 한국인 2명, 우크라이나인 1명이 박사학위를 가지고 있었다. 그리고 우크라이나인 1명이 대학 재학생이라고 응답하였다. 한국인의

전공은 7명이 한국어교육 또는 관련 분야였으며 그 외에 신학과 목회학 전공이 1명씩 있었다. 우크라이나인의 경우에도 한국어교육(2명) 및 관련 전공자(한국어문학 2명, 교육학 2명)가 많았으며, 그 외에도 다양한 전공을 확인하였다. 그리고 한국어교육 및 한국어문학을 전공한 우크라이나인은 한국에서 학위를 취득한 것으로 조사되어 일정 수준의 전문성을 갖추었을 것으로 판단된다.

근무지역은 두 집단 모두에서 키예프(8명)와 오데사(6명)에 집중된 양상이었다. 따라서 전문성을 갖춘 한국어교원 역시 두 지역에 편중되어 있을 가능성이 높다. 근무기관의 경우 복수 응답이 가능하도록 하였으며, 조사 결과 한국인은 한글학교가 6명으로 가장 많았으며, 대학교가 3명, 한국교육원이 1명으로 확인되었다. 우크라이나인은 기타라는 응답이 6명으로 가장 많았는데 개인과외와 사설학원 강사로 활동하였다. 흥미로운 것은 세종학당 소속의 응답자는 한 명도 없었음에도 불구하고 사용 교재에 대한 질문에 세종학당 교재를 이용한다는 응답이 9명(한국인 5명, 우크라이나인 4명)이나 있었다는 것이다. 아마도 세종학당에서 배우거나 가르쳤을 때 사용하던 자료로 수업을 하는 듯하다.

수업에서 사용하는 교재

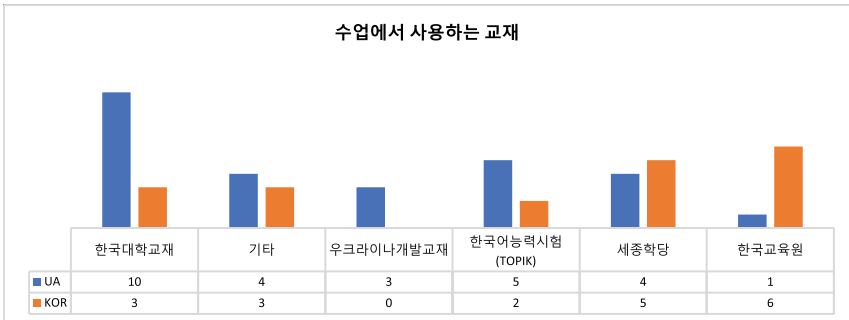|	한국대학교재	기타	우크라이나개발교재	한국어능력시험 (TOPIK)	세종학당	한국교육원
UA	10	4	3	5	4	1
KOR	3	3	0	2	5	6

그림 1 수업에서 사용하는 교재 현황

한국어교육 경력을 묻는 질문에서는 4년 초과라는 응답이 우크라이나인 4명, 한국인 9명으로 가장 많았으며, 대부분 한국(어)학 관련 대학교수와 선교사인 것으로 확인되었다. 주당 평균 수업시간을 조사한 결과 2-3시간이 10명

(우크라이나인 6명, 한국인 4명), 4-6시간이 6명(국적별 각 3명), 8-10시간이 4명
(우크라이나인 1명, 한국인 3명), 12-14시간이 1명(우크라이나인), 15시간 이상이
3명(우크라이나인 2명, 한국인 1명)이었다. 평균 시수가 적은 것을 보았을 때
한국어교육이 전업이 아닌 교원이 많은 것으로 예상된다. 또한 전공과 비전공,
그리고 초중등학교와 대학교 등 교육기관의 차이, 학생들의 한국어 학습목적[9]
등도 평균 수업시간에 영향을 주었을 것이다.

    한국어교원 자격증 소지 여부에 대한 질문에 우크라이나인은 모두 없다고
하였으며, 한국인도 없다는 응답이 7명으로 가장 많았고 2급이 2명, 1급이 1
명이었다. 한국어능력시험 등급은 우크라이나인만을 대상으로 조사하였으며
없다는 응답이 10명, 4급이 2명, 그리고 5급이 1명인 것으로 확인되었다.
우크라이나인의 경우 한국어교육학을 전공하였음에도 TOPIK 6급에 합격하지
못하여 한국어교원 자격을 취득할 수 없는 상황이었다. 결국 전공자라고 하더라도
전문적인 한국어 숙달도가 부족할 수 있음을 보여준다.

    이어서 한국어교원으로서 자기계발을 위한 활동을 살펴보고자 한국어교원
양성과정 및 연수 참여, 전문성 향상을 위한 활동에 대하여 질문을 하였다.

[표 5] 한국어교원 양성과정/연수 참여 횟수

구분	우크라이나인	한국인
한국 내 양성과정/연수	**없음10**, 1회2, 3회 이상1	**없음7**, 1회4
현지 양성과정/연수	**없음10**, 1회1, 2회1, 3회 이상1	**없음6**, 1회2, 2회2, 3회 이상1

    먼저 한국 내 양성과정 및 연수에 참여한 적이 있느냐는 문항에서는
우크라이나인 10명, 한국인 7명이 없다고 하였으며 우크라이나인 2명과
한국인 4명이 1회, 우크라이나인 1명이 3회 이상 참여하였다고 응답하였다.
우크라이나인의 경우는 한국에서 학위를 하거나 한국교육원을 통한 국내

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    [9]   학습목적을 묻는 질문에 우크라이나인 12명, 한국인 6명이 취미라고 응답하였다.
취미로 한국어를 배우는 학생은 재정적, 시간적 투자를 많이 하지 않을 가능성이 높다.
이는 앞서 한국어교원들의 주당 평균 수업시간이 짧은 이유를 어느 정도 설명해준다.

초청연수에 참가, 한국인은 교원 자격 취득을 위한 양성과정 프로그램 이수인 것으로 판단된다.

[표 6] 한국어교원 전문성 향상 활동

국적	활동 내용
우크라이나인	**한국어 학습12**, 강의계획서 및 교안 작성7, 교재 및 교보재 개발5, 교수법 연구5, 교사 세미나/모임 활동5, 수업일지 작성2
한국인	한국어 학습3, 강의계획서 및 교안 작성4, 교재 및 교보재 개발1, **교수법 연구6**, 교사 세미나/모임 활동4, 수업일지 작성2

한국어교원으로서 전문성 향상을 위해 어떠한 활동을 하느냐는 문항에서는 우크라이나인은 '한국어 학습'이라는 응답이 12명으로 가장 많았고 '강의계획서 및 교안 작성'이 7명, '교재 및 교보재 개발'과 '교수법 연구', '교사 세미나/모임 활동'이 각각 5명, '수업일지 작성'이 2명이었다. 한국인은 '교수법 연구'가 6명으로 가장 많았고 '강의계획서 및 교안 작성'과 '교사세미나/모임참석'이 각각 4명, '한국어 학습'이 3명, '수업일지 작성'이 2명이었다. 이를 통해 우크라이나인은 한국어 지식이 부족하다고 생각함을 알 수 있으며, 한국인은 잘 가르치기 위한 방법을 습득하는 데에 관심이 높음을 보여준다.

다음은 한국어교원의 전문성을 판단하는 구성 항목에 대해서 각각 얼마나 중요하다고 생각하는지, 그리고 자신의 수준은 어느 정도라고 생각하는지를 질문하였다. 이를 통해 교원 교육 프로그램에서 배우기를 희망하는 전문성 항목이 무엇인지 간접적이나마 확인해 볼 수 있을 것이다. 각 문항은 리커트 척도로 제시하였으며 5점 '매우 높음'에서 1점 '매우 낮음' 중에서 선택하도록 하였다.

먼저 지식 기반 요소의 첫 번째로 한국어 구사력의 중요성에 대한 질문에 우크라이나인과 한국인 모두 네 가지 언어기능에 대해서 중요성이 높다고 응답하였다. 그러나 자신의 한국어 구사 능력이 어떠한지에 대한 응답에서는 우크라이나인은 전체로 보통 정도라고 응답하였으며 '읽기'가 가장 높고 '쓰기'가 가장 낮다고 답하였다. 한국인은 전반적으로 보통보다 높다고 응답하였으며

우크라이나인과 마찬가지로 '쓰기'를 가장 어렵게 느끼는 양상이다. 결과적으로 한국인은 구사력과 관련하여 큰 문제가 없으나 우크라이나인은 구사력 제고를 위해 많은 노력이 필요하다.
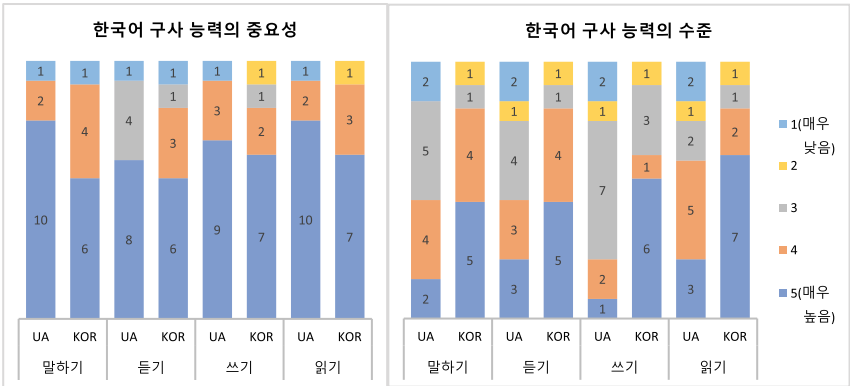

[그림 2] 한국어 구사 능력에 대한 응답 결과
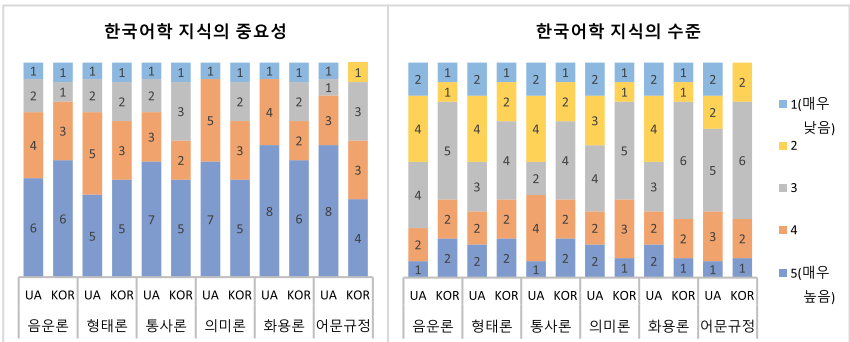
[그림 3] 한국어학 지식에 대한 응답 결과

한국어학 지식에 대한 응답에서도 두 집단은 중요성이 높다는 응답을 하였다. 우크라이나인의 경우 '의미론'과 '화용론'을 특히 중요하게 생각하는 것으로 나타났다. 이는 일상적인 의사소통에서의 변화무쌍한 의미 맥락을 제대로

이해하기를 바라는 요구를 보여준다고 할 수 있다. 한국인은 '어문규정'을 가장 중요하지 않게 생각하였는데 아마도 수업에서 이러한 규정을 직접적으로 가르칠 기회가 많이 없어서인 것으로 판단된다.

자신의 한국어학 지식 수준에 대한 질문에서는 두 집단의 응답이 많이 낮아졌음을 확인할 수 있다. 이는 우크라이나에서 한국어를 가르치는 교원은 국적을 불문하고 한국어 교수 학습에 대한 전문적인 교육을 받지 못한 경우가 많음을 보여준다.
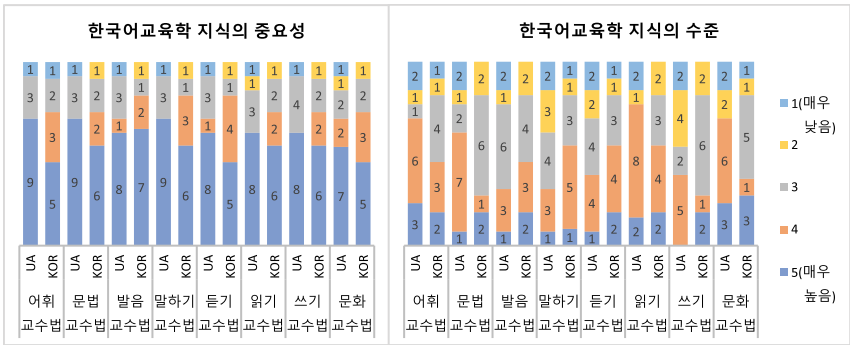
[그림 4] 한국어교육학 지식에 대한 응답 결과

우크라이나인과 한국인 모두 한국어교육학 지식이 중요하다는 것에 동의하는 응답 결과를 보였다. 그러나 자신의 수준이 어떠한지에 대한 응답에서는 많이 낮아지는 양상을 보였다. 흥미로운 것은 한국인보다 우크라이나인 응답자가 '어휘, 문법, 읽기, 문화'에 대한 교수법 수준을 높게 평가한다는 점이다. 이것은 우크라이나인의 경우 모국어로 한국어를 설명하는 문법번역식 교수법을 많이 사용하고, 학습자도 모국어를 활용한 방식이 이해하기에도 쉽기 때문인 것으로 생각된다. 이러한 방식으로 학생들을 가르치는 것도 물론 효과적인 부분이 있겠으나 의사소통 능력의 향상을 목적으로 한다면 적절하다 보기 어렵다.

한국인은 학습자 모어에 대한 이해가 부족한 만큼 전체적으로 낮은 수준을 보여주고 있으며, 특히 '쓰기 교수법'은 앞서 한국어 구사력에서와 마찬가지로 두 집단이 모두 어려워하였다.
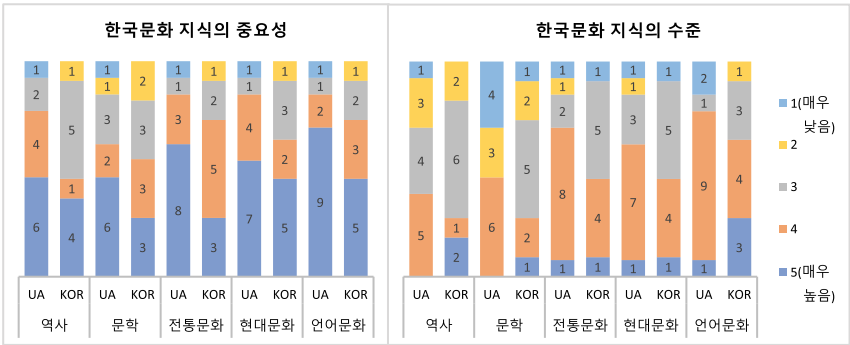
[그림 5] 한국문화 지식에 대한 응답 결과

한국문화 지식의 중요성을 묻는 질문에 우크라이나인은 대체로 높다고 응답을 하였다. 한국인의 경우 우크라이나인에 비해 한국문화 지식의 중요성을 낮게 생각하였다. 특히 눈에 띄는 것은 현대문화에 대해 별로 중요하게 생각하지 않는다는 것이다. K-POP과 같은 한류문화에 학습자들의 관심이 크다는 점에서 한국인교원의 현대문화에 대한 무관심은 학생과의 소통에 장애요인이 될 수도 있다.

한국문화에 대한 자신의 수준을 묻는 질문에는 전체적으로 수준이 보통 정도인 것으로 나타났다. 그리고 '문학'의 경우 우크라이나인은 전공에 따라서 자신의 수준을 달리 판단하는 것으로 보인다. 한국인은 중요성에서와 마찬가지로 '역사'와 '문학'의 수준이 낮게 나타났다.
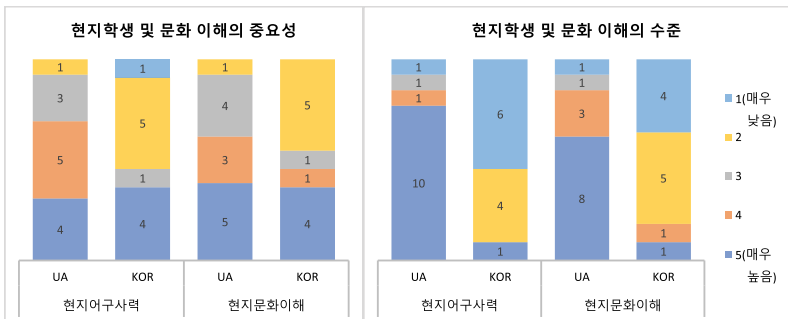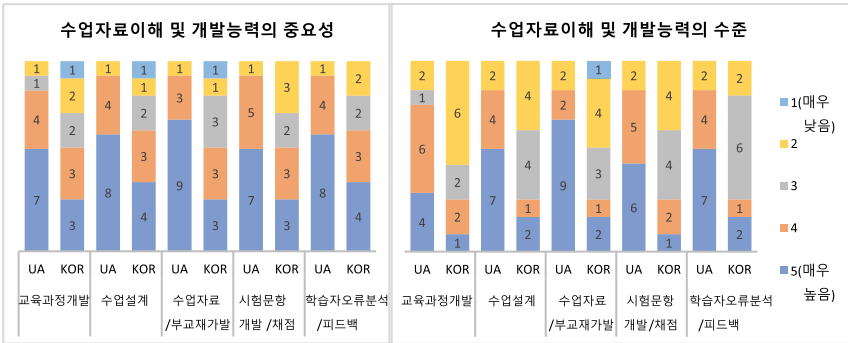

[그림 6] 현지학생 및 문화에 대한 응답 결과

　　다음은 기술 기반 요소에 대한 조사 결과로, '현지어 구사력'과 '현지 문화의 이해'의 중요성에 대한 질문에서는 우크라이나인이 대체로 중요하다고 생각하는 반면에 한국인은 낮다는 응답도 적지 않았다. 이는 한국인 교원이 학습자 모국어와 문화에 대한 지식 수준이 부족하다보니 실제 수업에서도 두 언어와 문화를 비교하는 방식의 교수법을 사용하지 않기 때문일 것으로 판단된다. 이에 반해 우크라이나인은 모국어로 한국어를 가르치는 문법번역식 교수법을 주로 활용하고 언어와 문화에 있어서 대조와 비교도 가능하므로 중요성을 높게 보는 것이다.
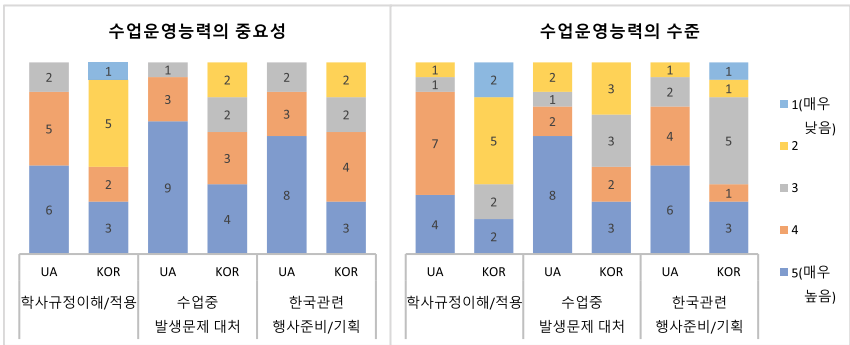
[그림 7] 수업운영능력에 대한 응답 결과

　　수업운영 능력에 대한 중요성을 묻는 질문에 대해서도 대체적으로 보통 이상으로 중요하다는 응답을 보였다. 다만 한국인의 경우 '학사규정의 이해와 적용'은 크게 중요하지 않게 보는 듯하다. 이 역시도 위에서와 마찬가지로 언어적 장벽으로 인해 한국인교원이 직접 행정적인 업무를 처리하는 경우가 많지 않기 때문으로 판단된다. 그러나 한국관련 행사를 준비하고 기획하는 능력에 대해서도 한국인이 중요하게 생각하지 않는 것은 의문이다. 물론 이러한 능력들의 수준도 낮은 편으로 응답한 것에서 그 원인을 어느 정도 예상할 수 있다. 또한 선교사나 유학생 등 전업 교원이 아니라는 것도 이유로 볼 수 있다. 그러나 현지 한국어교원으로서 현지 체계를 이해하고 수업 외 행사에도 능동적으로 참여하려는 노력이 필요한 부분이라 하겠다.

우크라이나인의 경우에도 전임 교원이 아닌 경우가 있어서인지 '학사규정의 이해와 적용'에 대한 중요성과 수준이 상대적으로 낮았다. 그 외에는 수업운영 능력에 있어서 보통 이상의 응답을 보였다.

수업자료이해 및 개발능력의 중요성 / **수업자료이해 및 개발능력의 수준**

범례: 1(매우 낮음), 2, 3, 4, 5(매우 높음)

가로축: 교육과정개발, 수업설계, 수업자료/부교재가발, 시험문항 개발/채점, 학습자오류분석/피드백 (각 UA, KOR)

[그림 8] 수업자료 이해 및 개발 능력에 대한 응답 결과

수업자료를 이해하고 개발하는 능력에 대한 질문에서 우크라이나인은 대부분 중요하다고 응답하였다. 자신의 수준에 대한 응답에도 '교육과정 개발' 능력이 상대적으로 낮았음에도 보통 이상이었고 대체로 높다는 응답이었다. 반면에 한국인은 중요성에 대해서는 보통 이상의 응답을 보였으나 자신의 수준에 대한 응답에서는 대체로 낮은 양상을 보였다. 이는 한국인교원의 비전문성을 여실히 보여준다고 할 수 있다. 이 역시도 언어로 인한 의사소통 문제로 원인을 돌릴 수 있겠으나, 한국어 원어민 교원으로서 흥미롭고 효과적인 수업 운영을 위한 '수업자료 및 부교재 개발'과 학생의 학습 상태를 확인할 수 있는 '시험문항 개발 및 채점' 능력의 제고를 위해 노력하지 않는 것은 반성해야 할 문제라고 할 수 있다.

6. 맺음말

우크라이나를 포함한 동유럽 지역에서의 한국어교육이 그 저변을 확대해가고 있다. 특히 해외 정규교육기관에서의 한국어 채택이 지속적으로

확대되고 있으며, 한국 정부 차원에서도 이를 위해 전략적인 사업 개발과 지원에 힘쓰고 있다(김선정, 2019:304). 이러한 성장 기조를 유지, 확대하기 위해서는 해외에서의 한국어교육이 체계적으로 이루어져야 한다. 그리고 이를 위해서는 현지 맞춤형 교육과정 및 교재의 개발, 전문성을 갖춘 한국어교원의 양성이 기본적이고 필수적이다.

우크라이나 한국어교원의 양성과 재교육이 효과적으로 이루어지려면 교육 내용 및 방법에 대한 이론적인 검토를 바탕으로 하되, 현지 교원 및 학습자의 특성과 교육정책, 교육환경 등 그 지역의 특징이 반영되어야 한다. 이에 따라 본 연구에서는 우크라이나 한국어교원의 전문성을 설문조사를 통해 고찰해 보았다. 그 결과 국적에 따라서 중요하다고 판단하는 전문성 구성 요소에서 차이가 있었으며, 교원들이 스스로 인식하는 전문성 수준도 국적과 교육 경력, 취득학위와 최종학력 등에 따라 서로 상이한 양상을 나타냈다. 전반적으로 우크라이나인은 전문성 구성 요인의 중요성을 높게 인식하고 자신의 수준 향상을 위해서도 노력하는 조사 결과를 보였다. 반면에 한국인의 경우 현지어로의 의사소통 문제와 비전업 교원이라는 이유에서인지 전문성 구성 요인에 대한 중요성을 인식하면서도 자신의 수준을 높이는 데에는 소극적인 듯하였다. 그리고 국적을 떠나서 응답자 전체가 한국어 구사력과 한국어 지식, 그리고 교수법 지식에 대해서는 전문성이 높지 못한 양상이었다.

이러한 결과는 우크라이나 한국어교원들이 전문적으로 한국어교원으로서의 교육을 받지 못하였음을 방증한다고 할 수 있다. 따라서 우크라이나의 현실 상황과 교원의 요구조사를 바탕으로 하는 체계적인 교사 교육 프로그램의 개발이 시급하며, 이를 위해서는 우크라이나 한국어교원의 현황과 특징, 전문성 구성 요인을 밝히는 연구가 지속되어 기초자료 구축이 이루어지도록 해야 할 것이다.

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CURRENT STATUS OF ONLINE KOREAN LANGUAGE EDUCATION AT UKRAINIAN UNIVERSITIES
우크라이나 대학에서의 온라인 한국어 교육의 실태

The purpose of this study was to review the current status of online Korean classes in Ukrainian Korean language education, examine the limitations of online Korean classes, and present tasks to be solved in the future. The researcher had no experience in conducting online Korean classes at all, and had to prepare classes without a separate training course which would provide preparation for conducting online classes.

Due to the worldwide epidemic of Covid 19, which also affected Ukraine, various teaching and learning activities were attempted for the participation of Korean learners in online Korean classes. This involved various trials and errors that were unprecedented.

This study provides an observation of the efforts to overcome the difficulties of instructors and learners in an unusually conducted online Korean class. We tried to operate Korean language classes in a variety of ways. This study is topical in presenting and analysing the opinions of learners about online Korean classes through the operation of an unusually conducted online Korean class.

***Keywords:** Korean language, Ukrainian Korean learners, online Korean language classes, real-time interactive class, content utilization class, task-oriented performance class*

1. 서론

최근에는 전 서계적으로 코로나바이러스감염증-19(COVID-19, 이하 코로나19) 감염자가 급격하게 늘고 있는 상황에서 면대면 접촉이 극도로 제한되고 있다. 전 세계적으로 대면 상호작용을 정보통신을 매개로 비대면 상호작용으로 대체되고 있으며, 교육 현장의 대면 상호자용 역시 비대면으로 전환되면서 온라인 교육이 이루어지게 되었다.

　　동유럽 우크라이나 역시 한국어 학습자들을 대상으로 하는 한국어 오프라인 수업이 계속 연기되고 있으며 온라인 한국어 교육이 시행되고 있다. 코로나19의 영향으로 우크라이나 교육부에서 '온라인 교육'이라는 방안을 제시하여 각 교육기관의 수업이 온라인 수업으로 바뀌어 운영되었다. 이와 같은 온라인 교육은 온라인 한국어 교육에 대한 체계적인 준비 뒤에 시작되어다기보다는 코로나19로 인한 대안으로서 불가피하게, 급히 시작된 것이다. 하지만 교육 환경의 변화는 오랜 숙제였고, 현시점에서 그 가능성을 실제 현장에서 확인하는 계기가 될 수 있으리라 본다.

　　이 글은 우크라이나 한국어 교육에서 온라인 수업의 현황을 검토하고 온라인 한국어 수업의 한계점을 살펴보고 앞으로 해결해야 할 과제를 제시하고자 한다.

2. 우크라이나 대학에서의 온라인 한국어 수업의 실태

2.1. 온라인 수업에 대한 논의

　　우크라이나 대학에서의 한국어 온라인 교육의 실태와 문제점을 살펴보기 위해서는 먼저 온라인 교육이란 무엇인지 그 개념에 대해 간략하게 살펴보도록 하겠다. 온라인 교육에 대한 개념은 학자마다 다양한 입장에서 다르게 정의되고 있고, 온라인 교육(Distance Learning, Distance Education or Tele-Education)이라는 용어 역시 여러 유사개념을 포괄하고 있다.[1] 온라인 교육은 정보통신기술(컴퓨터, 통신, 위성통신, CATV 등)을 활용하여 사이버 공간에서 교수자와 학습자가 시간적·공간적 제약을 받지 않고 이루어지는 교육을

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[1]　온라인 교육(On-line Education), 또는 온라인 학습(On-line Learning)은 강사와 학생들이 강의실에서 맞대면하여 이루어지는 기존 교육 대신 강사와 학생들이 실제로 맞대면하지 않고 원거리에서 여러 가지 정보통신 매체를 이용하는 다양한 교육 형태이다. 넓은 개념으로 원격교육(Distance Learning, Distance Education or Tele-Education), 온라인 원거리교육(On-line Distance Education), 웹기반 교육 (Web-Based Training), 열린 교육(Open Education), 이러닝(e-Learning)등의 용어가 사용되고 있다. 조용길 2004, '가상대학 현황 및 컨텐츠 개발', 産業經營研究, Vol. 27, No. 2, pp. 231.

말한다. 온라인 교육은 구성원들 간의 교수-학습의 동시성에 따라서 실시간 형태의 온라인 교육과 비실시간 형태의 온라인 교육으로 구분할 수 있다.[2]

한국 내 한국어 교육에서 한국어 온라인 수업에 대해 다양한 논의가 이루어지고 있다. 이영희(2015)에서는 해외 대학들을 위한 프로그램으로 KF 글로벌 E-school 한국어교육 과정 사례를 소개하고 있다. 권영애·송영은 (2017)에서는 2015년 국내 K대학과 러시아 H대학과의 학점 교류 강의 사례를 소개하였다. 최은지·한하림·서정민(2018)에서는 실시간 화상 한국어 교육과정을 개발하기 위한 방향성을 제안하였다. 손미영(2019)에서는 온라인 한국어교육 프로그램인 〈바른 한국어〉를 대학교의 정규과정으로 도입하기 위한 시범 운영 등에 대해 논의하였다. 정희연·윤지원(2020)에서는 한국어 온라인 동영상 수업에 대한 조사 연구 그리고 김현주(2020)에서는 외국인 학부생의 비대면 한국어 수업에 대한 논의를 하였다.

이와 같은 한국어 온라인 수업에 대한 논의는 한국 내에서 이루어지고 있지만 실제 우크라이나 한국어 교육 기관에서 운영되고 있는 한국어 온라인 수업에 대한 논의, 사례 등에 대한 논의는 이루어지지 않고 있다.

2.2. 한국어 온라인 수업의 실태
2.2.1. 한국어 온라인 수업의 실태

전 세계적으로 코로나19가 확산함에 따라 오데사 우신스키 사범대학 한국어교육센터는 2020년 3월 16일 차후 2020년 10월 13일에 시행 반포된 우크라이나 교육부의 '원격 교육'에 대한 제406호 결정문, 제956호 결정문[3]

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[2] 정희연 & 유지윤 2020, '한국어 온라인 동영상 수업에 대한 학습자 인식 조사 연', 인문사회, Vol. 21, pp. 1307.

[3] 우크라이나 교육부 온라인 수업에 대한 결정문은 다음과 같다. https://mon. gov.ua/ua/npa/pro-organizacijni-zahodi-dlya-zapobigannya-poshirennyu-koronavirusu-s-ovid-19 (검색일: 2020년 9월 29일). https://mon.gov.ua/ua/npa/shodo-timchasovogo-perehodu-na-distancijne-navchannya (검색일: 2020년 11월 18일)

그리고 2020년 3월 17일과 2020년 10월 15일 소속 대학의 '온라인 수업'에 대한 30-P호 결정문과 제297호 결정문[4]에 따라 이를 시행하였다. 소속 대학은 대학에서 수행하는 모든 온라인 수업을 MS 팀즈(MS Teams)를 비롯한 다양한 화상 프로그램을 이용하여 실시간 쌍방향 수업을 권장했다. 또한 비실시간 수업은 유투브(Youtube) 영상 자료 및 콘텐츠 등 활용, 과제 수행 중심 수업은 구글 클래스룸(Google classroom)이나 비버(Viber-Group)를 활용하여 학습과제를 제시하고 수합하는 방식을 권장했다. 온라인 한국어 수업설계나 교수학습 방법에 대해서는 소속 대학에서는 구체적인 대안을 제시하지 않고 온라인

수업에 차분히 대응할 수 있는 대책을 마련주지 않았다. 결국 교수자가 온라인 한국어 수업의 설계, 콘텐츠 선정, 운영을 직접 해야 하는 상황이 도래했다. 이러한 혼란스러운 학교 현장의 양상은 온라인 수업에 대응하기 위한 턱없이 부족한 시간임을 방증하고 있다.

우크라이나 U대학의 한국어 강좌는 2019년-2020년 2학기(봄 학기)는 개강과 동시에 코로나19로 인해 한국어 수업을 온라인 수업으로 대체하였다.[5] 2020년-2021년 현재 1학기(가을 학기)는 온·오프라인 혼합 교육을 시행하다가 10월 15일부터 전면 온라인 수업을 하고 있다. 한국어 온라인 수업의 방식은 아래 〈표-1〉와 같다.

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[4]   오데사 우신스키 국립대학의 원격교육에 대한 결정문 및 지침서는 다음과 같다.   https://pdpu.edu.ua/informatsiya/studentam/do-uvahy-uchasnykiv-osvitnoho-protsesu-covid-19 (검색일: 2020년 9월 29일). https://pdpu.edu.ua/informatsiya-2/spivrobitnikam/5257-nakaz-pro-zatverdzhennya-distantsijnoji-formi-navchannya-v-universiteti (검색일: 2020년 11월 18일)

[5]   한국어 교육센터에서는 한국어 강좌는 1년 2학기로 운영되고 있으며 활용되고 있는 주교재는 「서울대한국어」이다.

〈표-1〉 온라인 한국어 수업의 유형

구분	운영형태
실시간 쌍방향 수업	실시간 온라인 교육 플랫폼을 활용 화상 수업 실시간 토론 및 소통 및 즉각 피드백 줌(Zoom) 등 활용
콘텐츠 활용 수업	지정된 콘텐츠 선정 및 제공 비실시간 유투브(Youtube) 영상 자료 등 활용
과제 중심 수행 수업	학습자에게 과제 제시 및 피드백 과제 제시 – 학습지 등 구글클래스룸(Google classroom)등 활용

앞의 〈표-1〉에서 볼 수 있듯이 소속 대학에서 오프라인 수업을 대처할 수 있는 방식으로는 첫째, 실시간 쌍방향 수업이다. 화상 수업에서 줌(Zoom)을 활용하여 교수자와 학습자가 정해진 시간에 '실시간'으로 화상 수업을 실시했다. 수업 중 화면 공유를 통해 교수자가 준비한 수업 관련 자료나 학습자가 준비한 자료를 공유하고 교실 대면 수업과 비슷한 환경으로 수업을 진행할 수 있었다. 대부분 학습자들은 스마트 기기 등을 활용하여 실시간 수업에 참여했고 인터넷 통신 환경이 원활하지 않는 학습자들은 어려움을 호소하였다. 둘째, 콘텐츠 활용 중심 수업에서는 교수자가 수업과 관련된 내용을 다룬 기존 K사이버대학교의 온라인 한국어 프로그램인 〈바른 한국어〉와 누리-세종학당 콘텐츠를 보조 자료로 활용했다. 교수자는 수업 내용과 관련된 콘텐츠 선별·제공하고, 학습자들은 콘텐츠를 시청한 후 과제 등의 활동을 수행하는 형태로 비실시간으로 실시되었다.

셋째, 과제 수행 중심 수업은 과제 등의 활동을 수행하는 형태로 교수자가 제시한 과제를 학습자가 정해진 기한 내에 구글 클래스룸(Google classroom)을 활용하여 학습 과제를 제시하고 수합하는 방식을 활용했다. 별도의 학습관리시스템이 없기 때문에 교수자가 일일이 과제를 확인하고 개별적인 피드백을 제공했다.

3. 온라인 한국어 수업에 대한 설문 조사

3.1. 조사 대상 및 자료 수집

온라인 한국어 수업의 실태를 파악하기 위해서 U 대학에서 코로나19로 인하여 온라인 한국어 수업(혼합 수업)에 참여 경험이 있는 한국어 학습자를 조사 대상으로 하였다. 설문 조사에 응답한 학습자들은 총 25명(남자 1명, 여자 24명)으로 구성되었다. 온라인 한국어 수업에 대한 자료 수집은 2020년 9월 20 부터 2020년9월30일까지 설문 조사를 통해 진행되었다. 설문지는 구글 설문 조사 링크를 통해 배부되었다.

설문 조사의 세부적인 질문은 온라인 수업에 대한 만족한 점, 힘들었던 점, 온라인 한국어 수업경험 후 느낀 문제점, 온라인 한국어 수업 또는 오프라인 수업에 대한 선호도 및 학습 차이 등을 묻는 문항으로 구성되었다. 덧붙여 온라인 한국어 수업방식이 한국어 능력 향상에 도움이 되었는지, 수업 방법 중에서 어느 방법을 선호하는지 등에 관한 질문도 있었다. 설문 조사 문항은 대상자의 이해를 돕기 위해 러시아어로 번역 후 제공하였다.

3.2. 설문 조사 분석

〈표-2〉 온라인 한국어 수업방식에 대한 만족도

	인원	백분율
〈바른 한국어〉 유투브(Youtube) 지정 콘텐츠 활용	4명	16%
〈누리-세종학당〉 유투브(Youtube) 지정 콘텐츠 활용	5명	20%
교수자와 학습자 간의 줌(Zoom) 활용	16명	64%
구글 클래스룸(Google classroom) 활용	8명	32%
기타	1명	4%

온라인 한국어 수업 상황은 처음 겪는 일이지만 온라인 한국어 수업 운영 방식에 대한 학습자들의 응답을 보면 줌(Zoom)을 활용한 수업 만족도에 대한 의견이 64%로 가장 높았다. 구글 클래스(Google classroom)를 활용하는 온라인 수업에 대한 의견도 32% 정도였으나, 대대수의 학습자들은 실시간 쌍방향 수업을

더욱 선호하고 있었다. 수업 전달과 방법에 차이를 보이고 있지만 줌(Zoom)을 활용한 수업은 기존의 면대면 수업과 동일한 내용을 수업할 수 있어서 이런 결과가 나타났을 것이다.

〈표-3〉　온라인 한국어 수업시청 방법

	인원	백분율
제공된 콘텐츠를 한 번에 하나씩 본다.	7명	28%
제공된 콘텐츠를 중간에 중지하고 이어 보지 않는다.	0명	0%
제공된 콘텐츠를 여러 번 한 번에 본다.	3명	12%
지정 콘텐츠를 보면서 계속 정지를 하고 노트를 적으면서 본다.	15명	60%

앞서 언급했듯이 비실시간 온라인 수업에서는 교수자가 〈바른 한국어〉 콘텐츠와 누리-세종학당 콘텐츠를 보조 자료로 활용하고 간단한 과제를 수행하도록 했다. 지정된 콘텐츠를 활용한 수업 시청 방법에 대한 학습자들의 의견은 다음과 같다. 온라인 수업을 시청하는 방법은 〈표-3〉와 같이 지정 콘텐츠를 보면서 계속 정지를 하고 노트를 적으면서 보는 학습자가 15명(60%)로 가장 많았다. 제공된 콘텐츠를 한 번에 하나씩 보는 학습자들은 7명(28%)이었다. 학습자들은 지정 콘텐츠를 보면서 계속 정지를 하고 노트를 적으면서 과제를 수행하여 공유를 했지만 교수자와 학습자, 학습자와 학습자 간의 상호작용이 이루어지지 않는 현상을 나타내고 있다.

〈표-4〉　기술적인 문제로 인한 불편함

	인원	백분율
스마트 기기와 컴퓨터 재생으로 인한 발생한 문제	11명	42%
온라인 교육 콘텐츠 재생 관련 문제	0명	0%
통신 환경(인터넷 연결과 속도 등) 문제	12명	48%
기타	7명	28%

      온라인 한국어 수업에서는 PC, 스마트 기기, 다양한 플랫폼 등을 활용하여 수업을 설계하고 실행해야 되는데 이 과정에서 여러 가지 문제가 발생했다. 온라인 한국어 수업과정에서 모든 교육의 주체가 PC, 스마트 기기, 화상 프로그램 등에 대한 기술적인 지식, 풍부한 사용 경험, 충분한 활용 능력을 갖추지 않는 것 때문에 많은 불편한 점이 많았다. 이에 대한 응답 내용은 다음과 같다. 기술적인 문제로 인한 불편함에서는 인터넷 연결과 속도 등 문제에 대한 의견이 48%로 가장 높았다. 그리고 스마트 기기와 컴퓨터 재생으로 인해 발생한 문제에 대한 의견이 42%로 나타났다. 마지막 기타 의견으로 28%가 나타났다. 이와 같은 문제가 발생하는 이유 중에 하나는 학습 과정에서 교수자와 학습자의 PC, 스마트기기, 화상 대화 프로그램 등에 대한 디지털 리터러시 능력이 부족하여 많은 어려움에 봉착하는 데에 있다. 코로나19로 인하여 갑작스럽게 온라인 수업이 시작되었기 때문에 교수자와 학습자 모두 온라인 수업에 대한 준비도가 낮았고 온라인 수업에 대한 다양한 플랫폼을 활용하는 과정에서 많은 난관에 부딪혔기 때문이다. 물론 평상시 등교 수업에서 PC, 스마트기기, 화상 대화 프로그램 등을 충분히 활용한 경험이 많았다면 이러한 시행착오가 적었을 것이다.

〈표-5〉 온라인 수업에 대한 전반적인 만족도

	인원	백분율
온라인 수업은 나의 한국어 실력에 도움이 된다.	12명	48%
온라인 수업은 나의 한국어 학습의 주도성을 높인다.	6명	24%
정해진 수업 없이 자유롭게 수업을 수강할 수 있어 좋다.	10명	40%
온라인 수업과 온라인 강의가 싫다.	3명	12%
기타	4명	16%

      온라인 한국어 수업 상황에서 여러 가지 불편한 점도 있었지만 이 부분에서는 실제 수업에 대한 만족도를 파악하려고 했다. 온라인 수업에 대한 전반적인 만족도에서는 복수 응답이 가능했으며 그 만족도는 높은 편으로 나타

났다. 먼저, 온라인 수업이 한국어 실력에 도움이 된다는 학습자가 12명 (48%) 가장 많았으며, 수업 시간을 자유롭게 정해 수강하는 10명(40%) 학생들도 있었다. 온라인 수업은 학습자들의 한국어 실력에 도움을 주고 그리고 수업에 자연스럽게 동참하는 분위기가 형성된 것은 온라인 수업의 장점이다. 한편 온라인 수업이라는 특수한 맥락에서 온라인 수업과 온라인 강의가 싫다는 학습자의 개인적인 경험과 체험을 나타내고 있음을 보여준다. 한국어 수업은 언어 수업이기 때문에 교수자와 학습자 간의 상호작용이 이루어질 수 없다는 점이 온라인 수업의 단점으로 작용하고 있다는 것을 알 수 있다.

〈표-6〉 선호하는 한국어 수업 방식

	인원	백분율
오프라인 수업을 선호한다.	14명	58.3%
온라인 수업을 선호한다.	2명	8.3%
온·오프라인 혼합 수업을 선호한다.	8명	33.4%
기타	0명	0%

온라인 수업은 학습자들에게 편리성을 주지만 학습자들이 어떤 수업 방식을 선호하고 있는지 대한 의견에 대해서도 들을 수 있었다. 선호하는 한국어 수업 방식에 대한 질문에 대해서는 복수 응답이 가능했으며 〈표-5〉와 같이 나타났다. 선호도가 가장 높은 수업은 오프라인 수업(58.3%)과 온·오프라인 혼합 수업 (33.4%)이며 온라인 수업(8.3%) 순으로 나타났다. 응답 결과는 보면 온라인 한국어 수업 상황에서 느낄 수 있는 심리적 거리, 문리적 분리, 오프라인 수업에서 이루어지고 있는 소통과 교류 그리고 지속적인 상호작용이 활발하게 이루어지지 않는 점이 많은 아쉬움을 남기고 있는 것으로 확인된다. 수업 시간에 이해하지 못한 부분이 반복되지 않는 점도 학습자의 학습 욕구를 만족시키지 못한 점과 연관이 된다. 또한 온라인 수업과 달리 목소리의 변화, 눈맞춤, 얼굴 표정 등 교사의 비언어적인 표현을 통해 정보를 전달받을 수 없는 부분도 온라인 수업보다 면대면 수업을 선호하는 이유가 될 수 있다.

한국어 학습자들이 온라인 수업에 대한 의견을 주었는데, 이를 통해 온라인 수업에 대한 장점과 단점을 확인할 수 있었다. 그 내용을 간략하게 정리하면 이는 다음과 같다. 먼저, 학습자가 정해진 시간 없이 자유롭게 한국어 학습을 할 수 있다는 자율성 그리고 한국어 실력 향상을 장점으로 생각하고 있었다. 콘텐츠(동영상)로 한국어를 학습하는 경우 복습이 가능하다는 것도 장점으로 생각하고 있었다. 한편으로 온라인 수업에 대한 불편을 느끼고 오프라인 수업을 선호하는 의견을 표하였다. 온라인 수업의 편리성과 자율성에 긍정적이만 온라인 한국어 수업 과정에서 인터넷 속도나 스마트 기기와 PC의 기술적인 문제가 발생하는 요소가 많아 부정적인 의견을 가지고 있다는 것을 알 수 있었다.

4. 결론 및 제언

이 글은 코로나19로 인하여 갑작스럽게 변화한 U 대학의 수업 현황에 대해 한국어 학습자들의 인식과 만족도 조사를 통해 해결해야 할 과제를 제안하는 데 그 목적이 있다.

온라인 수업이 지속적으로 진행될 경우 교수자와 학습자 간의 물리적인 분리 등 발생할 것은 물론 학습자와 가상공간에서의 수업은 어려운 점이 많을 수밖에 없다. 앞으로 코로나19와 같은 상황이 지속되지 않는다는 보장이 없다. 이런 상황에서 앞의 내용을 종합하여 이 발표문의 의의 및 제안은 다음과 같다.

첫째, 이 발표문은 온라인 한국어 수업에 대한 한국어 학습자의 의견을 조사하고 한국어 교육에서 온라인 수업의 효과를 검증한 것에 의의가 있다.

둘째, 온라인 한국어 수업은 학습자의 한국어 능력 향상에 긍정적인 영향을 미쳤지만 오프라인 수업에 비해 단점을 보였다는 것을 증명한 것에 의의가 있다.

셋째, 교수자와 학습자 간의 상호작용 불가를 온라인 수업의 단점으로 생각한다는 것을 도출했다. 이를 통해 코로나19로 인한 상황에서는 U 대학의 한국어 학습자를 위한 한국어 온라인 강좌, 이를 위한 학습 자료, 학습 전략, 교수법 등 개발이 필요하다고 제언할 수 있다. 학습자의 특성에 맞는 온라인 한국어 강좌 및 학습 자료 개발, 촬영 및 제작 등은 물리적인 문제이므로 단순히 교수자 개인이 해결해야 할 문제가 아니다. 소속 대학과 국내 대학 기관과의 공동으로 제작하고

이를 폭넓게 우크라이나 전 지역 대학 기관에 제공하면 그만큼 더 교육 효과가 커질 것으로 보인다.

넷째, 온라인 수업은 교실 수업이라는 조건에서 벗어나 장소에 구애받지 않고 이루어진다는 점에서 장점을 지닌다. 이러한 온라인 수업을 효과적으로 진행하기 위하여 한국어 학습자 중심 수업을 지원하는 수업 플랫폼과 학습관리 시스템이 필요하다고 제언할 수 있다.

코로나19 상황이 지속되거나 끝난다 하더라도 U 대학의 한국어 학습자를 위한 효과적인 수업 설계를 위한 교수학습 방법 및 다양한 주제의 연구 또한 활발히 진행되어야 하는 것이 앞으로의 과제이다. 이러한 시점에서 이 글에서 확인한 U 대학의 한국어 학습자들의 의견은 온라인 수업과 혼합 수업을 직접 경험한 후에 소개된 결과가 우크라이나 한국어 교육에서 진행되는 온라인 한국어 수업 설계, 온라인 콘텐츠 개발 및 제작 개발에 도움이 되는 기초 자료로 활용하기로 바란다.

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