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Specializlaidums

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Kaspars Kļaviņš

PARADOXES OF KOREAN CULTURE AS A LITMUS PAPER FOR PROBLEMS OF INTERCULTURAL UNDERSTANDING

Regardless of the bulk of comprehensive information available today, true knowledge of the Asian culture in Europe or the European culture in Asia has not become considerably deeper, sometimes even to the contrary – the old stereotypes continue to exist as part of the packaging for pseudo information adjusted to the short-term goals of the contemporary globalised society, supplemented by travel guides and announcements tailored to the needs of immediate politically economical conjuncture. And yet, this is only the top of the intercultural communication iceberg.

When looking deeper down, one meets other, much more complex paradoxes. Firstly, is it really possible to talk about a uniform culture of any country? For example, a simplified declaration of the “culture of Korea” or the “Korean culture”. Did a fanatic interpreter of Christianity – a sectarian at the time of industrialisation in Korea think along the same lines as a peasant who lived in his synthetic folk religion interwoven with elements of geomancy, shamanism and Buddhism, and who had to move to the city as a result of urbanisation? Can a writer and artist protecting social rights of workers – a fighter for democracy at the time of South Korean dictatorship – be regarded the same as a conservative representative of a business corporation? Not at all! In any European country such differences have existed among the world outlooks of different society

strata and their representatives. Similarities can be only sought in the analogous, instead of making immediate mechanical comparison of the external – facade expressions of cultures, as a result being surprised by the “huge divergencies”. On the other hand, the apparently common traits in such cultures may turn out not to be that “common” at all. To arrive at conclusions, serious research has to be carried out, and the time for that is rapidly shrinking in the circumstances of the contemporary systematic dismantling of education. Both the academic staff immersed in completion of reports and students demonstrating electronic presentations all over the world lose too much time on complying with formalities dictated by the academic capitalism. Do language courses and learning colloquial language in such situation solve the problem of understanding another culture? Only partly, and only at the surface level of communication. Does understanding of the ancient Korean culture become deeper when the outcome of the ancient fine arts, acting and music is assessed only by focussing on the performance but without understanding the aim, message and content of the particular work? Chou Yongjin provides a very good definition of this problem: “It is tempting to interpret media reports about the favorable reception Korean performers receive overseas as if the performers have managed to make the international community understand Korean culture, but we must keep in mind that connecting with an audience does not immediately translate into comprehension or clarification” (Chou, 2018, p. 17). Stereotypically thinking that a pair of birds reflected in East Asian and Korean painting definitely stands for faithfulness and love of a married couple may lead to a failure to notice that, for example, the frequently depicted quails shown side by side actually are not a male – female pair (cock and hen), but both birds are hens (Chou, 2018, p. 9). Likewise, paintings of a common kingfisher in a lotus pond do not denote a beautiful reflection of “variability of nature” or “quintessence of symbolic ideas of Taoism”, but rather send a very accurate message: “completion of studies and a grand slam on the state examination” (Chou, 2018, pp. 151-153). Of course, remembering the centuries-long existence of the Confucian state in Korea with its governmentally organised examinations and

the emphasis on specific education, where the knowledge of Chinese poetry and prose occupied a special place, we suddenly understand that in this literati-dominated culture the practice was “literary art-reading, with the painter heeding the textual meaning contained in the painting as he created it” (Chou, 2018, p. 19). The Japanese painting, over which the westerners, being impacted by the political and economic achievements of Japan, were so excited in the 20th century, considering the wider range of its depiction, indeed was not more creative, but rather related to another society where the artist was not a representative of the literati stratum and did not follow the tradition, which existed in China and Korea. Indeed, in order to understand a particular area of the Korean culture, specific knowledge related to the particular area is required, which today might not be possessed even by Korean museum guides. The Korea of today is a completely different society! Or perhaps the interest about the Korean ancient past in the West is often aroused by the lustre of the industrial-technological potential of modern Korea? If so, it is not permanent and may change depending on the changes in the economic-political conjuncture, which is not related to understanding of true values. This must be taken into account by experts of Korean studies in Europe when teaching the Korean culture to students. Deep and serious approach is called for here, rather than advertising resembling that of fair shows. Perhaps this would result in a smaller number of students to the disappointment of short-term university budget planners, while the specialists graduating the studies would be much more valuable from the vantage point of long-term intercultural cooperation. The situation resembles the reception of the European culture in Asia. For instance, are the operas of Richard Wagner just music, interpretation of Germanic mythology and ancient German motifs? Can this music be understood at all without having knowledge of, for example, Wagner’s social ideas, which he sought to express in a symbolic manner, criticising the money cult and dishonesty of the society of his epoch? By analogy, can we value the Korean *pansori* just from the point of performance, forgetting the primary role of the message contained in it? Yet the message cannot be understood without serious and difficult

studies requiring strict discipline... It must be understood that true “Korean studies”, like any other culture studies, are not “easy”.

Understanding of culture in contemporary Korea has undergone unimaginable metamorphoses. At the beginning of South Korean independence, the emphasis was placed upon *folk culture*, which, unlike the old culture of literati of Joseon dynasty, united the most extensive strata of the people. This is understandable, taking into account the allergy of many Koreans to strata differences and discrimination which the majority of population had experienced during the times of Joseon ruled by civil servants-literati and which continued to exist during the Japanese occupation as social inequality and a culture of hierarchical behaviour despite the social transformation. Of course, the former 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. Yet the cultural heritage left by the small Confucianist literati elite continues to be an integral part of the Korean tangible and spiritual culture, although due to the Korean education reform it exists as a certain historical relic which even Koreans may get to know only through specialised studies. In the same manner, the contemporary Europeans have a rather vague understanding of the once-existing dominant culture of aristocrats, although thousands of tourists are taken to see architectural monuments and collections of artworks sponsored by former nobility. It is a general knowledge that in Europe, too, aristocrats, unlike the discriminated strata, used another language (e.g., French) in their communication instead of the language of the people.

The traditional cultural movement, based on the reception of folk culture continued its victory march in South Korea also during the 1990s and later. But what about the Korean folk culture? On the one hand, Korea together with Japan are unique “as the only countries in the world where the central government protects the performers of folklore genres in terms

of designation as a “holder of important intangible cultural property” ... through cultural protection legislation” (Yang, 2003, p. 105). On the other hand, such a close link between the traditional culture, government policymakers and cultural movement leaders also results in use of folklore for commercialisation “through the mass media, tourist sites and national or international cultural exhibitions” (Yang, 2003, p. 87). However, as Yang Jongsung correctly puts it, danger lies in the fact that such interaction of politics and folklore, especially in the area of cultural displays and exhibitions “creates questions regarding the validity of those events as they involve an intentional change of context” (Yang, 2003, p. 5). However, stylisation and romanticising is an idea originating in the West, although applied in Asia for protection of the traditional cultural heritage from Westernisation. Hence, the Korean folk culture experiences the fate similar to that of folklore in Europe, accepting an increasingly stiff shape intolerant of coexistence of former numerous, live and constantly changing folk culture variations. Of course, one can say that culture creativity now is as topical in Korea as in any Western country, and presents a way out. Even more so, creativity is one of the priorities of contemporary young Korean artists and writers. Only, if creativity and spontaneity which were self-evident features of folklore, folk festivals and ethnographic traditions are subjected to unification as a result of organised culture policy, such creativity does not refer to the former culture of literati thanks to which, for instance, examples of typical East Asian paintings in the Korean context have been preserved. As correctly noted by Choi Yongjin, “old Korean paintings stayed within familiar bounds for centuries without ever incurring any controversy over plagiarism, and painters conspicuously produced works with similar subject matters, composition, and techniques” (Chou, 2018, p. 11). Can a civilisation exist having broken ties with the tradition? Yes, but on the condition that it continues living as another civilisation and develops another tradition. What is the Korean civilisation? Is it a uniform, monolith phenomenon existing for thousands of years or a theoretical structure for definers of the modern nation who seek to unite mutually different periods under a single common denominator for the sake of convenience?

The extremely bright K-pop performance so appealing to the global youth is seen among others as a representation of national culture in modern Korea. But does this performance indeed represent the contemporary opportunities of the Asian culture as a counterweight to the existing dominance of the Western entertainment industry, as regional pop music patriots like to state it? What exactly represents the East Asian tradition in the K-pop performance? For example, the frequent focus on “one’s home” and “oneself” in BTS songs is to a certain extent a stark opposite to the East Asian philosophical tradition of respecting the traditional non-presence, “non-self” but rather rituals centred on the society or nature (not on “oneself”). The former are the values of Western society being nowhere related to Taoism, Buddhism or Confucianism. The K-pop performances contain a lot of original, psychologically and emotionally strong and appealing aspects. But let us be careful with labelling this culture as “Oriental” or “Asian”. It is a product of the modern globalised world created by *modern* Koreans. Does it mean that modern Koreans have lost the link with their ancient, centuries-old traditions? Not at all, yet the survival of those traditions should not be assessed as a hobby or a specific willingness of identity maintenance for the purpose of satisfaction of academic interests of writers, sociologists, anthropologists or cultural studies experts. External invasions and desperate organisation of protection of the country in the past, the hierarchical structure of the society with the immense impact of patriarchal authority and formally structured education, the hard labour of peasants and fishermen – nothing ceased without having affected the people’s mentality, even if the society has undergone cardinal changes. Affection (*jeong* (정)), group’s mood (*gibun* (기분)), sizing up the situation (*nunchi* (눈치)), the face factor (*chemyeon* (체면)) – we can feel all the ancient Confucian habits when being part of a Ko-rean personnel, the effect of geomancy – *pungsu* (풍수)¹ – even in determining real estate prices, offer of shaman services – even in the context of commercially motivated expectations, or the synthesis of Buddhist benevolence and ab-

¹ Equivalent of Chinese *feng shui*.

stinence in any one critical life–turning point. It is possible that today, since the intellectual beginning of the “New Wave” cinema still remains the emotionally strongest manner of representation of the traditional Korean culture. But perhaps tomorrow something new will come up. If we compare the Korean culture to a jewel, not all of its edges are immediately visible. Moreover, at different stages of history one edge may shine while another one may not, waiting for it being polished at another time and situation. Can this jewel be bought, evaluated, compared with another one? Can technologies, financial crises, political and economic rises and falls make this jewel “more topical” or “less topical”? This remains a question of our own attitude, our theoretical structures and wishes.

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A NEW PHASE OF DISSEMINATION OF SOUTH KOREAN VISUAL MEDIA IN NORTH KOREA IN THE ERA OF COVID-19 PANDEMIC: OPPOSITIONAL SUBCULTURE AMONG YOUTH BETWEEN CRACKDOWN AND IRREVERSIBILITY

The viewing of South Korean-produced visual media, whose dissemination in North Korea continues since the 1990s, appears to be irreversible, even in the era of the COVID-19 pandemic. In particular, North Korean youth, called either the generation of Jangmang-dang or Yellow Wave, have gone beyond possessors who enjoy South Korean visual media on their own, and have become prime movers of sharing and selling it through black markets. In the series of flows, the North Korean regime is setting its sights on them. In other words, from the end of last year, the North Korean regime has enacted laws targeting the spread of South Korean visual medias and reorganized the Workers' Party of North Korea, and crackdown, surveillance and punishment based on these have been implemented more intensely. In addition, there have been widely shared anti-Korean Wave propaganda videos in North Korea, and speeches, wherein the leader Kim Jong-un named Korean Wave a "malignant cancer" in a very unusual way. Furthermore, the North Korean regime has made a series of strongpoints to halt the penetration of the Korean Wave, or capitalist ideology, in their view, by doubly taking advantage of blocking movement between regions inside North Korea, as well as along the border with neighbouring China since last year to cut off the spread of COVID-19.

This study examines the trends of the spread of the Korean Wave, focussing on youth in North Korea in the era of the pandemic. To that end, this study analyses the last two years of anti-Korean-Wave laws in North Korea, propaganda videos, Kim Jong-un's discourses, South Korean and international publications, and interview video clips with

North Korean settlers in South Korea. In doing so, this study sheds light on the recent phase of oppositional subcultures against the regime during the pandemic. In conclusion, this study discusses the reversibility and irreversibility of the South Korean Wave as a subculture of youth, passing through the crackdown measures during the pandemic.

Keywords: K-pop, subculture of youth, COVID-19 pandemic, North Korean youth, North Korea, capitalist media, North Korean culture, South Korean pop culture, Korean Wave

South Korean visual media in North Korea during the COVID-19 pandemic: Between intensification of crackdown and proliferation

North Korean state has claimed that there has been no confirmed case of COVID-19 in its territory up to date, and has maintained a strategy of blocking the inflow and spread of COVID-19 by sealing the border with neighbouring China and inter-regional movement within North Korea since January 2020.

The North Korean state border closures have also functioned as a cut-off point to extinguish the influx of South Korean content. In other words, while North Korea's struggling economy has been deteriorating due to international sanctions on North Korea caused by North Korea's series of missile and nuclear tests, and the prolonged sealing of the border with neighbouring China, the North Korean regime not only takes an action to stifle internal agitation by fine-tuning controls targeting South Korean and foreign cultures among youth, – it promotes inner cohesion. Namely, sealing borders to halt the COVID-19 has come to be a cut-off point for the dissemination of South Korean visual media.

The fine-tuning controls of the North Korean regime targeting South Korean Wave, mainly caused by the dissemination of South Korean visual media, have emerged from the fact that the so-called anti-South Korean Wave laws have been enacted, propaganda videos produced and distributed, the Workers' Party restructuring, and leader Kim Jong-un's speeches have become dense over the past two years.

Paradoxically, these laws and official discourses officially reaffirm that the dissemination of South Korean visual media is spreading wildly across North Korea, triggered by the movements of the MZ generation, called the generation of Jangmadang or Yellow Wave, and that it has become an oppositional subculture of youth against North Korean regime. Furthermore, the oppositional subculture formed among the youth that the North Korean regime has been attempting to subdue can be identified and drawn more in detail.

Accordingly, this study examines a new phase of proliferation of South Korean wave as a youth subculture in North Korea throughout the era of COVID-19 pandemic. Specifically, by analysing the laws and official discourses for subduing the South Korean wave, on the contrary to this, for penetrating the North Korean wave deep into youth over the past two years, as well as publications from South Korea and the international community, and interview videos with North Korean settlers in South Korea, this study examines new aspects of the spread of Hallyu, Korean Wave, as a subculture.

In conclusion, this study discusses the reversibility and irreversibility of whether the South Korean Wave will keep playing a role as a subculture of youth, passing through the crackdown measures during the COVID-19 pandemic.

Why is the South Korean wave a riotous oppositional subculture of youth in North Korea?

Then, from the perspective of the North Korean regime, why is the South Korean wave a riotous oppositional subculture of youth? Since the division of the two Koreas immediately following the Korean War (1950-1953), the two Koreas have been in a cycle of systemic competition, confrontation, exchange, and antagonism with each other over time. Going through such inter-Korean relations, North Korea has been in the difficulty to get out of the worsening economic situation from the 1990s to the recent outbreak of the Covid-19, while South Korea has continued to

develop in its economy and has now come to the world's 10th largest economy. Moreover, from the outside, North Korea kept an eye on the collapse of the socialist bloc in the late 1980s, and as a result of North Korea's successive missile and nuclear tests, sanctions from the international community such as the United Nations and the United States have been implemented in a line. To make matters worse, as the country has sealed its borders with neighbouring China, its most powerful ally, during the Covid-19 pandemic, bilateral exchanges have also decreased, making the living conditions of the people in North Korea even worse. With this economic background behind, the South Korean Wave, called the Yellow Wave from the North Korean regime, has been a target of crackdown in North Korea since the 1990s, and in the past two years, there have been more severe crackdowns and punishments focused on the South Korean Wave. In this regard, based on recent North Korean state publications, the reason why North Korea has been wary of the inflow of South Korean culture into North Korea in particular over the past two years is unfolded as follows.

Either North Korea-style socialism, or our-style socialism within North Korea, which has imprinted the superiority of North Korea's socialism by distinguishing it exclusively from other collapsed socialisms and socialist grand-family collectivism centred on the leader, which has been the ideological basis for maintaining the North Korean system, are hampered by the influence of the Korean Wave. Furthermore, it is to form a youth oppositional subculture.

According to a series of speeches by Kim Jong-un in the task settlement report of the 8th Workers' Party Congress in January, the 6th Cell Secretaries Conference, the 5th meeting of the 14th supreme people's assembly (SPA) in 2021, etc., the spread of foreign culture among youth was pointed out as a "urgent troublesome problem".

A news article dated March 7, 2021, from the Rodong Sinmun, a North Korean state running newspaper, said that in North Korea, South Korean-style language life and flirtatiousness undermine the uniqueness and morality of the nation and have a negative impact on collectivism and

society. Namely, under the heading ‘Let’s make the most of Pyongyang’s cultural language’, said, “Unrefined language in everyday life cracks the harmony and unity of the group and adversely affects society.” In addition, the newspaper said, “it is a matter of whether or not we can adhere to our ethnicity from the penetration of all kinds of strange and unwholesome ideological cultures and lifestyles.”

On the other hand, in the propaganda video titled “let’s wipe away non-socialism and decadent ideological culture with a revolutionary ideological culture” produced and aired inside North Korea in May 2021, wearing clothes with Korean trademarks or foreign characters was defined as being a guide and propagandist in permeating imperialist ideas and culture. (Chosun Ilbo, August 31, 2021)

According to the Rodong Sinmun, ultimately the spread of the foreign culture in North Korea goes on to determine the fate of North Korea. That is to say, the Rodong Sinmun reported that “if anything else (from outside) is allowed, the fate of the state will be ruined.” To put it concretely, it is because the foreign (external) culture, especially from South Korea, can reenact the precedent of the collapse of East Germany or other former communist states in the past to the North Korean regime as well. (Rodong Sinmun, March 7, 2021)

Fine-tuning controls targeting South Korean and foreign cultures in the Era of the Covid-19 Pandemic

In early December 2020, a plenary meeting of North Korea’s Supreme People’s Assembly (SPA) approved ‘the Reactionary Ideology and Culture Rejection Law’ which deals with the scope and content of violations more specifically than other laws, enough to be called the anti-South Korean Wave Act. How is ‘The Reactionary Ideology and Culture Rejection Law’ different from the relevant criminal law previously applied to the foreign cultural activities?

The differences stand out in three points. First, the law narrows down the scope of sources to be the subject of punishment to content “from

South Korea”. Article 194 of the previous North Korean Criminal Act stipulates that “music, dance, paintings, books, and electronic media that contain decadent, erotic, and obscene content” doesn’t specify as those of South Korea. However, ‘The Reactionary Ideology and Culture Rejection Law’ explicitly specified South Korea as ‘South Korea’s films, compilations, books, songs, paintings, and photos’.

Second, criminal punishment is intensified compared to past misdemeanours subjected to ‘forced labour’. Namely, in that newly enacted law, cases of caught watching or storing content related to South Korea, that is, videos, songs, etc., are subject to hard labour punishment of 5 up to 15 years, and cases of bring in and distributing it are subject to indefinite hard labour or the death penalty.

Third, the scope of content subject to direct statutory punishment is expanded. Penalties apply ‘not only to the South Korean style of speaking tone and writing, but either to the acts of singing in the South Korean style or to making prints in the South Korean style’. A case of speaking in a South Korean manner is subject to a sentence of two years in prison.

In the explanatory material of ‘The Reactionary Ideology and Culture Rejection Law’ obtained by Daily NK, it is specified that “the cases of importing and distributing a large amount of South Korean films, recordings, compilations, and books are subject to indefinite correctional labour sentences or the death penalty.”

In addition to ‘the Reactionary Ideology and Culture Rejection Law’, ‘law on mobile telecommunications’ limits the use of telecommunication devices to acquire information from outside North Korea. Furthermore, the ‘youth education protection law’ approved at the end of September 2021, can be outlined as enactment of a law that guarantees a pre-emptive and active education to solidify the North Korean style for youth.

Meanwhile, the Workers’ Party of North Korea takes organizational measures against the South Korean wave by establishing a new internal organization. Namely, a department of culture and arts newly established within the Workers’ Party for the purpose of ideological education in a more proactive way. It is assumed that at the 8th Party Congress in January

2021, as part of a large-scale organizational and personnel reorganization, the 'Department of Culture and Arts' was established for the purpose of taking of initiative in ideological education as an exceptionally specialized department within the Workers' Party.

Leader Kim Jong-un's speeches have been more intense in the past two years on this matter. In addition to what was reported in the New York Times in June that the leader Kim Jong-un called "K-POP a vicious cancer," there have been speeches urging the vigilance of foreign influences and by extension consolidation of ideological education towards youth in a more proactive way in January, April, and September.

At the task settlement report of the 8th Workers' Party Congress in January 2021, leader Kim Jong-un ordered a crackdown on foreign culture, saying, "The phenomenon of non-socialism and anti-socialism must be wiped out." In addition, leader Kim Jong-un delivered the following speeches at the 6th Cell Secretaries Conference and the 5th meeting of the 14th supreme people's assembly (SPA) in 2021 respectively. The gist of these speeches as shown below is that youth is defined as "urgent troublesome problem", and therefore "the communist moral and collectivist education" of youth is outlined as to be consolidated.

The party cells of the Workers' Party must adopt the education tasks for today's youth as an urgent troublesome problem at stake for the life and death of the Worker's Party and its revolution, the state and the people, and as a fateful problem that can no longer be overlooked, standing with folded arms, and furthermore, we must actively seek to solve this present problem. (Kim Jong-un's closing remarks at the 6th Cell Secretaries Conference on April 4, 2021)

The government of the Republic must constantly intensify the work to strengthen the communist moral and collectivist education to the new generation with a methodology in accordance with the people's state of consciousness and the changed environment. (Kim Jong-un's speech on administrative policies at the 5th meeting of the 14th supreme people's assembly (SPA) held on September 28, 2021)

A new group to crack down South Korean content viewing has also been organized and operated at front-line sites. In addition to the existing '109 Group' for crackdown on South Korean content viewing, officially known as Surveillance Bureau Group 109, '727 Sangmu' is known to have been newly established for more extensive crackdowns. (Kyunghyang Newspaper, November 25, 2021) Correspondingly, propaganda videos have raised the bar for the awareness of the anti-socialist phenomenon of Youth and ideological control over them. At the 10th Congress of the Socialist Patriotic Youth League (Youth Alliance) held in April 2021, there were also pointed out the phenomenon of anti-socialism in youth and a request to control youth ideology. (Kookmin Ilbo, April 29, 2021; MBN News, June 16, 2021)

A new phase, going further from the previous subcultural form among youth, MZ generation so-called either the generation of 'Jangmadang' or 'Yellow wave'

In general, MZ generation is a term that refers to both millennials born between 1980 and 1995 and Gen Z's born between 1996 and 2010. So, what about the 1990s through the 2000s that the North Korean MZ generation went through? Those were the times when North Korea went through the worst famine and collapse of its central distribution system, and North Koreans barely made a living through black markets. Those born during this period, or those who have passed through its childhood or adolescence, are North Korea's MZ generation.

Unlike previous generations, the MZ generation in North Korea has been called the befitted Jangmadang generation, as they have made a living from markets that have spread tacitly or officially across North Korea, which has put socialism to the fore, either directly with their own hands or through those of their parents, distinct from previous generations.

North Korea's MZ generation is also called the Generation of 'Yellow Wave' after the term "Yellow Wave" referred to the influence of capitalism and liberalism by the North Korean regime since the 1990s. To be more

particular, in North Korea, looking back to the 1990s, there was a stinging rebuke by the North Korean regime, called the 'yellow wave' of foreign influence toward a liberal circulation among youth opposed to the values that North Korea aspired to. (Injeong Lee, 2004)

Their dependence on markets is different from that of the previous generation, which has raised concerns from the North Korean regime that they lack loyalty to the leader or the party. Moreover, South Korean content has emerged as a means of making money on the black market.

In other words, North Korean youths are not only viewers or (and) possessors of South Korean content, but also make a living by selling them on black markets, so they have become a driving force for the South Korean wave, and North Korean youths have been a subject of anti-socialist concern to the North Korean regime.

In response, leader Kim Jong-un delivered the gist of 'the human remodeling project of young people is necessary'. It even came to declaring K-pop a vicious cancer according to the NT in June.

In particular, on November 24, 2021, North Korea's Workers' Party paper, *Rodong Sinmun*, repeatedly emphasized the necessity of ideological projects, saying that young people who are curious about external culture are becoming a key target for 'imperialist culture penetration'. (*Rodong Sinmun*, November 24, 2021)

To converge, for North Korean youth to make a living through markets rather than through central distribution could be a rift in the family-like bond with the leader. This is because the centralized distribution system provides a mediating function to bond leaders and North Koreans like the relationship between fathers and its children, based on the socialist theory of the Large Family, the ruling discourse of the North Korean state. Being as a consequence, not only the subculture discussed in this paper, but also structuralization that facilitates the North Korean youth to move depending on their needs and interests, even standing in opposition to the North Korean state can be further escalated.

Going further from the previous subcultural form, what types of oppositional subcultures in youth have penetrated across North Korea? The oppositional youth subculture, that the North Korean regime cracks down on through an examination of enacted laws, Kim Jong-un's speeches, propaganda videos produced by the North Korean state in two years, can be defined as follows.¹

Rendering it down, going further from the previous subculture of imitating South Korean vocabulary and intonation while enjoying South Korean pop songs and visual media, the South Korean wave has come to evolve into subculture that is close-fits to more comprehensive real life, such as dating, wedding, South Korean fonts, and drawings. Namely, beyond the necessities of life such as clothing, food, and shelter, the capitalistic life style, influenced by South Korean visual media, is expanding its range to language, art, beauty, publishing, pop culture, and fine art.²

Conclusion

While the South Korean media goes through dissemination and is subcultured among the North Korean youth, the threshold at which the

¹ In a propaganda video, titled 'Let's wipe away non-socialism and decadent ideological culture with a revolutionary ideological culture' produced and aired internally by the North Korean regime in May 2021, disclosed the 'cases of 'non-socialism', including the personal details of offenders.

² According to Article 27 of the law of 'the Reactionary Ideology and Culture Rejection Law' enacted in 2021, "Viewing, influx and dissemination of films, compilations, books, songs, drawings, and photos from South Korea into, throughout North Korea" it is specified (Daily NK, 19 Jan 2021); Fashion and hairstyles such as clothing with cross or foreign letters inscribed on them, so-called Chongdae pants, and skinny jeans, which were banned in the propaganda video distributed inside North Korea in 2021, were also encompassed. ; On July 8, 2021, South Korean National Intelligence Service reported to the National Assembly that 'South Korean-like accent, vocabulary, Naming children in the South Korean way, Singing and listening to South Korean pop songs' are being circulated in North Korea. (The Hankyoreh, July 8, 2021); Produced prints in South Korean fonts; South Korean style wedding ceremony, expressing affection, romanticism (Hankyoreh newspaper, July 8, 2021, CNN, July 24, 2021)

current flow is reversed before the spread, that is, the current structural environment of North Korea is outlined as follows.

The headwinds to South Korean wave as a subculture of youth in the dissemination of South Korean media is that the aforementioned enforcement of laws, Labour Party reorganization, campaigns, propaganda videos, etc. By border sealing to halt COVID-19, restricting the inflow of South Korean content and devices into North Korea and shrinking the market activities is another reversible headwind to the dissemination of South Korean visual media in North Korea and to its subculturalization.

Nevertheless, the irreversibility of the Korean Wave, which can be a tailwind for the dissemination of South Korean visual media in North Korea and its subculturalization among youth, can be discussed as follows. First, the limits of the omni-directional crackdown and the loosening of crackdowns by time are being detected. Second, the already irreversible marketization of North Korea, and South Korean contents in it, are emerging as essential goods for sale in the North Korean market.

Third, as the shortage of humanitarian resources deepens in North Korea due to nearly 2-year lockdown measures such as sealing borders with neighbouring China and restricting movement between regions within North Korea to halt COVID-19, the dissatisfaction against the North Korean regime, which has attracted South Korean content viewing, can be an induction agent.

Fourth, the miniaturization and technological development of devices in which South Korean content hidden, and the inflow of information from the family members of North Koreans settling in South Korea through phone calls can be the priming enhancing the irreversibility of the inflow and spread of South Korean content to North Korea.

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THE THEME OF WOMEN'S EMANCIPATION IN CONTEMPORARY KOREAN FEMALE PROSE

Contemporary Korean literature and women's prose gain increasing popularity both among the readership outside the Korean peninsula and the foreign researchers of Korean studies. The concept of "women's literature" and "women's prose" are relevant not only in modern Korean literature, but also in the literature of other countries; it occupies one of the most important places. Tracing the history of the growth of self-awareness of a Korean woman, we clearly realize what a difficult path the "new" woman had to go through in order to attain emancipation. The Republic of Korea is the country of Confucian ethics, hence, it was determined to uphold the pronounced patriarchal nature of organization in society.

Keywords: Women's prose, Korean literature, women's emancipation, feminist ideas, Korean woman

The struggle between the old and the new in life is the eternal problem of humanity. This conflict has become especially acute on the Korean Peninsula since the late 19th and early 20th centuries, when Western ideas of gender equality and women's emancipation gradually began to penetrate the country. The problem of women's emancipation in modern Korean prose first emerged during the years of Japanese annexation under the influence of world imperialism. This era was further marked by the years of the independence movement on the Korean Peninsula. The phenomenon of women's prose began to spread quite extensively among young

female writers a little later – in the years after the civil war. The lives of the younger generation were guided by new ideas, they were not going to adhere to the “home order ideas” which marked the role of women in the family after various reforms and historical events.

The era of industrialization on the Korean peninsula saw the rise of many bright and talented writers with an artistic manifesto of women’s prose. Young artists of the word were beginning to take an interest not only in family values, women judges, emancipation, but also in the personal life of the heroes, a kind of urban lifestyle, gender philosophy.

Women’s prose originated in Korea in a highly complex social environment. Korean women writers have always written, and female literary writing in Korean literature has received different definitions. Korean “women’s prose” with its outlook on life has almost always been aimed at finding new methods from the point of view of a woman, and its important feature is expanding the boundaries of traditional Korean poetics, “without any interference of foreign literary scholars” (Lee, 2002, p. 12). In this article, we decided to make an attempt to consider the artistic embodiment of urbanization that has been featured in contemporary Korean “women’s prose” since the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Analysis of recent publications

A whole layer of research works is devoted to the study of the peculiarities of the artistic method of Korean women’s prose in contemporary Korean literature. Furthermore, many works have been devoted to exploration of the artistic world of women writers who published their works in the period from the late 1990s to the 2010s.

At present two aspects can be distinguished concerning the direction of development in the studies of the literary world of Korean writers in the period from the late 1990s to the 2010s. The first direction is the study of the artistic world in a systemic and holistic aspect. The second direction is to identify their role in feminist Korean literature, so studying the development by female writers of the traditions of feminist prose in Korean

literature of the XXI century, identification of the peculiarities of the perception of artistic discoveries by female representatives, the literature of the megalopolis at the turn of the XXI century.

Many works were devoted to the creativity of women inspired by feminist ideas after the writers Eun Hee Kyung (Korean 은희경) and Kim Ae-ran (Korean 김애란)¹ emerged splendidly upon the Korean literary scene. On December 5, 1998, “The Academic Society of Feminism and Korean Literature” (한국 여성 문학회) was formed and published the first journal called 여성 “Yoesong” (Kim, 2012, p. 648).

Recently, questions have been raised about the female image in modern Korean literature in general in Western literary criticism, and about the work of Eun Hee Kyung (Korean 은희경), Kim Eran (Korean 김애란). There are underway discussions about the work of women writers, their works are translated into different languages.

Objective of the current study

The object of the research is the works of Korean women's prose published in the period from the late 1990s to the 2010s. The subject of the research is not only feminist ideas, emancipation, but also the personal life of female heroines, directly affected by the authors of the literary works in question.

The current paper aims to define the vector of the Republic of Korea from the late 1990s to the 2010s on the basis of a comparative analysis of emancipation in Korean women's prose.

The purpose of the article is studying the characteristic features of the female image, identify its ways of implementation in creativity against the background of changes in Korean society in the period from the late 1990s to the 2010s.

The main research materials involve globalization, urbanization in

¹ Eun Higyeon's work was devoted to: three doctoral, more than 50 master's theses, as well as more than 20 scientific articles. The work of Han Gan was devoted to: more than 26 master's theses, as well as more than 60 scientific articles.

South Korea, new socio-political realities, which have introduced many different styles and new genres into modern literature in the period from the late 1990s to the 2010s.

Traditions and changes

The styles emerged as a result of social reforms which were undertaken by the government. A process of change and the formation of a more equitable society was initiated, and it undeniably affected politics and gender rights, which allowed women to become free to control their own lives.

Nevertheless, not every woman initially dared to step over the traditions and the established way of thinking (which involved the adoption of respectful etiquette (prescription) and patriarchal attitudes), fearing the consequences in the form of pressure, condemnation and misunderstanding on behalf of society – and not wanting to be rejected by the family.

These factors influencing the life and position of a Korean woman presented her with a difficult choice requiring to make a decision – to continue to agree and fulfill the prescribed role of a worthy daughter, wife and mother, living only in the interests of her family, or to go against the established way of life and try to independently embody freedom and independence in her life.

Changes in Korean literature

The new era in Korean literary criticism required new characters from the literary process, the development of new genre forms, new forms of narration, content, style and a new reflection of reality. Clearly, the problems of finding a new creative method, the relationship between the individual and society came to the fore, and a new image of a Korean woman was in demand. As the analysis has shown, the galaxy of women's prose discovered new stylistic practices, actualized new themes in their work,

and looked for new ways of creative coverage of certain topics. Young writers are not interested in defending their right to be creative, they are noticeably distinguished by their emancipation, they have begun to write about the issues that caused concern to them with greater frankness. Emancipation found its artistic expression in the coverage of the whirlwind of events. This era demanded such a literary heroine who was capable not only of changing under the influence of time, but also of achieving the equality of women (emancipation).

Representatives of contemporary Korean female prose

The feminist writers of this era include Eun Hee Kyung (은희경) and Kim Ae-ran (김애란).

Contemporary Korean writer Eun Hee Kyung (은희경) began her literary career with her debut in *The Dong-a Ilbo* in 1995. She published the novella *Duet* (Korean 이중주), which expresses the general feminist discourse of the 90s years.

Eun Hee Kyung's feminist discourse finds its expression in Eun Hee Kyung's short story "Poor Man's Wife" (빈처). In this work, the writer addresses the problem of marriage and relations with a husband. She shifts the main semantic focus from the plot-event space of the work to the internal, psychological processes taking place in the minds of the characters in an effort to convey the paradoxical and multi-layered world of human relationships. The main characters of the novel are "I" and his wife. The wife is writing a diary secretly from the "I". She defines her feelings for her husband very ambiguously. The wife has developed a stable feeling of antipathy towards the "I", the heroine feels very lonely and uncomfortable. She lacks communication with "I". She suffers and lives simultaneously in two dimensions. The superficial part of her life is exhausted by her social masks and everyday relationships with the people around her: she plays the role of a wife, mistress of the house, thus meeting the expectations of society. At the same time, parallel to the outer side of life, the story reveals the intense work of her consciousness, the inner world of the

heroine, where there is room for notes in the diary, continuous reflection, and transgressive love-hate for her husband. While her husband was reading the lines of the diary, he did not understand at all “what was it about”, “at first he did not understand what kind of loved one?”² his wife wrote about. Nevertheless, he soon realised, “in other words, that she was not happy”.³

Kim Ae-ran was born in 1980 in Incheon. She graduated from Seoul Institute of The Arts and studied theater and drama. Kim is only 5–6 years older than the “young feminists”. “Young feminists” are representatives of the literary movement, who clearly declared themselves, but there is a difference between them, as if they were writers of different generations. It is not just that Kim Ae-ran has started her creative career early, she has a more mature outlook on life.

Critics became interested in her works, they seemed unexpectedly modern and relevant in the literary world. The writer is interesting to us because she speaks a new language, gives birth to new heroes, and her work is distinguished by a specially organized plot.

The story “I Go to Convenience Store” was written in 2003. It belongs to the early stories of the writer. The story tells about a heroine for whom going to the minimarket has become a part of her life.

The heroine came to Seoul from the provinces. She has lived near the university. There were three 24-hour convenience stores next to the house. “The first of them, “LG25”, is right next to residential buildings, across the street there is “Family Mart”, and “7-Eleven” is a little further. “LG25” is located in a straight line from the residential complex, “Family Mart” – on the letter “G”, “7-Eleven” – on the letter “P” (Kim, 2019, p. 352).

Minimarkets relate to the heroine in several aspects: firstly, going to a minimarket brought her some “peace and comfort”, guaranteed her the “anonymity” of personal information. Secondly, according to the heroine, there was nothing to feed the soul with in a big metropolis. Seoul residents are too obsessed with their busyness and suspicious of each other.

² 은희경, 「빈처」, 『현대문학』 (1996), 1. pp. 173–174.

³ 은희경, 앞의 책, p. 175.

She eschews everyone around her, does not burn with the desire to become truly useful to society. To some extent, the heroine, satisfied with this situation, lives the life she created, corresponding to her character and inner worldview, following her personal convictions and not caring about others.

The heroine reduces her existence to a case: she hides which university she studies at; worries everywhere about “lest they know her name”. The image of a young student was the exact opposite of the image of a Korean girl that existed for many centuries due to the influence of Confucian philosophy in Korea. The image of a young student embodies such positive aspects of urbanization as: improving the quality of education, improving the quality of life. Along with the positive aspects of urbanization, negative aspects were also reflected in Korean women's prose: the deterioration of the state of the human soul, alienation from society.

The process of urbanization, life in the metropolis and the urban environment lead to the emergence of a new type of personality, forced to develop new mechanisms of psychological protection (Lipchanskaya, 2012, pp. 79-83).

On the one hand, it would seem that urbanization has a positive effect on the inner world of people, familiarizing them with the many-sided culture and its values. On the other hand, according to the author, a metropolis slightly deforms a person's personality.

In the person of a young student at one of the universities in Seoul, Kim Ae-ran was able to show criticism of reality with great persuasiveness. She brings to the fore the image of a girl, which is fully formed by the new Korean society, where she lives freely, following her principles.

Last but not least, the writer in our work is Cho Nam-Joo. She authored a penetrating book about the hard life of a Korean woman – “Kim Ji-young, Born 1982”.

The topics that are raised in the work are no longer monumental, because there is less to fight for regarding the emancipation of women. Nevertheless, the revealed key issues have made the author admirable (Cho, 2020).

Outrage about sexism, the difficult economic situation, the behaviour of older relatives, the importance of perceiving work, earning money and combining it all with childbirth and caring for a baby, and as a final chord such a simple but important thing reflecting the fact that even in the 21st century, her life depends on the femininity of a girl: “Don’t sleep so that the cream is not smeared on the pillow”.

In less than two hundred pages the author has managed to raise all the problems that a woman faces in a world where she is considered a second-class person. Where the main operator is a man. Where the birth of a girl was considered almost a misfortune, and if during the third pregnancy the ultrasound again showed the female sex of the foetus, an abortion could easily be recommended.

Cho Nam-Joo wrote about her country, South Korea, which we used to think of as progressive. However, technological progress does not at all guarantee progressive views regarding the society and its foundations. It turns out that the *hoju*, the traditional family system, was only abolished as a violation of the Gender Equality Law nationwide in 2008. Notwithstanding, in 2016, when the book was written, things did not advance far in terms of general ideas. In fact, this is not only the case of South Korea, as it remains a very sore point with numerous facets in different areas. Cho Nam-Joo wrote about a variety of phenomena. It is also important to note the dry manner of presentation, which is very appropriate here. Yes, it is stingy. Yes, it shows a minimum of emotions, these can be derived only from the replicas of the main character. The narrator himself remains impartial, because he is a psychiatrist who tells the story of his patient. A story like thousands of others. The author does not try to play on the feelings of the reader, attempting to squeeze out a tear using effective literary techniques, because there is no task to arouse sympathy for the heroine. Here the aim is different – to show what almost every woman who was born before the abolition of *hoju* had to go through. Yes, and we still have to go through that, because before gender equality, which the law broadcasts on paper, in reality may be as hard to reach as the Moon. Here it is about female destinies, telling the narrative of one, about what they are for society, relatives, themselves. There is nothing to envy (Kim, 2018).

Conclusion

The artistic embodiment of emancipation in Korean women's prose is one of the most important trends in the development of the literary process, reflecting the national identity of modern writers. The facts obtained during the analysis of the work show that the consciousness of Korean girls and women was changing under the influence of the modernization of Korean society, which increased the status and role of women in public life, and this could not affect the mentality of the Korean people as a whole. It is natural to assert that the national worldview was reflected in modern Korean literature, in particular, women's prose.

Thus, in Korean women's prose, the concept of emancipation is embodied in a narrow and broad understanding. On the one hand, this process is inextricably linked with the fate of women. At the same time, emancipation will always be associated with the self-consciousness, mentality of a Korean woman, with her past, present, and future.

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THE MARCH OF FOOLS IN LITERATURE AND CINEMA (1970s)¹

*This paper aims to examine how a literary text is transferred to cinema, based on the example of Choi In-ho's newspaper novel *The March of Fools* and its film adaptation by Ha Gil-jong. Here, adaptation is defined as the transfer of form and/or content from a source to a result, such as from a novel to a film, or any other adaptive compilation (Bruhn, Gjelsvik and Hanssen, 2013, p. 9). As Jorgen Bruhn writes, "should we not admit that the adaptive process is dialectical, and that the source text is changed in the process of adaptation as well?" (Bruhn, Gjelsvik and Frisvold Hanssen, 2013, p. 9). First of all, we will briefly present the author and the historical background at the time. Then, we will move onto the novel and its adaptation. At the same time, we will trace the presence of traditional elements in the literary text, as well as in its film adaptation, which stems from traditional Korean culture and classical literature.*

Keywords: Korean modern literature, Korean newspaper novel, Korean popular culture of the 1970s, Choi In-ho, Ha Gil-jong, film adaptation, literature on screen

The Historical background of the 1970s

Before talking about a specific example of collaboration between two creative personalities, it is worth to remark upon the overall historical situation. As the film critic Lee Sang-yong writes, "at that time, the Korean culture stood at a crossroads of darkness and light. Under military dictatorships, there were limits to what artists could express. It was the

¹ This article was accepted for publication on January 17, 2022.

period of the advent of the so called *hangeul* generation, growing interest in popular culture and the wave of democracy. As a result, there was a deluge of popular culture seen in the 90s” (Lee, 2009, p. 18). According to Kim Eun-ha, “1970s were the most prolific period for novels: there was an increase in volume of publications, the emergence of problematic best-sellers, the revitalization of the literary media, and the high prestige of literature. This period saw many bestsellers, and the industry enjoyed the greatest boom” (Park, 2014, p. 24). It was the time when writers such as Park Wan-suh, Hwang Seok-yong, Lee Mun-ku, Cho Se-hui entered the literary scene. The novel was a space of contemporary public dialogue for intellectuals (Kim, 2008, p. 19). The decade experienced many problems, which stemmed from rapid economic growth and modernization, and conflicted with various elements of traditional culture and society. The leading direction of the period was toward the idea of “national literature” 민족 문학. This was the stage where concepts such as “pure literature”, “literature of engagement”, “realism”, “anti-realism”, “people’s political consciousness”, “historical mind”, “alienation”, “distribution theory” etc. were to be reconsidered within the context of the idea of ‘national literature’. In the 1970s, the confrontation continued between the supporters of ‘engaged’ and ‘pure’ literature. Creative writers and poets in Korea were divided into two groups – ‘literature for the sake of art’ and ‘literature in the service of society’.

As Jeong Tae-soo, Professor of the Department of Theatre and Cinema in Hanyang University, notes, “Korean films in the 1970s are closely related to the launch of Yushin Regime that determined the culture and art of Korean society. This means that it is difficult to feature exclusively characteristics of Korean films in this period beyond Yushin Regime. [...] Key figures in the Visual Age, including Ha Gil-jong and Byun In-shik, maintained a critical perspective on film censorship and institutions during Yushin Regime. [...] University students and young people who emerged as mainstream of popular culture through discourse of youth culture were targeted in the films. For this reason, oppressive elements were implied in the films, but they are marked by romantic resistance and

compliance within the realm of Yushin Regime” (Jeong, 2019, p. 147). Within this historical context, the boundaries between literature and cinema naturally crumbled, and the interaction between the two fields increased (Lee, 2009, p. 18). Some writers not only started writing screenplays early on, but also began to participate in film productions (ex. author Kim Seung-ok 김승옥). Many authors went on to forge steady partnerships with certain directors. Some of the most important literary works of the 1970s, for example, were Shin Kyong-rim’s 신경림 *Farmers’ Dancing* (poem) 농무 (1971), Hwang Seok-yong’s 황석영 *The Road to Sam’po* (short story) 삼포 가는 길 (1973), Cho Se-hui’s 조세희 *The Small Ball a Dwarf Threw Upwards* (collection of stories) 난장이가 쏘아올린 작은 공 (1978?). However, looking at the process in terms of the environment and general discourse, as noted by literary critic Hong Yong-hee, “The rapid spread of industrialization brought about the extreme side effects of human alienation, boundless materialism, and moral unrest” (Hong, 2015, p. 37).

About the author

In the 1970s, Choi In-ho was leading the literary best-selling market, continuing to do so in the 1980s. [...] He was an avant-garde writer and an omnidirectional force in popular culture (Park, 2014, p. 25). Choi In-ho was born in 1945 in Seoul and died of cancer in 2013 at the age of 68. He graduated Yonsei University with B.A. in English Literature, and started his literary career in 1963 at the age of 18, writing the story *Into the Hole in the Wall* 벽구멍으로. Choi received numerous literary awards: the Sasanggye Prize for New Writers (1967), Hyundai Munhak New Writer’s Prize (1972), Lee Sang Literary Award (1982) (Who’s Who in Korean Literature, 1996, p. 65). He was one of the leading writers in the 1970’s, who wrote both best-sellers, as well as more serious literary novels, having created over 100 pieces, some of which sold over a million copies. Choi’s early novels focused on the power of micro view, in contrast with macro view of popular literature, revealing the deep aspects of power within a

person's daily life (Kim, 2015, p. 6). Choi's work was not limited to novels – he also branched out into films, pop music and broadcasting, becoming one of the icons of 1970s youth culture. He was the 'writer who captured the spirit of his time' and became 'eternally youthful author'. For his contribution to Korean literature and Korean popular culture, Choi In-ho received posthumously the Eungwan Order of Culture Merit, the second highest artistic recognition. His novel *Star Hometown* 별들의 고향, written in 1972, had great commercial success. Overall, Choi In-ho depicted the discord and deceit of the world, disguised by the ruling ideology [...] describing depravity and alienation in an industrial society (Who's Who in Korean Literature, 1996, p. 66). His main characters search for meaning and significance in the world, struggling against its falsity, experiencing losses, nevertheless trying to preserve humanity.

During the 1970s, Choi often teamed up with Ha Gil-jong 하길종, one of the best film directors at the time. Ha Gil-jong treated Choi In-ho like his own sibling, allowing him to participate in the filmmaking process. The most famous film created from this partnership was *The March of Fools*. Both the novel and the film came to represent the youth culture of the 70s. According to Song Eun-young, "Youth Culture in 1970s Korea had been devaluated as a blind imitation of Western Youth Culture and the demoralized manners and customs of young people. [...] But their styles, manners and customs cannot be underestimated because they actively expressed their feeling to be free from social controlling ideology. Choi In-ho's young characters in *The March of Fools* display various actions of their own, e.g., wearing unisex fashion to perturb the strict gender system, or consumption of cultural goods to show off their knowledge and modern-day awareness, or even shocking incident of streaking in order to break the strict environment. Their actions represent not just longing for a free and open society, such as found in western youth culture, but also the unconscious disapproval of the national ideology for a rapid industrialization, the standardized nationalism and populism of dogmatic progressivism" (Song, 2005, p. 444).

In the 1980s, Choi In-ho began to collaborate with a new film director Bae Ch'ang-ho 배창호. After Ha Gil-jong's sudden death in the late 1970s, Choi needed a new cinematic partner. Thus, in Bae Ch'ang-ho he found a director who breathed new life into his novels. Their collaboration began with *The Flower at the Equator* (1983). Next, came out *The Whale Hunting* (1984) – a road movie, a film genre that many Koreans were unfamiliar with at the time. The novel *Deep Blue Night* (1985) was another successful collaborative effort, as well as *Hello, God*. Their last movie, *Stairway to Heaven* (1991), considered to be an end of a long and fruitful partnership, is still deemed as one of the greatest films in Korean cinema history. Choi In-ho's novels became successful films produced by other directors as well, e.g., *Winter Wanderer* (director Kwak Ji-kyoon 콕지균, 1986). The enormous success of this film is a good indication of how popular the author was at the time. Below is the full list of Choi In-ho's novels, which were adapted as films or TV dramas and became box office hits (1970s):

- 별들의 고향 *Star Hometown* (1974)
- 어제 내린 비 *Yesterday Rain* (1974)
- 바보들의 행진 *The March of Fools* (1975)
- 걸지 말고 뛰어라 *Just Run* (1976) – director Choi In-ho
- 내 마음의 풍차 *Windmill of My Heart* (1976)
- 사랑의 조건 *Condition of Love* (1979)
- 돌의 초상 *Portrait of a Stone* (1979)
- 타인의 방 *The Stranger's Room* (1979)
- 적도의 꽃 *The Flower at the Equator* (1983)
- 고래 사냥 *Whale Hunting* (1984)
- 깊고 푸른 밤 *Deep Blue Night* (1985)
- 겨울 나그네 *Winter Wanderer* (1986)
- 안녕하세요 하나님 *Hello, God* (1987)
- 불새 *The Firebird* (1987)
- 천국의 계단 *Stairway to Heaven* (1991)
- 불새 *The Firebird* (1997) – remake of the 1987 version

구멍 *Hole* (1999) – director Kim Guk-hyong 김국형
 상도 *Sangdo (The Merchant of Joseon)* (2001) – TV drama
 해신 *Haeshin (Emperor of the Sea)* (2004) – TV drama
 홍콩 익스프레스 *Hong Kong Express* (2005) – TV drama
 어머니는 죽지 않는다 *Mother Doesn't Die* (2007).

The March of Fools film adaptation

At first, *The March of Fools* came out as a newspaper novel. Later, it was adapted into a screenplay and, subsequently, was made into a movie. As mentioned above, the film became a good example of successful collaboration between the author and the director. The success of the film was also enhanced by the beautiful musical arrangement (two songs by singer Song Ch'ang-sik 송창식: *Why do you call me?* and *The Whale Hunt*, which very innately fit into the overall plot of the story). Another contributing factor was the fresh team of actors and their 'natural' play. Notably, more than twenty works of Choi In-ho were successfully adapted for the big screen. However, according to his own statement, *The March of Fools* film was one of his favorite adaptations. Here is the brief summary of the film:

Production – Park Jong-c'han 박종찬
 Project – Lee Eun-bong 이은봉/ Kim Jae-woong 김재웅
 Director – Ha Gil-jong
 Date of release – 31st of May, 1975
 Cinema theatre – 국도극장
 Audience – 153 780
 Company – (주) 화천공사.

The main characters are four students – two boys, Byong-t'ae 병태 (actor 윤문섭) and Young-ch'ol 영철(하재영), and two girls, Young-ja 영자 (actress 이영옥) and Sun-ja 순자(김영숙), as well as some other students.

The plot of the story: the main characters, Byong-t'ae and Young-ch'ol, are students at the Department of Philosophy. They become

acquainted with two other students, Young-ja and Sun-ja, who attend Department of French Language. While Byong-t'ae and Young-ja become friends, Sun-ja rejects the advances of Young-ch'ol. These young people, living the student life, find themselves in circumstances where society does not allow for freedom of thought. Byong-t'ae receives a military summons, and Young-ch'ol dreams of catching the white whale. As a result, Young-ch'ol, who comes from a wealthy family and regularly receives money from his father, feels lost in the student environment and is unhappy. One day, he goes off to the Eastern Sea and commits suicide by throwing himself off a cliff. There is neither commitment nor promise between Byong-t'ae and Young-ja, but when Byong-t'ae boards the train with his fellow army recruits, Young-ja comes to the platform and says goodbye, kissing him through the window of the train.

What is the central message of the story? The characters are the symbols of both lost freedom and innocence, damaged by power. Their lives are evidence of their discord and tension with the times. However, they still dream and desire for democracy and freedom. Perhaps, the last scene (first kiss) explains it all, both in the novel and in the movie, and acts as a symbolic hint of hope for a better future (subsequently, Choi In-ho and Ha Gil-jong would create a sequel, in which Byong-t'ae and Young-ja get married). On one hand, Byong-t'ae is the image of an innocent selfless hero, who follows his heart. In his prime of youth, Byong-t'ae is prone to romance and believes in better future. On the other hand, such 'fools' are many, and they are marching not just as individuals, but as a group, thinking in similar ways and moving forward with new ideas and trends. In other words, it is the idea of a 'strange man', of a 'fool', who has a dream. Specifically, Choi In-ho thinks about human life as a rather 'strange dream', using the Korean word '꿈' [kkum].

Notably and when speaking of elements of traditional view, the idea of seeing life as a dream is very typical for Korean culture. According to this world view, life is usually filled with all sorts of trials and tribulations that the character must overcome. After he defeats all these difficulties of life, which he perceives as real, they turn out to be just a dream, from

which he awakens with a renewed soul. This world view in Korean culture is derived from an ancient tradition. Moreover, in the 18th century, a new type of literary works emerged called 'novels-dreams'. These novels address the issue of a man's place in the world in relation to his social activities. All major events take place in a dream, but the reality, from which characters 'go to sleep' and to which they come back to after waking up, acts as the framework of this dream. More often, it is the type of character (hero), who does not attempt to rebel against evil and injustice. Just as in nature, where every season comes to an end, the birth of a new 'hero' comes in its own time. Thus, active intervention in the natural order of things becomes meaningless. Perhaps, that is why they are not active 'fighters', fighting and defeating enemies, but instead – passive 'holders' of noble qualities.

Through all the events unfolding in the film, the word 'dream' is a common thread: Byong-t'ae's dream, Young-ch'ol's dream, seagulls' dream, their dream ('our dream'). However, here, the dream conflicts with reality and material world (현실 vs 꿈). There are dreams depicting faith in people, hope and freedom. At the same time, there are 'dreams' depicting the power of money, material assets, sadness, lack of freedom and democracy, and authoritarian behaviour. It is not by accident, then, that the main characters are students of Department of Philosophy. Philosophy was associated with detachment from real life and was perceived as a science that provided no income. The characters are forced to behave like clowns and call themselves stupid and inferior people. They fail in all their endeavours and refer to themselves as fools. However, there are attempts to meet a challenge, and perhaps that is the reason the author uses the word 'march' in the title.

Why is then the 'dream' here a key point? Byong-t'ae is aware of the world in which he lives, but is forced to sit idly and only hope for a better future, wherein his dream will come true. As for Young-ch'ol, throughout his whole life he has been able to survive with his father's money and he feels that his power could not change the circumstances, so instead he only wants to hunt whales in the Eastern Sea. Maybe, for him the whale

is a symbol of freedom. However, Kang Sook-young offers a different interpretation in her article, insisting that “the whale is reminiscent of the whale in the novel “Moby Dick” by Herman Melville. [...] The sigh of “Resistance”, which is symbolized by the “whale”, is reinforced by the screen adaptation in case of “The March of Fools”. However, the film’s vivacious subversive power is damaged by pre-censorship by authority [...]” (Kang, 2018, p. 29).

Speaking about movie scenes and the filmmaking process itself, the following observations can be made. In the movie, technological progress is presented and visible in the scenes where the camera focuses on a string of cars, trains or ships. The influence of Western civilization products is revealed on billboards depicting European models and in popular European hits and other Western music that students listen to when meeting in a café. On the other hand, the lack of freedom is evident in the very first episodes, where the main characters are taken to the police station for not having short haircuts (Korean students were forbidden to wear long hair at that time). In the film, students live the life of ordinary young people, trying new experiences and engaging in everything that is typical for their age and world outlook. All university events are well illustrated: the meetings organized by the male and female students, sports and games, bar scenes with students drinking beer and talking about the future, the first dates and the competition held among them on who must win by drinking the most and threading a needle. At the same time, according to Hong Hye-jung, the fragmented bodies of the students represent the liberal and unconventional aspects of the students (Hong, 2017, p. 128).

Choi In-ho is a master of detail, using it as signal flags, helping to determine the direction and the tone of the narrative. For example, the names of the main characters – Byong-t’ae and Young-ch’ol – are in line with Korean words byont’ae 변태 “abnormal”, and mongch’onyi 멍청이, meaning “clumsy” or “moron”. For Koreans, choosing a name is a tradition. There are numbers 13 and 4, which were allocated to the main characters, when it was decided with whom they should assemble at the student

meeting. Young-ch'ol goes to number 4, while for Koreans this number is associated with death. Subsequently, Young-ch'ol commits suicide. There is a scene with a blackboard in a classroom with "Aristotle's utopia" written on it (= the image of the ideal state). Another scene takes place at the zoo, where Young-ja sees a deer in a closed aviary. She also plays a very small role in a performance (hinting to the idea that other people play 'a major role'). We see slogans displayed at the time – 'anti-Communist spirit' and 'persistent aggression'. Notably, throughout the whole story the main characters appear in three primary colours – red, white and black. Colour semantics are also customary for the Korean perspective: black and red colours are the male productive force, the new birth; white colour is feminine, associated with death-conception; the roots can be found in Korean myths and traditional prose. Thus, there is an understanding of colour as a sign of fertile forces (typical of the traditional Korean literature).

On the surface, the characters are not free, but underneath they are trying to preserve the spirit of freedom. It is apparent in the scenes where they are running. Maybe, this is the way they escape from real life, from captivity. For them it is the outward manifestation of freedom. On the other hand, the characters are trying to grasp their feelings, and love, associated with romantic relationships, also supports them under certain circumstances. Here, the romantic feelings, perhaps, replace the feeling of freedom.

Ideally, universities are the places where the most daring and cutting-edge ideas are born, and where young people realize their creative potential and develop their personal qualities. In reality, for Korean high school students of that period, universities became the place of authoritarian rule, where classes were cancelled for political reasons and the atmosphere was often extremely tense. It was during the time of President Park Chung-hee when the dictatorship seemed as an impenetrable fortress, and it was not possible to change the present system. Due to existing censorship at the time, film Director Ha Gil-jong had to edit and even cut certain scenes and very candid statements from the movie, as possible enticement for students to protest. For example, after the first film review,

the censors cut out two soundtracks from the film because they were deemed 'too controversial'. Another Ha Gil-jong's accomplishment was his ability, through the film, to logically connect the episodes, which were divided in the original work, and to adequately interpret particularly dramatic moments. He depicted the reality of the time by using the romantic relationship between students. In this instance, the romance was not beautified, but served as a tool for describing the younger generation of the 1970s. The reason *The March of Fools* achieved higher cinematic quality (vs literary quality the original novel) was because the journey of life of the main characters, who longed for dream and hope having critical point of view on military dictatorship era in the 1970's, is well revealed (Ham, 2012, p. 35).

Conclusion

In conclusion, the following oppositions can be considered:

- University vs society
- Love/first kiss vs pragmatism
- Freedom/long hair vs dictatorship
- Utopia vs reality
- Dreams vs reality
- White whale vs impotence
- Human vs system
- Byong-t'ae, Young-ch'ol vs Young-ja, Sun-ja.

At the same time, we also have the following images:

- University = freedom
- First kiss = hope
- White whale = dream.

What are the common features of Choi In-ho's works? Despite the severity of the problems that Choi In-ho presents in his literary labours, all of them are recognized for their light-filled atmosphere. In his stories, there is no impending doom or despair. On the contrary, the author offers a constructive way of solving problems through love and appeal to traditional values. A common feature of all the works of Choi In-ho in this period is the lack of pronounced didactic overtones and a direct expression of the author's position. The writer only indicates a problem, revealing its presence in contemporary society, but does not offer an unambiguous and correct solution. However, his stories are aimed at promoting the idea of love and caring attitude towards others. Speaking of Choi In-ho's writing style, it is typically comprised of short and simple sentences, which, if ever complicated, are in most cases filled with some uncommon comparison or a metaphor. In his works, there are no lengthy lyrical digressions and reflections by the author, or lengthy descriptions of nature and surroundings. On the contrary, landscapes and other environments in which the characters are placed, are concise and mostly symbolic. To sum up, it should be noted that acute social problems do arise in his early works of 1970s, but Choi In-ho does not put himself in the place of a Creator or a Judge, instead leaving behind the context of his intention as the author by presenting the right emphasis through the detail. Perhaps, this is the main reason for his films' popularity among the Korean youth and becoming the box office successes. Choi In-ho's view is not instructive, the author simply shows life as it is, giving a chance to the audience to draw their own conclusions.

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HARMONY AND UNITY: YIN & YANG AND CURRENT SOCIAL PROBLEMS REPRESENTATION IN SOUTH KOREAN LITERATURE¹

The paper will explain the basis of many literary representations of current issues through the traditional understanding of the world as based on the principle of harmonic interrelation between the oppositions, i.e., yin and yang. This approach allows to touch upon an important issue of a relation between traditional literature and contemporary literature, and the analysis of some traditional elements will help to trace those features that form peculiarity of contemporary Korean literature texts, as well as acquire a deeper understanding of the life attitudes specific for Korean culture. Such a vast subject will be specified with the focus on the cases based upon the principle of the oppositions, as well as the idea of unity and harmony as the main goal (and, as the paper will show, the main means for reaching it).

Keywords: yin and yang, South Korean literature, traditional elements in contemporary Korean culture, text in Korean culture, traditional models, representation of current issues in South Korea

Introduction

The paper concerns specifics of current social (gender, political, environmental) issues representation in South Korean literature with regard to Korean literary tradition based on the example of yin and yang, the two oppositions characterized with the harmonic interrelation and constituting one of the main models of the Universe.

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The idea of harmony served the base for many pre-modern Korean texts. One of the illustrative examples is found as early as in the State Foundational myths. E.g., the myth about the Koguryŏ state founder Chumong, as well as the myth of Tangun both lay upon the model of the opposition of two forces, i.e., solar and chthonic. The same opposition serves the core for the Indo-European myth about God of Thunder (solar) and Snake (chthonic), but unlike the latter case, where triumph of life is achieved by the solar character conquering the evil chthonic force, in the Korean myth, this is the harmonic unity of the opposite forces, which brings the birth of the new life (of the future state founder) (Trotsevich, 2004). The same model develops in later plots with the relations between good and evil protagonists as, for example, in Chosŏn prose. In many of the plots depicting clearly distinguished and evil characters, the harmonic ending shows the evil ones are not killed, rarely are punished but commonly they are forgiven after remorse (Trotsevich, 2004). The same idea could be approached *vice versa*, when the break of the balance in between *yin* & *yang* is the reason for the general break of universal harmony.

Taking into consideration the importance of harmony in pre-modern literature, it is possible to make a suggestion about its role in contemporary texts. Let us consider some cases with the model of *yin* & *yang* as a representation of harmony and detect its meaning in literature of South Korea.

The chosen cases can be grouped according to the model found therein:

- 1) Open/secluded space related with male/female;
- 2) *Yin* & *yang* and a broken balance;
- 3) Unity of the nation/society.

Generally speaking, all of the above models' roots can be traced to the idea of harmony, which, in its core, is the correct interrelation between *yin* & *yang*.

Open/secluded space related with male/female

The model *yin & yang* has numerous manifestations through oppositions, and one of the common oppositions stands for a secluded space as associated with *yin*, and an open space – with *yang*. In traditional literature, one of its representative variants is a fixed Chinese expression *toksuk kongbang* (獨宿空房: an empty room I sleep alone in) often found in female-voiced Chosŏn vernacular poetry.

This model may also be found in contemporary literature, namely, in the texts dealing with both current issues and gender. Thus, the motif of a secluded space is used in prose works drawing an image of a male protagonist not participating in current activities in the country. E.g., in the short story by Kim Sŭng-ok (born 1941) “A Diary of the Journey to Mujin” *Mujin kibaeng* (무진기행), the protagonist’s mother hides him during the war, so he spends a long time isolated in a small room. In the short story “Numerical Enigma” *Sutcha p’uri* (숫자풀이) by Hwang Sunwŏn (1915–2000), the narrator also hides in a room contemplating his decision not to take part in the demonstrations of the 1960 (for the detailed analysis, see Uglova, 2014). In both stories, the political passiveness of the protagonists is an important feature illustrating their weakness. Besides, the failure to join their contemporaries in some important action causes a psychological trauma and indirectly causes a negative impact on the protagonists’ relations with females. Thus, the protagonist in “A Diary of the Journey to Mujin” makes a choice to stay with his wife that suppresses him with her higher social status and influential father.² In “Numerical Enigma”, the male is obsessed with a woman living close by. In both stories, weakness is emphasized by placing the protagonist in a secluded space of a room – the space traditionally associated with *yin*. Here, this space of “an empty room” may be interpreted as a contemporary version of the model traditionally representing a female, but used in a “reversed” way. Now it creates a figure of a male lacking masculinity.

² For the analysis of this short story in relation with the modification of literary tradition under the influence of Western literature, see Trotsevich, 1997.

The opposition “inner/outer space” does not necessarily relate to gender issues or space seclusion, but always emphasizes the balance and harmony within it. Another feature of the model is the conventional character of the borders between the inner and outer space.³

One of the representative examples of a text where this model is used, is the poem “Ah, Beauty!” *Arūmdaumiyō* (아름다움이여!) by Chŏng Hyŏn-jong (born 1939) (Chŏng, 1999, p. 71).

On the inside wall – [there is] a flower and leaves relief

On the outside – [there are] glaring autumn leaves

Ah, harmonic chorus of nature and art!

My heart is dancing. Ah, beauty!

The central idea of this poem is a complicated correlation of the “outer” and the “inner” and between of art and nature. The artistic object (the leaves carved on the wall) is a part of a closed space, while the natural object (the leaves outside) is located in the free space but for the observer looking from the inside it is set within the framework of the window and looks as a part of the inside setting. Due to the transparency of the window, i.e., the borderline between the inside and the outside, the scenery outside becomes a continuation of the inside setting.

The phonetical and compositional correspondence of the first two lines reflect this idea.

안벽에는 꽃과나뭇잎의 릴리프
창밖에는 눈부신 가을 나뭇잎
자연과예술의화창이여
마음은춤춘다아름다움이여

In the first words in the first two lines: [an -pyŏk] and [ch'ang-pak], the groups of the vowel [a] followed by a sonorous sound [n/ng] and then the consonants [p] and [k] constitute the similar group of sounds. In the

³ The realization of this concept may be found, for instance, in the structure of traditional Korean houses.

final part of the lines, the words [rillip'ü] and [namunnip] have sonore pairs of [r/n] and [ll/nn] and the vowel [i] followed by [p'/p] creating the effect of a rhyme. The usage of the same vowel (“a”) in the first syllables of all four lines support the idea of general correspondence in the text. The similarity between the carved leaves and the natural ones outside, emphasized structurally and phonetically, conveys the idea of harmony in between nature and art (for a detailed analysis, see Guryeva, 2004).

This poem belongs to the poetic cycle positioning art, aesthetic quality, and harmony as a way to overcome current political problems. The text bases on the clear opposition of inner and outer space, which unite as the result of the influence of artistic act. Harmony created by the unity of art and nature is the means the poet proposes and as an option to the misleading road that contemporary society takes at times. Cf. with lines from the poem written in the similar period of time and having a similar title: “Out of Beauty” *Arūmdaumūro* (아름다움으로) (Chöng, 1999, p. 60):

*You say: “Peninsula”, you say: “Atomic bomb” –
But what should be done
Is creating things that are worthy enough not to demolish
Is building a fortress out of beauty.*

Another commonly found pattern is the relation of *yin & yang* and the idea of a broken balance.

The balance between *yin & yang* has been traditionally perceived as the basic principle of the Universe. In literature, a break of the balance is often represented as the cause for various problems in the society or the universe in the whole.

A prose example of this model is the works by a female writer Pyön Hye-yöng (born 1972), whose popularity recently has been on the rise. Pyön Hye-yöng reveals current problems of the contemporary society, including environmental issues sometimes through the ruined balance between *yin & yang*. E.g., in the story “Aowi Garden” *Aoi kadün* (아오이 가든) she

uses the classical pattern of a secluded space as associated with *yin*. According to the story, seclusion covers a large space of a city inhabited with females only and with only chthonic creatures around (*yin*). This overconcentration of *yin* breaks the balance, which, in turn, causes epidemics and environmental circumstances (Pogadaeva, 2013, p. 311). The epidemics in the text is associated with a female wearing a red scarf. It is important to note that in mythological tradition red is the representative “male” color, so we can interpret this motif, as follows: *yin* (female) dominates over the *yang* (red colour), and the broken balance causes the illness.

Eschatological leitmotifs characteristic for Pyōn Hye-yōng’s works are manifested in the plot through the impossibility to give birth to a new life of a human: one female escapes from the city and gets pregnant, but she gives birth to red frogs that eventually die. It is possible to interpret this image of red frogs as another symbol of *yin* (as chthonic creatures) with a “male-related *yang*-like” feature (red colour) representing its dominance and the break of balance as a circumstance. The writer shows balance and harmony as the core principle of life, therefore its break within the *yin* & *yang* opposition can affect human beings as much as prevent new life and future.

The poetry also applies this model. In the poem “Bubbles and Notorious Laughter” *Kōpum-gwa nōtōrusūm* (거품과 너털웃음) by Chōng Hyōn-jong (Chōng, 1995, p. 39), one can see the political connotation as the poem was a respond to Pak Chōng-hee’s rule:

The Sun and the Moon are shining extremely brightly.
 And people are singing songs of great peace,
 <...>
 But I will sing of the hardest destiny of the Peninsula.

Here one can find a symbolical meaning of such representations of the ruler as Sun and the Moon, and the broken balance in the Universe (extreme shining) as a projection of the abnormal state of the society.

The idea of broken balance is similarly applied in the poem by Pak Kyōng-ni (1926–2008) “This Winter in Hwechon” *Hwechon kolchagi-ūi kyōul* (회춘 골짜기의 겨울) (Pak, 2008, pp. 114–115):

What a winter we are having at Hwechon this year!

The Sun will show its face and hide again,

And snow – falls and melts again,

This winter is extremely warm!

Capitalism – it is a like bulwark, and it has no exit,

While the overheating is about to come,

Civilization is at the edge of crash, it can drown in the whirlpool
of catastrophes,

What a warm winter we are having at Hwechon this year!

This work, published in the writer's posthumous collection, expresses her critical perception of capitalism through the disorder in nature and a broken balance in temperatures. It may be considered in both political and environmental context.

Associating a ruler with the state of the Nature and the Universe is common for East Asian *weltanschauung*, which laid on the original Korean base with a specific vision on the relations between a senior and a junior constituting one 'image' (for related research, see Nikitina, 1982). This results in the idea of the unity of the nation discussed below.

Unity of the nation/society

Unity of nation is one of the most important features of traditional *weltanschauung*, commonly used in pre-modern literature. Nowadays, this model is generally applied in a large variety of texts besides literature. School manuals on traditional ethics emphasize the priority of collectivism over the individualism. Banners and slogans tend to use prepositive forms.

In contemporary literature, this model is often represented through the idea of the unity of the main protagonist with the society. Plots deal with both individual harmony and general harmony, and the former is a

part of the latter. Social issues are represented through the disorientation of protagonists in the society, their loneliness, the broken ties and lost unity. One of the related tendencies in contemporary prose is the individualization of the main protagonist. Inna Tsoy writes about such central figure as “a native from marginal strata of society or representatives of subcultures” (Tsoy, 2015, pp. 24–25). Another type is a character who has lost the place in society and has difficulties with finding him- or herself. In such plots, the self-realization of the protagonist means a restored unity with the society. It is reached through choosing an activity combining both individual and collective (e.g., reading for lonely people as in Lee Sŭng-woo’s (born 1960) “The Story-Teller’s Story” *Chōnggisu iyagi* (전기 수 이야기)) or initiating the sounds’ store as in Kim Chung-hyōk’s (born 1971) “Musical Instrument Library” *Akki tosōgwan* (악기 도서관). Thus, the restoring of the inner harmony turns out to be possible through the restoration of the unity with others, i.e., with the society.

Conclusion

One of basic traditional models found in South Korean literature is *yin & yang*. It is related to the idea of harmony, which is used for representation of a variety of social problems with a break of balance perceived as their cause. The way to solve the problems is attaining harmony, which is also the road to prosperous society. Thus, harmony is a goal and a means at the same time. Texts play an important part in attaining harmony, and this idea relates to the traditional perception of a text as an instrument of positive influence on the world.

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VISUAL SYMBOLS OF CONFUCIAN “BOOK OF CHANGES” IN THE FLAG OF SOUTH KOREA

KONFUCIĀNISMA “PĀRMAIŅU GRĀMATAS” VIZUĀLIE SIMBOLI DIENVIDKĀREJAS KAROGĀ

The article presents a unique perspective, linking the system of moral and ethical values of Confucianism and traditional ideas of the „Book of Changes” with social phenomena and ideas of the change in South Korean life nowadays. The main focus is laid on the symbolism of the flag of South Korea; in the meantime, a number of other examples which relate to the ancient philosophy of changes (such as symmetrical letters of the Korean alphabet, Taekwondo training forms, etc.) are given.

In Korean culture, traditional ideas of the Chinese „Book of Changes” have been transformed and reinterpreted by creating an ideal of a harmonious society and a new, transformed world. Examples from contemporary Korean culture show that symbols of the „Book of Changes” are well-known and significant in Korea today and are likely to play an important role in Korean life in the future.

At first, the article provides a historically descriptive overview of the spread of Confucianism and Chinese Classics in Korea. Thereafter, visual symbols of the „Book of Changes” in the flag of South Korea are analyzed, explained and interpreted from the semiotic point of view.

Keywords: *Confucian Classics, History of Korean Confucianism, Semiotics of the „Book of Changes”, Flag of the Republic of Korea.*

levads

„Pārmaiņu grāmatu” (kor. 역경 *Ķin*. 易經 jeb 주역 周易) uzskata par galveno un visnenāk no konfuciānisma pieciem klasiskajiem kanoniem, un tajā ietvertā Pārmaiņu mācība (역학 易學) ir izplatīta gan Ķīnā un Korejā, gan arī citās Āzijas valstīs. Sākotnēji tā tiek izmantota kā pareģošanas prakse, bet vēlāk pārtop par vieduma un dzīves filozofiju, ko lieto dažādās nozarēs un dzīves jomās. Raksts veido savdabīgu perspektīvu, saistot šī konfuciānisma klasiskā kanona tradicionālās idejas ar mūsdienu korejiešu sabiedrības dzīves fenomeniem un pārmaiņu idejām, galveno uzmanību pievēršot Dienvidkorejas valsts karogā ietvertajai simbolikai.

Pētījuma mērķis ir ar piemēriem no mūsdienu korejiešu kultūras pierādīt, ka „Pārmaiņu grāmatas” simboli mūsdienu Dienvidkorejā ir ļoti pazīstami un nozīmīgi un arī nākotnē, domājams, ieņems svarīgu vietu korejiešu dzīvē. Galvenais secinājums liecina, ka Ķīniešu „Pārmaiņu grāmatas” tradicionālās idejas Korejas kultūrā ir tikušas pilnveidotas, par galveno šīs mācības mērķi izvirzot harmoniskas sabiedrības un jaunas, transformētas pasaules izveidi. Kā argumenti, lai pierādītu šo apgalvojumu, tiek doti vairāki piemēri – Dienvidkorejas valsts karogs, korejiešu alfabēta burti, tekvondo treniņu formas u. c.

Ķīniešu un arī korejiešu Pārmaiņu mācības pētniecībā tradicionāli tiek izšķirti divi galvenie novirzieni, kurus var pielīdzināt zinātnes apakšnozarēm. Pirmais ir „attēlu un skaitļu novirziens” (상수파 象數派), kurš vairāk pievēršas numeroloģijai, vizuālajām grafēmām un shēmām. Bet otro dēvē par „jēgas un principu novirzienu” (의리파 義理派), un tajā tiek interpretētas tekstā ietvertas hieroglifu nozīmes un saturiskā būtība. Rakstā galvenā uzmanība ir pievērsta „Pārmaiņu grāmatas” vizuālo zīmju simbolikai, tātad „attēlu un skaitļu” nozarei, tādējādi veidojot semiotisku pētījumu. Bez tam raksts ietver vēsturisku pārskatu par konfuciānisma ienākšanu un izplatību Korejā un par „Pārmaiņu grāmatas” pētniecību. Arī Dienvidkorejas karoga skaidrojums veidots vēsturiskā perspektīvā. Līdz ar to paralēli izmantota arī vēsturiski aprakstošā pieeja.

Konfuciānisma klasiskie kanoni un filozofiskā doma, kas rodas Ķīnā 1. g. t. p. m. ē., izplatās daudzās Āzijas valstīs, tai skaitā arī Korejā. Kaut arī 20. gs. karadarbība un politiskās jukas aptur šīs mācības attīstību un pat rada pagrimumu, tomēr 20. gs. beigās un 21. gs. sākumā tradicionālās vērtības atdzimst un atgūst popularitāti. Mūsdienu pētnieki uzskata, ka Korejā konfuciānisms ir saglabājies daudz plašākā un daudz autentiskākā veidā nekā tā dzimtenē – Ķīnā. Korejā konfuciānismu dēvē par „izglīto cilvēku ticību” (유교 儒教) un tā ir gluži kā reliģiska pārliecība ar daudziem aktīviem templiem, ceremonijām un svētajiem tēliem. Bet Ķīnā konfuciānisms, vismaz pēc tradicionālā nosaukuma, vairāk saistās ar morāles un ētikas principu sistēmu un to sauc par „izglīto cilvēku mācību” (儒學). Kaut gan Korejā ir izplatīts arī daoisms un budisms, tomēr 20. gs. pētījumu par konfuciānismu ir simtiem reižu vairāk nekā par šīm abām reliģijām. Tā, piemēram, laikā no 1945. līdz 1990. gadam monogrāfiju attiecība starp šīm trim mācībām ir šāda: konfuciānisms – 240: daoisms – 70: budisms – 4, bet rakstu attiecība ir 1100 : 385 : 17 (Liu, 2014).

Songjungvanas Universitātes (성균관대학교 成均館大學) konfuciānisma pētnieks I Dongdžun (이동준 李東俊) apgalvo, ka mūsdienās konfuciānisms viennozīmīgi attīstās un izplatās; daudzās augstskolās ir īpašas fakultātes un programmas, kas specializētas tieši konfuciānisma un ķīniešu klasisko rakstu pētniecībā (Hong et al., 2011). Ķīnas Tautas universitātes (人民大學) profesors Džan Liveņ (卞立文) paskaidro: lai arī kādas pārmaiņas notiek Korejas sabiedrībā, tās vienmēr tiek sasaistītas ar konfuciānismu. Kara laikos uzskatīja, ka tas ir par iemeslu valsts sagrāvei, bet tagad, kad valda miers un stabilitāte, to skaidro kā uzplaukuma cēloni. Šīs divas pārliecības saiedrībā pastāv vēl arī mūsdienās (Hong et al., 2011).

Konfuciānisma mācība un klasiskie raksti Korejā no Ķīnas ienāk jau sensenos laikos līdz ar ķīniešu hieroglifisko rakstību. Konkrētas rakstiskas liecības ir no 372. gada, kad Gogurjo (고구려, 高句麗) valsti tiek nodibināta Imperiālā akadēmija (태학 太學) (Xing, 2021). Tomēr šis valsts laikā (37–668) dominējošā mācība un reliģija ir budisms. Tikai daudz vēlāk

– 918. gadā, kad jau ir nodibināta Silla (신라 新羅) vienotā pārvalde, – par valsts galveno ideoloģiju tiek pieņemts konfuciānisms (Sun, 2021).

Sākot no 14. gs. līdz pat mūsdienām Korejā vislielāko iespaidu tomēr atstāj neokonfuciānisms, kas Ķīnā izveidojas 11. gs. un ko pārstāv domātājs Džu Sji 朱熹. Viņa filozofijā saplūst agrīnā konfuciānisma morāle, „Pārmaiņu grāmatas” kosmoloģija, kā arī budisma un daoisma idejas (Sun, 2021). Ķīnā šo ideoloģiju apzīmē kā „mācību par principu” (理學), bet Korejā tā pazīstama ar nosaukumu „mācība par rakstura principu” (성리학 性理學). Tas ir tādēļ, ka sākumā to izmanto, lai kritizētu budisma pārspasaulīgo ticību un lai atjaunotu konfuciānismam raksturīgos tikumus (cilvēkmīlestību, taisnīgumu, pieklājību, izpatni par morāli un ētiku, uzticību) un uzskatus par cilvēka sākotnējo labo iedabu (Hong et al., 2011). Neokonfuciānisms Korejā sasniedz uzplaukumu 16. gs., kad darbojas izcilais valstsvīrs un zinātnieks I Hvang (이황 李滉), kurš saraksta nozīmīgus pētījumus par „principu” (리 理) un citiem nekonfucianisma mācībā būtiskiem jēdzieniem (Sun, 2021).

17. gs. Korejā sākas reformas un izmaiņas, tomēr dažādi konfuciānisma novirzieni joprojām ir populāri. Sākot ar 1876. gadu, ienāk un gūst dominanci Rietumu garīgās idejas, sākas konfuciānisma pagrimums. Bet 1910. gadā pēc Japānas okupācijas korejiešu tradicionālās vērtības, tai skaitā arī konfuciānisms, tiek apspiestas. Tikai pēc Otrā pasaules kara, 1945. gadā Koreja atbrīvojas no japāņu varas un konfuciānisma morāles un ētikas vērtību sistēma atkal tiek atklāti atzīta un atjaunota. Mūsdienās Dienvidkorejā pastāv tāds jēdziens kā „konfuciānistiskais kapitalisms” (유교자본주의 儒資本主義), un tā nozīme tiek izcelta trīs aspektos: ekonomikā, politiskajā pārvaldē un ģimenes dzīvē (Xing, 2021).

Globalizācijas iespaidā, kā arī starptautisko cilvēktiesību un pretējo dzimumu līdztiesības diskursu kontekstā pārliecināto un aktīvo konfuciānistu skaits Korejā ir ievērojami samazinājies. Tomēr sabiedrības ikdienas dzīvē konfuciānisma morāle un ētika joprojām ir ļoti svarīgas un veido sociālo attiecību pamatu. Kā attīstīsies un pārveidosies konfuciānisma vērtību sistēma nākotnē modernizācijas un demokratizācijas ideju ietekmē, īsti skaidras atbildes nav nevienam. Bet var droši apgalvot, ka Pārmaiņu

mācība, kas nāk no vissenākā konfuciānisma klasiskā rakstu monumenta „Pārmaiņu grāmatas”, ir spējīga pielāgoties visneparedzamākajiem politiskajiem un sociālajiem pārvērsieniem.

Songjungvanas Universitātē, kas ir viena no vadošajām institūcijām konfuciānisma pētniecībā, 2017. gada aprīlī tiek apstiprināta „Konfuciānisma ilgtermiņa attīstības stratēģija universitātē”, un tajā, starp citu, ir arī noteikts, ka „izmaiņas ir izdzīvošanai obligāti nepieciešams priekšnoteikums” (Hong et al., 2011). Izmaiņas ir dabisks process, tās norisinās cilvēku dzīvē pašas par sevi, automātiski. Cilvēka jūtas, uzskati, darbības – viss ik brīdi mainās un pielāgojas esošajiem un jaunajiem apstākļiem. Pārmaiņu principu kā vienīgo nemainīgo elementu pasaulīgajā dzīvē ķīnieši atklāj jau 2. g. t. p. m. ē., fiksējot šo teoriju un praksi vienā no pieciem klasiskajiem kanoniem – „Pārmaiņu grāmatā”. Līdz ar konfuciānismu šis un citi klasiskie raksti ienāk Korejā un pastāv līdz pat mūsdienām.

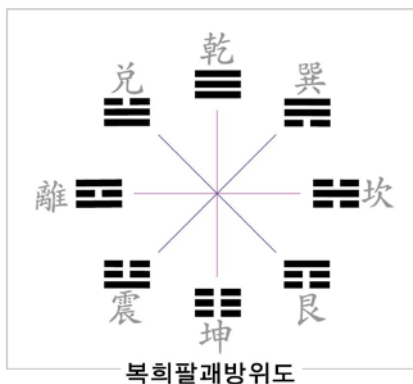
Korejā gan viduslaikos, gan arī mūsdienās ir daudzi zinātnieki, kuri pēta un interpretē „Pārmaiņu grāmatas” mācību. Pazīstamākie klasiskie domātāji ir Džong Jakjong (정약용 丁茶山, 1762–1836), I Ik (이익 李潁, 1681–1763) un Kim Hang (김항 金恆, 1826–1888) (Kim, 2016, 187.–188. lpp.). Bet 20. un 21. gs. darbojas tādi pētnieki kā So Ginsik (서근식 徐根植), Kim Gvangsu (김광수 金光洙), Džu Gvangho (주광호 朱光호), Han Dongsok (한동석 韓東錫), Om Jonsok (엄연석 嚴連錫) un I Džongho (이정호 李正浩) (Kim, 2016, 194. lpp.).

Om Jonsok, pēc reliģiskās pārliecības budists, atzīst, ka „Pārmaiņu grāmatas” pareģojumu prakse ir ļoti svarīga un noderīga, lai uzzinātu Austrumāzijas valstu, tai skaitā Korejas, nākotnes iespējas un perspektīvas. Savukārt Kim Hang – konfuciānisma, budisma un daoisma speciālists – pēc 18 gadu ilgas pētniecības, kas līdzinās meditācijai, atklāj Pārmaiņu mācībā īpašas jaunās pasaules zīmes. 1885. gadā tiek publicēts viņa oriģināldarbs par t. s. „īsto pārmaiņu” (정역 正易). Korejieši uzskata, ka Kim Hang ar šo „Pārmaiņu grāmatas” skaidrojumu ir pilnveidojis konfuciānistu mācību (Baker, 2016, 8. lpp.).

Viņš apgalvo, ka Pārmaiņu mācība ne tikai sniedz padomus par ieteicamām rīcībām konkrētos apstākļos, ar kuriem indivīdi saskaras ikdienas

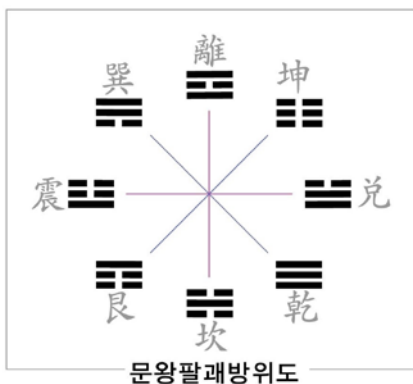
dzīvē, bet arī ietver vēstījumu par to, ka vecā kosmiskā kārtība tuvojas beigām un ka drīz Visums kopumā izmainīsies. Nākotnē laikapstākļi vienmēr būs mēreni: nebūs ne karstas vasaras, ne arī aukstas ziemas. Līdzīgā veidā uzlabosies visa cilvēku dzīve un iestāsies harmoniska pretmetu mijiedarbība (Baker, 2016, 9. lpp.).

Šo ideju turpina arī 20. gs. „Pārmaiņu grāmatas” pētnieks I Džongho, kurš savos darbos arī analizē jēdziena „īstā pārmaiņa” būtību, secinot, ka tas norāda uz kosmiskajām pārmaiņām, sabiedrības reformām un visas cilvēces transformāciju. Pēc viņa domām, grāmata dod padomus, kā sasniegt pilnīgu sociālo labklājību un kā harmonizēt visu pasauli. Tagadējo pasaules kārtību viņš raksturo ar trigrammu shematisko apla izkārtojumu „agrīno debesu” shēmā (kur debesis ir augšā, zeme – apakšā un viss vēl atrodas statiskā miera pozīcijā, skat. 1.1. att.), bet nākotnes ideālo un pilnīgo pasauli – ar dinamisko „vēlino debesu” shēmu (kur astoņas trigrammas ir jau uzsākušas mijiedarbību un to izvietojums apli ir mainījies, skat. 1.2. att.) (Kwak, 2014).



1. attēls.

Agrīno debesu trigrammu izkārtojums.



1.2. attēls.

Vēlino debesu trigrammu izkārtojums.

(KLFI, 2022)

Kā attēlā redzams, senās Pārmaiņu mācības pamatu veido divu veidu (pārtraukto un nepārtraukto) līniju kombinācijas. Tās kombinējot grupās pa trīs, veidojas 8 trigrammas, savukārt, trigrammas saliekot kopā pa

pāriem, veidojas 64 heksagrammas. Šīs simetriskās vizuālās zīmes Ķīnā tiek lietotas jau ilgi pirms hieroglifu izgudrošanas. Tādēļ daži ķīniešu valodnieki (piemēram, Žeņ Cjuiduaņ 齊仁端 u. c.) uzskata, ka no trigrammām un heksagrammām ir pat radušies ķīniešu hieroglifi (Qi, 2001, 157. lpp.).

Sākotnēji arī korejieši izmanto ķīniešu rakstību, bet 15. gs. tiek izgudrots korejiešu alfabēts. Pastāv vairāk nekā 10 versiju par alfabēta izcelsmi, un viena no tām vēsta, ka burti balstās uz „Pārmaiņu grāmatas” līniju teoriju un numeroloģiju. Korejiešu rakstības grafēmas vizuāli ir ļoti simetriskas un izbalansētas, ar taisniem stūriem, tādēļ daži valodnieki apgalvo, ka tā attēlo Pārmaiņu mācības pretmetu mijiedarbību, trigrammu un heksagrammu zīmes un cikliskā apļa mijiedarbību shēmu (Chen, 2016).

Pētnieks I Džongho uzskata, ka korejiešu alfabēta pamatā ir dziļa filozofiska doma un ka to „īstā skaņa” (정음 정음) balstās uz tādiem pašiem pamatiem kā „īstā pārmaiņa”. Savukārt burtu forma esot aizgūta no senās Pārmaiņu mācības idejām par diviem pretmetiem, trīs līmeņiem, četriem aspektiem, pieciem elementiem, astoņām trigrammām utt. (Li, 2006). Vēl arī mūsdienās korejiešu alfabēta skaidrojumi nereti atsaucas uz šo tradicionālo simboliku. Tā, piemēram, valodnieks So Džinsoks raksta, ka trīs korejiešu valodas patskaņu apzīmējumi simbolizē debesis, zemi un cilvēkus (So, 2020, 10. lpp.). Šī skaitļa „trīs” interpretācija viennozīmīgi nāk no Pārmaiņu mācības trigrammu asociāciju virknēm.

Astoņas trigrammas Korejā labi pazīstamas arī mūsdienu nacionālajā cīņu mākslā – *tekvondo* („roku un kāju ceļš” 태권도), kura nosaukums pirmo reizi tiek ierosināts 1955. gadā (Moenig et al., 2016, 134. lpp.). Jau drīz tas tiek oficiāli atzīts par nacionālo sporta veidu un 2000. gadā tiek iekļauts arī olimpisko spēļu programmā (Moenig et al., 2016, 132. lpp.). Tekvondo pastāv noteiktas kustību virknes jeb formas, kuras skolniekiem ir sekmīgi jāapgūst, lai iegūtu augstāku kvalifikācijas pakāpi (kas tiek izšķirtas ar jostu krāsām). Divi galvenie formu veidi ir *pelgve* (팔괘 八卦) un *teguk* (태극 太極), kuru filozofija un kustību skaidrojums cieši saistās ar konfuciānisma morāles un ētikas vērtību sistēmu un „Pārmaiņu grāmatas” idejām. Tradicionālās *pelgve* formas biežāk parādās olimpiskajā tekvondo, bet *teguk* formas, kas ir nedaudz vienkāršākas un izpildāmas augstākās

stājās, Pasaules Tekvondo federācijas skolās izmanto treniņu nolūkos (Curry, 2011, 2. lpp.).

Tiem, kuri apgūst šīs formas, ir jāzina un vienmēr jāatceras to filozofiskā jēga, vispirms izkopjot līdzsvaru un mieru savā ķermenī un gadā, pēc tam sniedzot ieguldījumu kopējās labklājības veidošanai sabiedrībā. Starptautiskās Tekvondo federācijas nolikumā ir minētas īpašības, kuras jāattīsta šajā sporta veidā – līdzjūtība, taisnīgums un cieņa. Bez tam tiek izvirzīts vēl daudz augstāks mērķis – „palīdzēt vairot mieru visā pasaulē” (ITF, 2014). Čangmunkvan Pasaules tekvondo federācijas treneris Dzejs Kajvers pat ir teicis šādus vārdus: „Tekvondo ir lielā pārmaiņa, kas transformē visu dzīvi.” (Keyver)

Lai izprastu Pārmaiņu mācības simboliku un jēgu, vispirms nepieciešams īss ievads par tās teoriju un galvenajiem jēdzieniem. Kā jau minēts, „Pārmaiņu grāmata” ir viens no vissenākajiem vai, iespējams, pat vissenākais rakstu piemineklis Ķīnā. Tās saknes meklējamas vairākus gadu tūkstošus p. m. ē., vēl pirms hieroglifiskās rakstības rašanās. Toreiz Pārmaiņu mācību pārzināja īpaši priesteri, kuri darbojās kā pareģi un valdnieku galvenie padomdevēji. Sākotnēji šī ir rituāla prakse, kas balstās uz pārtrauktu un nepārtrauktu līniju kombinācijām un to mutiskiem skaidrojumiem.

Pārmaiņu mācībā pastāv uzskats, ka visas pasaules parādības apvienojas t. s. *teguk* (태극 太極) principā. Bet reālajā dzīvē lietas un darbības izpaužas divos pretmetos, kurus korejiešu valodā dēvē par *im* (음 陰) un *jang* (양 陽). Šie divi pretmeti tiek apzīmēti ar pārtrauktu (*im*) un nepārtrauktu (*jang*) līniju. Kombinējot divējādās līnijas grupās pa trīs, izveidojas astoņas „trigrammas” jeb korejiski *gve* (괘 卦). Tās simbolizē astoņus debesu virzienus, astoņus galvenos dabas spēkus (debesis, zemi, kalnu, ezeru, uguni, ūdeni, vēju un pārkonu) un tiek plaši skaidrotas ar nebeidzamām asociāciju virknēm. Savienojot trigrammas pa pāriem, izveidojas 64 heksagrammas, un tās tad arī ir „Pārmaiņu grāmatas” teksta pamatā un ir aprakstītas 64 nodaļās.

Pasaulē labi pazīstamo Dienvidkorejas karogu paši korejieši dēvē par „*teguk* karogu” (태극기 太極旗), jo tas ietver *teguk* simbolu, ap kuru izvietotas četras trigrammas (skat. 2. att.). Karoga dizaina izstrāde aizsākas

jau 1882. gadā, un tajā piedalās pat Džoson dinastijas karalis, tādēļ sākotnēji to dēvē par „Džoson karogu” (Tertitskiy, 2014). Tagadējais nosaukums pirmo reizi tiek izmantots tikai pēc 27 gadiem, kad 1919. gada 1. martā neatkarības kustības aktīvisti pasludina Korejas Neatkarības deklarāciju (Kim, 2021). Līdz ar to daudziem korejiešiem karogs saistās ar patriotismu un cīņu par brīvību.



2. attēls.

Korejas Republikas (Dienvidkorejas) karogs.

(Nozomi, 2011, 2. lpp.)

Salīdzinot ar citu valstu karogiem, var secināt, ka šie simboli nesusaucas ar ģeogrāfiju, vēsturi, politiku, administratīvo pārvaldi vai kādām citām laicīgās dzīves jomām, bet gan mudina uz pārdomām par Visuma būtību un tās izpratni. Tādēļ šis, iespējams, ir visfilozofiskākais, visdziļdomīgākais, vismetafiziskākais valsts karogs visā pasaulē (Marcou, 1999, 9. lpp.).

Šie Pārmaiņu mācības attēli un simboli ir labi pazīstami daudzās Tālo Austrumu valstīs un norāda uz Visuma pamatprincipiem – nepārtrauktu radīšanas ciklu, izmaiņām, vitalitāti un attīstību. Lietas un cilvēki atrodas nepārtraktā mijiedarbībā un savstarpējā atkarībā. Visa pamatā ir t. s. *teguk*, ko var interpretēt un tulkot ļoti dažādi. Jēdziens sastāv no diviem hieroglifiem: *te*太 un *guk*極. Pirmais vārds nozīmē „vislielākais, vispārākais”, bet otrais ietver atslēgu „koks” 木 un sākotnēji norāda uz „ēkas balstu” vai „koka rāmi” nastu nešanai, ko liek uz muguras ēzelim (Xu, 2002, 390. lpp.). Filozofiskajā kosmoloģijā no šīm nozīmēm tiek atvasināta ideja par pasaules pretmetu aizsākumu, izpausmes un saplūsmes „galējo robežu”. Citi iespējamie tulkojumi jēdzienam *teguk* ir „dižā ass” (angl. *great pole*), „dižā

galējība" (*great extreme*), „dižais absolūts" (*great absolute*), „vispārākais galīgais" (*supreme ultimate*) u. c.

Teguk attēlojums nāk no 12. gs. ķīniešu neokonfūciānisma filozofijas, un karogā tas ir redzams pašā centrā kā aplis, kurš sadalīts divās daļās, iezīmējot pretmetus *im* (apakšpusē tumši zilā krāsā) un *jang* (augšpusē sarkanā krāsā). Pretmetu korelāciju virknes ir bezgalīgas: tumsa un gaisma, zeme un debesis, mēness un saule, ļaunais un labais, leja un augša, pasīvais un radošais, maigais un spēcīgais, sievišķais un vīrišķais utt. Pretmeti pārstāv visas pasaulīgās lietas un parādības, parādot to dualitāti (daudzveidību), bet tai pašā laikā liektās savienojuma līnijas norāda, ka tie abi ir nesaraujami saistīti un neeksistē viens bez otra – gluži kā viena kalna saulainā un ēnainā nogāze vai kā vienas monētas divas puses (Rudd, 2022).

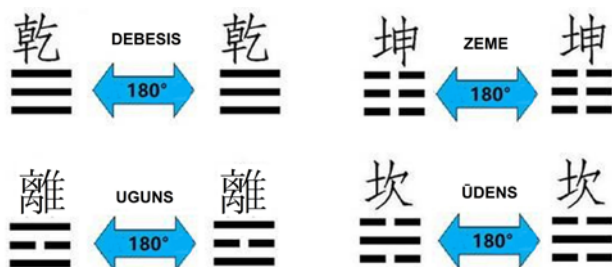
Karogā ietvertas trīs vizuālo elementu grupas (fons, aplis un trigrammas) un četras krāsas – balts, melns, sarkans un zils. Fons simbolizē zemi, aplis – tautu, bet trigrammas (kuru daudzveidīgā mijiedarbības specifika tiks skaidrota zemāk) – valdību. Šie trīs ir nācijas un valsts neiztrūkstošas sastāvdaļas (MOIS). Arī krāsām ir tradicionāla simboliska nozīme. Baltā krāsa apzīmē skaidrību, šķīstību, mieru un taisnīgumu, kā arī korejiešu cilvēkus, jo tradicionālajā sabiedrībā bieži vien tiek valkātas gaišas kokvilnas drānas, un tāpēc korejiešus dažkārt pat dēvē par „balto tērpu tautu" (백의민족 白衣民族) (Bak, 1995). Baltais fons var simbolizēt arī konfūciānisma tikumību un budisma tukšuma ideju (Macrou, 1999, 9. lpp.).

Pretmetu kontekstā apla apakšā esošā zilā krāsa saistās ar *jang* pretmetu, bet sarkanā – ar *im* pretmetu. Zils var norādīt uz briesmām un ļauno, bet arī uz mēnesi un ūdeni, kas ir vēss, dzidrs un mierīgs, kā arī uz sievišķīgi pakļāvīgo un zemes enerģiju. Bet sarkana ir saule un uguns, kas parāda vīrišķās īpašības – spēku, varu, aktivitāti, radošumu un visu pozitīvo (Kazmi, 2022). Interesanti atzīmēt, ka korejiešu karoga krāsas ļoti atgādina amerikāņu valsts un kultūras simbolus. Pepsikolas logo, ko izveido 40. gados un oficiāli apstiprina 1945. gadā, tāpat ietver apli ar sarkano daļu, norādot uz aktivitāti, mīlestību, patriotismu, un ar zilo daļu, kas saistās ar ūdeni un dzērienu (Labrecque et al., 2011, 724. lpp.). Pat ASV valsts

karogā, kurš tiek pieņemts 1775. gadā, ir līdzīgas krāsas – sarkans, balts un zils, un tās attiecīgi simbolizē drosmi, nevainību un taisnīgumu (USAGov, 2021). Korejas karogs ar šo simboliku pirmo reizi tiek izmantots sadarbības nolūkiem ar ASV, parakstot pirmo oficiālo starpvalstu līgumu 1882. gada 22. maijā (U.S. Department of State). Tādēļ pilnīgi iespējams, ka karoga krāsu izvēlē noteiktu lomu spēlējis arī starpkulturālais aspekts.

Korejiešu karogā ir četras krāsas un četru trigrammu zīmes, kas saistītas ar četriem dabas pamatelementiem – debesīm, zemi, ūdeni un uguni. Divi pēdējie simboli – ūdens un uguns –korejiešu kultūrā citreiz tiek asociēti ar mēnesi un sauli (Lai, 2012, 197. lpp.). Minētajiem četriem elementiem pastāv analogi arī eiropiešu, indiešu, tibetiešu u. c. tautu kosmoloģijā, kur četri dabas pamatelementi ir ūdens, zeme, uguns un gaiss (Ball, 2004, 33. lpp.). Šis, domājams, ir viens no iemesliem, kādēļ no astoņām trigrammām karoga dizainam izvēlētas tikai un tieši šīs četras.

Pārmaiņu mācības tradīcijā šīs četras trigrammas dēvē par „pilnīgajām trigrammām” (정괘 正卦), jo, apgrieztas pa 180 grādiem, tās savu izskatu nemaina (skat. 3. att.). Turklāt īpašības vārds „pilnīgs” jeb „īsts” (정 正) korejiešu kultūrā kontekstā sasaucas ar iepriekš aprakstīto „īstās pārmaiņas” ideālu.



3. attēls.

Pilnīgās trigrammas.

(Xuehua, 2017)

Četras „pilnīgās trigrammas” kopā simbolizē līdzsvaru, harmoniju, stabilitāti, taisnīgumu, labklājību, gudrību, patiesību un citas ideālas īpašības. Bez tam „agrīno debesu” apla shēmā tās ir izvietotas tieši četros debesu

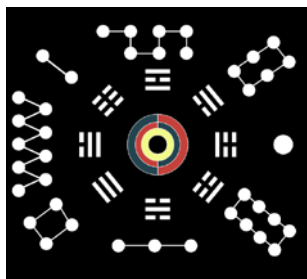
virzienos, tādējādi radot simetrijas un precizitātes iespaidu (Lai, 2012, 197.–198. lpp.). (Karogā tās gan ir nedaudz nobīdītas virzienā pa kreisi un atrodas starpdebesu virzienos.)

Apkopojot informāciju no dažādiem pētnieciskajiem avotiem, Dienvidkorejas karoga trigrammu asociāciju virknes var aprakstīt šādi (skat. tabulu).

Tabula. Četru trigrammu simbolika

<i>Trigrammas</i>	☰ debesis (건 乾)	☷ zeme (곤 坤)	☲ saule (리 離)	☵ mēness (감 坎)
<i>Debesu virzieni</i>	dienvīdi	ziemeļi	austrumi	rietumi
<i>Gadalaiki</i>	vasara	ziema	pavasaris	rudens
<i>Krāsas</i>	balts	melns	sarkans	zils
<i>Ģimenes locekļi</i>	tēvs	māte	meita	dēls
<i>Četri elementi</i>	gaiss	zeme	uguns	ūdens
<i>Īpašības</i>	radošums	pakļāvīgums	pieķeršanās	šaubas
<i>Konfuciānisma morāles principi</i>	cilvēkmīlestība	taisnīgums	pieklājība	gudrība

Lai gan mūsdienās karogā vizualizētas tikai četras no astoņām trigrammām, tomēr vēsturiski Korejā ir izplatīti arī citi karogu veidi, kuri ietver visas astoņas trigrammas. Vissenākais simboliski līdzīgais karogs ir t. s. „kreisā flanga militārais karogs” (좌독기 坐纛旗), kurš nāk no Džoson dinastijas laika (1392–1897) un kuru karā izmantoja armijas ģenerāļi (Yu, 1972, 117. lpp.). Tas, iespējams, ir aizgūts no ķīniešu Min dinastijas armijas, jo ļoti līdzīga izskata karogs ar ķīniešu nosaukumu „centrālās armijas kreisā flanga karogs” (中軍坐纛) ir attēlots un aprakstīts 16. gs. ķīniešu militārajā traktātā „Jaunā grāmata par efektīvo disciplīnu” (紀效新書), kuras autors ir Cji Dzjiguan 戚繼光. Tas ir bijis liels un smags, paredzēts tikai ģenerāļiem un admirāļiem un nekad nav ticis nodots kājnieku vienībām (Qi, 2001). Karogs sastāv no piecām krāsām un trīs elementu grupām – *teguk* pretmetu apla, astoņām trigrammām un „Luo upes raksta” (skat. 4. att.).



4. attēls.

Džoson dinastijas armijas ģenerāļu karogs. (Jeonsi annae, 2015)

Karoga centrā ir Džu Sji stilizētais *tegunk* pretmetu aplis, bet karoga piecas krāsas simbolizē piecus zemes elementus (metāls-balts, koks-zils, ūdens-melns, uguns-sarkana, zeme-dzeltena) un piecus debess virzienus (ieskaitot centru) (Jwadokgi, 2015). Skatlis „pieci” saistās ar vārdu „pilnīgs” jeb „ists” (정 正), jo šajā hieroglifā ir piecas līnijas, kas attiecībā viena pret otru atrodas 90 grādu leņķī, norādot uz balansu un saskaņotību. Divas īsākās ir vienāda garuma un kā pāra skaitlis simbolizē maigo *im* enerģiju; trīs garākās arī ir vienāda garuma un kā nepāra skaitlis simbolizē spēcīgo *jang* enerģiju.

Astoņas trigrammas izvietotas „vēlino debesu” jeb dinamiskajā aplī, ko, saskaņā ar leģendu, izgudrojis ķīniešu Džou dinastijas valdnieks Veņ 周文王 (Yu, 1972, 117. lpp.). Šai secībā trigrammas nav pretstatītas pa shematiskiem pāriem un neatrodas sākotnējos astoņos debesu virzienos, bet jau ir kustībā un mijiedarbībā, samainītām vietām, simbolizējot pasaulīgo dzīvi ar visām tās mainīgajām parādībām, dažnedažādajām situācijām un darbībām.

Trigrammas ieskauj „Luo upes raksts” (낙서 洛書), kurš pēc vārda minēts jau vissenākajos ķīniešu kanonos, bet kura vizuālais tēls nāk no ķīniešu Sun dinastijas neokonfuciānistu Šao Jun (邵雍, 1011–1077) un Džu Sji (朱熹, 1130–1200) darbiem. Leģenda vēsta, ka ķīniešu imperators Ju 禹 ieraudzījis Luošui upē pūķveida bruņurupuci ar divainām zīmēm uz muguras (Theobald, 2012). Ar šo shēmu palīdzību Ju ir iespējis savaldīt

plūdus, kā arī ieguvis pārcilvēcisku viedumu, sasaistot valdīšanu uz zemes ar debesu principiem. Ir minējumi, ka karogu izmantojuši korejiešu jūras flotes admirāļi, un tas pēc idejas sasauca ar šo leģendu un ar melno krāsu kā ūdens simbolu (Vexillology, 2022).

„Luo upes raksts” sastāv no punktiem un līnijām; punkti pēc skaita ir no viens līdz deviņi un ir izvietoti deviņās grupās (arī centrā tiek iedomāti pieci punkti). Pārmaiņu mācības kosmoloģijā tos saista ar „deviņām debesu pilīm” (구궁 九 亅) un deviņiem debesu virzieniem (pieskaitot centru). Pēc ārējās formas „Luo upes raksts” atgādina zvaigztes un zvaigznājus, tādēļ ir minējumi, ka senatnē tās esot bijušas 28 zvaigžņu konstelāciju kartes, pēc kurām viedie spējuši paredzēt nākotnes notikumus un noteikt pareizas rīcības veidus dažādos apstākļos (Yu, 1972, 117. lpp.).

Ja pieņem, ka attēla vidū ir vēl pieci punkti (kā tas arī ir tradicionālajā neokonfuciānistu shēmā), tad, skaitot kopā punktu grupas, jebkurā virzienā gala rezultātā sanāk skaitlis 15, kas (ņemot vērā skaitļa „pieci” kā pilnības simbolu) varētu norādīt uz trīskāršu pilnību. Laikapstākļi, zemes reljefs, apkārtnes ģeogrāfija, matemātiskie un kalendārie aprēķini kara stratēģijai ir ļoti būtiski aspekti. Tādēļ, domājams, ka šis karogs liecinājis vai atgādinājis ģenerāļiem par zināšanām šajās jomās, simbolizējot arī veiksmīgu karagājieni, ja visi attiecīgie aspekti tiek rūpīgi pārbaudīti un apsvērti.

Astoņas trigrammas kā ideāla valdnieka vieduma un pārdomātas, saskaņotas valsts administrācijas simbols parādās arī vairākos citos Korejas vēsturiskajos karogos. Tā, piemēram, neokonfuciānistu pretmetu simbols balti-dzeltenā krāsā un dzeltenas trigrammas „vēlino debesu” jeb dinamiskajā izkārtojumā ir redzamas Džoson dinastijas pēdējā karaļa Godžong personīgajā karogā. Karoga fons ir sarkans, bet malas dekorētas ar zaļu zigzagu. Zilā krāsa šeit ir aizvietota ar zaļu, un tradicionālās piecas krāsas ir nomainījusi četru krāsu un skaitļa „četri” simbolika (skat. 5. att.).

Vēl arī Korejas konsulāts Vācijā, Hamburgā, 1893. gadā izmanto Korejas valsts karogu ar astoņām trigrammām. Tā fons ir balts, centrā attēlots *tegun* simbols ar pretmetiem zilsarkanā krāsā, bet ap to izvietotās astoņas



5. attēls.

Karaļa Godžong personīgais karogs (1882). (Nozomi, 2011, 4. lpp.)

trigrammas ir dzeltenas. Šeit atkal parādās zilā krāsa un kopā dominē četru krāsu elementu simbolika (skat. 6. att.).

Dažus gadus vēlāk (1895. gadā) karā pret Japānu korejieši izmantoja karogu ar līdzīgu simboliku, papildinātu ar dekoratīviem elementiem karoga stūros. Tam ir trīs krāsu kompozīcija – balts, sarkans un melns (skat. 7. att.).



6. attēls.

Korejas konsulāta karogs Vācijā (1893). (Nozomi, 2011, 6. lpp.)

Korejas impērijas delegācija Vispasaules izstādē Francijas galvaspilsētā Parīzē 1900. gadā izmanto četrstūrīgu karogu ar četrām „pilnīgajām trigrammām”, kuras izvietotas ap *teguk* pretmetu apli tieši četros debesu virzienos. Krāsas ir tādas pašas kā mūsdienu valsts karogam (skat. 8. att.).

Arī no 20. gs. neatkarības cīņām ir zināmi vairāki karoga varianti, tomēr tie jau pārsvarā līdzinās mūsdienu oficiālajam karogam, ar



7. attēls.

Korejiešu karogs karā pret Japānu (1895). (Nozomi, 2011, 6. lpp.)

trigrammām izvietotām četros starpdebesu virzienos. Nedaudz atšķiras trigrammu krāsas, līniju attālumi un garumi, kā arī trigrammu secība. Kad 1948. gada 15. augustā izveidojas Korejas Republikas valdība, tā uzsāk karoga standartizāciju. 1949. gada janvārī tiek nodibināta Nacionālā ka-



8. attēls.

Korejas impērijas karogs Vispasaules izstādē Parīzē (1900). (Nozomi, 2011, 7. lpp.)

roga uzlabošanas komiteja, kuras sastāvā ir 42 personas. Kopumā tiek piedāvātas un apspriestas piecas karoga versijas, kuras atšķiras tikai pēc trigrammu secības. Galu galā 1950. gada 25. janvārī tiek apstiprināts 3. variants, ko piedāvā Nacionālā karoga popularizēšanas asociācija un kas arī tiek lietots līdz pat mūsdienām (Nozomi, 2011, 8.–12. lpp.). Pēdējos gados *teguk* karogu izmanto korejiešu labējie grupējumi dažādos protestos, tādēļ viņus dēvē par „*teguk* karoga vienībām” (태극기 부대). Paralēli dažādiem

politiskiem mērķiem protestētāji cīnās arī, piemēram, pret Covid-19 pandēmijas ierobežojumiem, sejas masku nēsāšanu u. c. (Kim, 2021).

Secinājumi

Pārmaiņu mācības simboli, piemēram, *teguk* un trigrammas, parādās korejiešu sabiedriskajā dzīvē dažādās jomās – politikā, sportā, valodniecībā un citur. Zīmju specifiskā tradicionālā nozīme varbūt visiem nav tik labi zināma, bet to mūsdienu interpretācijā tiek radīts ideālas nākotnes pasaules modelis. „Pārmaiņu grāmatas” idejas norāda, ka lietas un cilvēki ir savstarpēji saistīti un cits no cita atkarīgi, bet korejieši uzskata, ka tomēr kopā visi tiecas pēc saskaņotības un izlīdzsvarotības visos stāvokļos. *Im* un *jang* pretmeti nomāc un nomaina viens otru, bet, apzinoties un izprotot šīs pārmaiņas, iespējams gūt veiksmi un izvairīties no ļaunuma.

Lai cik arī nepastāvīga un mainīga nebūtu pasaulīgā dzīve, šie simboli gan ikdienā, gan ilgtermiņā mudina tiekties pēc labā un harmonijas (Marcou, 1999, 10. lpp.) Visas dabas parādības dabiski papildina cita citu un vienmēr atgriežas līdzsvarā, kā diena un nakts, ziema un vasara. Tā turpinās visi dabas cikli, to skaitā arī cilvēku dzīve. „Bez saules nekas nespētu augt; bez mēness nebūtu nakts; bez debesīm nebūtu telpas un gaisa, un bez zemes nebūtu planētas, uz kuras cilvēkiem dzīvot.” (Kevyer)

Pareizi izprotot Pārmaiņu mācības simbolu vēstījumu, to iespējams izmantot sabiedrības harmonijas, vienotības, laimes un miera radīšanai jebkuros apstākļos. Tādējādi Dienvidkorejas karogs iemieso Korejas tautas nākotnes vīziju – nepārtrauktu pilnveidošanos, labklājības un harmonijas vairošanu. Par to skaidri liecina Korejas konstitūcijā ietvertais uzticības zvērests karogam: „Stāvot dižā *tegukgi* priekšā, es svinīgi solu uzticību Korejas Republikai, tās labklājībai, brīvībai un taisnīgumam.” (MOIS)

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CROSS CULTURAL REALTIONSHIP IN EAST ASIA WITH FOCUS ON THE MOTIF OF “EIGHT VIEWS OF XIAO AND XIANG” AND ITS LEGACY TODAY

The ink landscape painting motif “Eight Views of Xiao and Xiang Rivers” (Trad. Ch. 「瀟湘八景」 was created in China in the 11th century on the basis of rich Chinese literary traditions. Very soon it spread to Korea and Japan, leaving a notable impact on the development of poetry and painting there. While enjoying enormous popularity, this topic also underwent local transformations in China and Japan.

This article is aimed at tracing the historical cross-cultural relations between China, Japan and Korea through the motif of “Eight Views of Xiao and Xiang Rivers”, and its legacy today.

Keywords: Eight Views of Xiao and Xiang Rivers, ink landscape painting, poetry, East Asian cross-cultural relationship

The topic “Eight Views of Xiao and Xiang Rivers” (Trad. Ch. 「瀟湘八景」) was developed by the 11th century Chinese scholar Song Di (Ch. 宋迪 1015–1080) during his years of exile in Xiao and Xiang River region. Song Di used the rich literary heritage of the region and the same allegorical motifs as in poetry for visual description of his own miserable state. All he painted were mere landscape scenes, but these were endowed with subtle meanings.

Paintings of Song Di have not survived, but the theme has later been depicted by many Chinese, Japanese and Korean artists in different styles and interpretations.

First of all, the author would like to talk about the original meaning of the subject.

Xiao and Xiang are two rivers running across a beautiful mountain landscape in Southern China. Xiang River rises in the mountains of modern Guangxi Autonomous Region. During its long journey north to Dongting Lake (Ch. 洞庭湖), the Xiang River is fed by hundreds of clear mountain streams and rivers. One of the prominences of Xiao and Xiang district is the sacred Hengshan Mountain (Ch. 衡山) with many famous Buddhist and Daoist temples. Despite its diverse natural beauty, well-read Chinese scholars viewed the landscape with melancholy, perceiving it in terms of its legends and literary history.

Although the title of the subject mentions the basin of two rivers – Xiao and Xiang, the subject of painting includes various landscape forms, such as mountains, Dongting Lake, its Grotto and others. Artistically, the Xiao and Xiang region can be attributed to most of the Hunan province (Fong, 1984, p. 214).

From at least the third century B.C., the region was a destination of exiles, most of them – political ones, extradited by the court to this remote district as a result of factional struggles. Many of them blameless, well-educated, being fired from official duties poured their intellect and talents in literary and artistic activities (Murck, 2000, p. 6).

In the literary record, the Xiao Xiang district gained negative reputation early, with legends of the untimely death of the sage King Shun that took place there; the region's reputation acquired a greater poignancy with stories of the loyal minister Qu Yuan (屈原 c. 340–c. 278 BC). Although a native of the region, even Qu Yuan found Dongting and the Xiang River “vile and rustic” (Murck, 2000, p. 8). Officials demoted from the capital to low level posts in the Xiao Xiang augmented these stories with their own anxious complaints. The exiled official of the court of King Qingxiang of Chu, Song Yu (宋玉 c. 290–c. 223 B.C.) in his Nine Arguments expressed

the regret regarding his dismissal and vented fury at those who slandered his good name. In one of his sad, melancholic poems, he compared autumn with the decline in his own career, looking at the mountain scenery, he thought of his own loneliness and pain (Murck, 2000, p. 13).

Jia Yi (賈誼 201–168 BC), a loyal official despite his unjust exile to Changsha city in Xiao Xiang region, expressed his laments in prose-poems. Jia Yi's own account of exile was summarized by Sima Qian (trad. Ch. 司馬遷 c.145–86 BC) in *Sbi ji*: (史記 “Records of the Grand Historian”) “I became tutor of the king of Changsha, having been banished in disgrace, and was very disappointed. When I crossed the Xiang River *en route*, I made a *fu* to lament Qu Yuan. Qu Yuan was a virtuous minister of Chu, who was cast out because of slander. He made the *fu* called Li sao, the end of which says: “Enough! There is no true man in the kingdom! Nobody knows my talents!” Then he threw himself in the Miluo River and died. I was grieved by the memory of Qu Yuan, and wrote this in the same spirit” (Murck, 2000, p. 14-17).

Li Bo (also known as Li Bai 李白 701–62) was arrested for treason and subsequently exiled to Yelang (today – eastern Guizhou), but amnesty was issued before he reached the place of his exile. The final years of his life were spent on the northern shore of Dongting lake composing poems that derived from the region's literary heritage. In one of them, he used the ancient legend of the King Shun, who was banished and his wives went on searching for him, but in vain, to criticize political chaos of his own time. As one of the allegorical motifs to describe the laments, he uses the mottled bamboo of Xiao and Xiang, were the naturally spotted leaves look as if drops of tears have fallen on them. In painting, mottled bamboo leaves came to express the tears of women in sorrow for the legendary King Shun (Murck, 2000, p. 21-23).

Having in mind the literary heritage of Xiao and Xiang region, another official exiled to this district – Song Di in the 11th century created a theme in painting: “Eight Views of Xiao and Xiang”, where, in a set of eight landscapes using the same allegorical ways of expression, as in poetry, he expressed his dissatisfaction with own misery this time in a visual way.

As recorded in Shen Gua's entry on "Eight Views of Xiao and Xiang" published around 1090, the set of paintings was done with the following titles:

"Geese Descending to Level Sand" 平沙落雁

"Sail Returning from Distant Shore" 遠浦歸帆

"Mountain Market, Clearing Mist" 山市晴嵐

"River and Sky, Evening Snow" 江天暮雪

"Autumn Moon Over Dongting" 洞庭秋月

"Night Rain on XiaoXiang" 瀟湘夜雨

"Evening Bell from Mist-Shrouded Temple" 煙寺晚鐘

"Fishing Village in Evening Glow" 漁村夕照 (Shoushou Hakkei 瀟湘八景, 2001).

These titles closely resemble Chinese regulated verse. In China, painters drew on many literary forms, but regulated verse was considered the most sublime. The underlying conventions for the genre evolved through the Tang, and by the beginning of the Song dynasty, they had been codified into a specific set of rules.

The group of titles has all the techniques of the poetry: eight lines, tripartite structure, metaphoric imagery, a unity of mood, structural parallelism, and words that echo the earlier words. Composing eight titles within the confines of regulated verse would have been natural for an educated man such as Song Di, who had, like all successful examination candidates, written parallel couplets and regulated verse since childhood. The easily recognizable poetic form would have prompted literate viewers to consider the titles allusions to poetry written in and about the Xiao and Xiang region.

Besides the imagery of “Eight Views of Xiao and Xiang”, the focus upon a vast landscape and its immensity reflected Daoist and Buddhist thought. The topic displays the overwhelming power of nature. Natural landscapes also highlight the natural order of the world, where people are subject to the yin (negative) or yang (positive) forces of cosmos. The solitary recluse of traveller within this majestic scenery emphasized these ideas and also the overriding theme of exile (Baker, 2009, p. 11).

Song Di’s “Eight Views” impressed Chinese Emperor Huizong (1082–1135). He commissioned the court painter Chang Chien (act. the early 12th century) to travel by boat through the Xiao-Xiang region and record the scenery in eight scenes (Fong, 1984, p. 217).

The original meaning of “Eight Views of Xiao and Xiang” in later times could be changed or varied according to historical situation and painter’s preferences.

In the beginning of the 12th century, Chan monk Juefan Huihong (1071–1128) created a set of poems dedicated to his reinterpretation of the subject from the Chan Buddhist point of view. For him, XiaoXiang was not a place of exile, but instead – a refuge. Later in the 12th century, a professional painter Wang Hong borrowed images from Huihong’s poems in painting what has become the oldest extant set of “Eight Views”.

At times of political stability and peace, there was no need to bring up the topic of exile. For example, at the end of 12th century the scholar Yang Wanli spoke about the necessity of eliminating the nonessential baggage of tradition. He also argued that every poet should find his own voice and avoid dependence on poetic cliches, as is evident in his famous poem on poetry:

*Now, what is poetry?
If you say it is simply a matter of words,
I will say a good poet gets rid of words.
If you say it is simply a matter of meaning,
I will say a good poet gets rid of meaning.
“But” you ask. “without words and without*

Meaning, where is the poetry?"

To this I reply: "Get rid of words and get rid of meaning and there is still poetry" (Murck, 2000, pp. 230-231).

A painting that shared this new aesthetic was "Dream Journey over Xiao-Xiang", a long panoramic handscroll by Mr. Li of Shucheng. Differently from the earlier representations of the theme as seen in Wang Hong's ink wash with pale colour on silk and visible brush idioms, Li of Shucheng, by contrast, painted on paper in an airy, monochromatic mode. He employed a technique that left much of the paper unpainted, an approach associated with the Northern Song scholar Li Gonglin and his followers. At the same time, Master Li was indifferent to the linear brush line that was a hallmark of Li Gonglin's work. Li applied wash upon wet wash, blurring the mountain forms, blending edges into soft mists. The continuous handscroll is painted in delicate lines, miniature detail. When brush strokes are visible, they are hair-thin lines, representing details such as bridges and boats, or ink blots, wetly dotted to represent foliage (Murck, 2000, p. 231).

Around the end of the 13th century, the painting theme was brought to Japan – mainly due to Zen Buddhist monks who travelled between Japan and China. Chinese painting entered Japan either by means of trade or as the gifts from Chinese. Japanese shoguns had collections of Chinese paintings, among them there were "Eight Views of Xiao and Xiang". Japanese collections were documented in *Muromachi dono gyoko okazariki* (「室町殿行幸御飭記」 Record of Display at the Muromachi Palace) or *Gyomotsu on'e mokuroku* (「御物御絵目録」 Record of Paintings Owned by the Shogun). Both of these records list paintings of "Eight Views" by Chinese artists such as Muqi (1210–1280), Yujian (13th cent.), Xia Gui (act. c. 1125–1230).

In the following centuries, the topic of "Eight Views" became one of the most popular ink landscape motifs in Japan. Early Japanese examples of "Eight Views of Xiao and Xiang" profoundly relied on the imported Chinese artworks.

Ashikaga shoguns preferred the Southern School style of art. The Southern School itself was further divided into two schools, the Southern School Academy and the Chan Buddhist School, the former in the capital Hangzhou, and the latter based in the monasteries of the West Lake. The Academy School represented by Xia Gui and Ma Yuan (1190–1225) is typically characterized as “lyrical”, with asymmetrical compositions, evocative rather than descriptive modes, and the use of the “axe-cut” texture strokes. The Chan Buddhist painting style, represented by Liang Kai (c. 1140–1210) and Muqi, is described as “intuitive”, and “spontaneous”, with an emphasis on rapid, calligraphic brushwork. Moreover, Chan Buddhist painters, in addition to depicting landscapes, also drew upon Chan Buddhist allegories for the subject matter (Baker, 2009, p. 69).

The later Japanese paintings of “Eight Views” show interesting departures from Chinese examples, particularly in the output of Sesshū. Sesshū, who had visited China and studied from Chinese artists, had a deep understanding of the contents, and was versed in different techniques. Other Japanese artists perceived the topic in a different way. They were more interested in the beautiful topography of the Xiao and Xiang region and intoxicated by the Chinese poetry.

The popularity of the topic in Japan could derive from the fact that among the first ink landscape paintings that are found in Japan one is dedicated to the topic of “Eight Views of Xiao and Xiang”. Here, Japanese painter Shitan (思堪 the early 14th century) depicted a set of motifs characteristic to the first title of “Eight Views of Xiao and Xiang” – “Geese Descending to Level Sand” (「平沙落雁」 Heisa rakugan) flat rock, sand bar and wild geese in the foreground of the picture.

When the theme of “Eight Views of Xiao and Xiang” arrived in Japan, Japanese artists accepted Zen Buddhist meanings established by Huihong, took interest in beautiful and exotic topography of Xiao Xiang region, or simply enjoyed the topic as it gave possibility to experiment with ink brush techniques to render different types of weather and day time. Sometimes, artists put a new meaning for the established motifs. For example, Sesshū, when painting “Mountain Market Clearing Mist” – a theme that

traditionally designated the criticism of unsuccessful economic policy of the government, and mountain markets in China were viewed as the places of people suffering, – Sesshū interpreted it in the opposite way. He described a colourful mountain market, a joyful crowd of people, enjoying the abundant goods of autumn harvest, the taverns inviting visitors for a cup of sake, and the climbers of cavernous mountain. Also, in Japanese Muromachi period poetry on “Mountain Market Clearing Mist” theme, we find a rather optimistic approach to the subject. Because Sesshū was a Zen monk, he was interested also in another aspect of the mountain market: he opposed its worldly nature to the high religious aspirations suggested by upward road through a cavernous mountain in the background of the scene. For ancient Chinese, caves and round holes were a place where deities resided, an entrance to the hidden sacred world as described, for example, in the poetry of Su Shi. This motif emphasized the religious contents of the vista.

Other Japanese artists used to combine several topics of “Eight Views” in one scene. Sometimes the combinations did not provide a logical explanation from the point of view of the original meaning. Hence, we can assume that some Japanese painters were either not interested in original meaning or simply were unaware of it. The aspects of culture, when they pass a long distance away from their place of origin, often are interpreted in a new way in new political, economic and cultural circumstances.

Among the many notable Muromachi period paintings on the topic of “Eight Views of Xiao and Xiang” are those by Tōshun 等春 (1505–1542), Sesson 雪村 (1504–1589), Bokkei 墨溪 (?–1473) and Sōami 相阿弥 (c. 1485–1525). Japanese paintings of the Shōshō Hakkei, particularly those executed on folding screens *byōbu* 屏風 and sliding screens *fusuma* 襖, often have a distinct seasonal character and show the changes from spring to winter through the eight scenes. In the Edo period, the theme was popular with Sinophile *nanga* 南画, painters and even parodied by *ukiyo-e* 浮世絵 artists, most notably – Suzuki Harunobu’s 鈴木春信 (1725–1770) clever *Zashiki Hakkei* 座敷八景 (“Eight Parlour Views”). The Japanese also adapted the idea of eight views and applied it to

their own geography. The Ōmi Hakkei 近江八景 (“Eight Views of the Lake Biwa Region”) and the Kanazawa Hakkei 金沢八景 (“Eight Views of Kanazawa”) are just two examples thereof (Shoushou Hakkei 瀟湘八景, 2001).

Similar to Japan, “Eight Views of Xiao and Xiang” were carried to Korea in the 12th century, remaining an important topic in poetry and painting up to the 19th century.

The earliest extant version of “Eight Views of Xiao and Xiang” in Korea has been painted in the second half of the 15th century, and now belongs to a private collector, Yūgensai (I, 2018, p. 13).

In 1124, Yi Ning, a painter at Goryeo Art Academy and Senator Yi Jadeok (1071–1138) went as envoys to Song China. There, Yi Ning viewed Emperor Huizong’s painting collection that included Song Di’s paintings. Subsequently, he brought the idea of Eight Views back to Korea and passed it on to his son, Yi Gwang-pil. In 1185, Yi Gwang-pil successfully accomplished the commission given to him by imperial decree and painted “Eight Views of Xiao Xiang”.

After the fall of Northern Song, Song Di’s paintings remained at the northern state of Jin. Goryeo diplomats to the state of Jin, scholar-official Yi Inro (1152–1220) and Chen He (c. 1200) had the opportunity to admire Song Di’s “Eight Views of Xiao Xiang” paintings first hand. Yi Inro’s poem on Song Di’s “Eight Views” is, until this time, the earliest Goryeo poetry acclaiming “Eight Views of Xiao Xiang” (I, 2018, p. 13).

Sixteenth century Kim Hyon Sung’s (1542–1621) praises of “Eight Views of Xiao Xiang” on a folding screen that is conserved at Kyūshū National Museum included Chen He’s poetry painting (I, 2018, p. 14).

During the Southern Song era, “Eight Views of Xiao Xiang” broke away from the convention of painting scenes of Hunan region only, and inclined towards conceptualization, abstraction and localization. Mi Youren’s (1074–1153) landscape paintings “Xiao Xiang Wonders” and “White Clouds along the Xiao and Xiang Rivers”, although naming Xiao Xiang in their titles, were in reality paintings of the scenery of Zhejiang. The natural scenery around West Lake in Lin’an was popularly

the main subject of artists from the Academy and the monks in Xiao Xiang genre, and a precedent for one the Japanese versions of “Eight Views of Xiao Xiang”.

The phenomenon of transforming “physical geography” to “cultural geography”, where artists painted the scenery they saw before their eyes yet referred to their works as Xiao Xiang or “Eight Views” of some locality, promulgated the idea and reputation of Xiao Xiang locally, as well as overseas (I, 2018, p. 15).

The early Joseon was a period of close political, economic and cultural relations between Korea and Ming China (1368–1644), during which the Joseon elites sought to digest, adapt and refashion the classical Chinese heritage, in which they were deeply educated and which had become an integral and complex part of Korean culture (Lee, 2009).

In the early Joseon period, with support of Prince Anpyeong, “Eight Views of Xiao Xiang” became the leitmotif in poetry writing in Joseon court and palace. Prince Anpyeong held a literati gathering in 1442, one of the participants schola-official Kim Jong-sep (1390–1453), wrote in this representative poem:

*Mountains and Rivers are my love.
I used to roam freely among these natural wonders.
Then, being burdened with official duties,
I have laboured myself walking in this dusty realm.
Who painted these Eight Scenes?
Bringing me to a state of pure imagination.
A small piece of white silk canvas:
One brush paints myriad images.
Shrinking techniques, what's the use?
The entire world seems grasped in one hand.
Mountains rise like live beings:
Rivers flow like endless thought.
This is the place where I find happiness;
No other place can compare.*

*"I adore you, my distinguished Lord
 For your great integrity!
 Your concerns go beyond this mundane world.
 You are my bosom friend indeed!"*

Just like Kim Jong-seo's poem said: mountains and rivers are two kinds of pleasure, Shin Sekjo (1407–1459), who attended the gathering as well, had the same opinion: "The kind men enjoy mountains: the wise men enjoy rivers. The happiness of mountains and rivers is difficult to express". Another participant An Sungseon (1392–1452) thought of "Peach Blossom Paradise" written by Tao Yuanming comparing it to "Eight Views of Xiao and Xiang". Since then, the image of "Eight Views of Xiao and Xiang" became a metaphor of ideal wonderland similar to "Peach Blossom Paradise" (I, 2018, p. 17).

Early Joseon landscape painting, which was based on classical Chinese models of the Song period but also incorporated some of the contemporary Ming trends, developed into a dynamic artistic expression. The topic of "Eight Views of Xiao and Xiang" fully adapted their models and came to embody distinctly Joseon styles and aesthetic visions. By the 15th century, landscapes became the foremost genre of painting in Korea. Although a few examples survive from this period, even a limited number of extant works and written records demonstrate the rise of secular painting during this time. The Joseon literati regarded nature as the paradigm of the ideal world order and as a vehicle for proper (Confucian) intellectual and emotional development. Unsurprisingly, this view contributed to the increasing prestige of landscape painting. Painted mostly in ink monochrome, sometimes accentuated with light colours, landscapes of this period are lyrical, evocative, and compelling (Lee, 2009, pp. 16-19).

In this context, the topic of "Eight Views of Xiao and Xiang Rivers" became an idealized, romanticized landscape.

Fifteen versions of "Eight Views" dating from the early Joseon period have survived in complete or partial sets dispersed throughout Korea, Japan and the United States of America (Baker, 2009, p. 81).

One of the best-known examples of early Joseon period (1392–1550) is eight-panel screen (before 1539) in the collection of the Daiganji, a temple in Hiroshima. A journal mounted on the back of the screen was written by the temple's abbot, Sonkai, and recounts his journey to Korea in 1538 to obtain a new set of Buddhist sutras to replace the temple's old one (Lee, 2009, p. 24).

The screen is presumed to have been acquired during trip (Lee, 2009, p. 24). The daiganji screen is important as a complete, dated set of "Eight Views" but lacks the strength and visual coherence of another 16th-century eight-panel screen, which is part of the Kyūshū National Museum collection.

The Kyūshū screen's eight painted images were paired with short poems on "Eight Views". The inscriptions were written in 1584 by the Joseon literatus Kim Hyeon-seong (1542–1621); the painting most likely dates to the mid-16th century. The images, each roughly square and relatively small, present confidently articulated, emotionally resonant mountain and water scenes (Lee, 2009, p. 24).

Another complete 16th-century set, preserved as eight hanging scrolls, now in the collection of the Jinju National Museum of Korea, has the opposite effect: especially when displayed together, the scrolls present an almost panoramic view, filtered through changing seasons.

Both the Jinju scrolls and the Kyūshū screen, along with the most other extant works on the theme of "Eight Views", demonstrate the enduring influence and continued adaptation of the style of An Gyeon (act. c.1440–1470), the most prominent court painter of the mid-15th century and one of the great classical Korean artists, whose legacy, especially in landscape painting, predominated throughout the early Joseon period.

An Gyeon with his followers was the leader of the most influential landscape painting school of the early Joseon Dynasty. In the mid-Joseon period (1550–1700), along with the An Gyeon school the leading style was the Zhe school of Ming China founded by Dai Jin (Ahn, 2010, p. 12).

Though only one signed landscape by An Gyeon survives – the elegant seminal handscroll "Dream Journey to the Peach Blossom Land"

(1447) – the scholars have reconstructed his style from the few works attributed to him and from other landscapes by known and unknown artists from the early Joseon period, primarily the 16th century (Lee, 2009, p. 24). An Gyeon – an immensely influential painter with classical training, creativity, enviable patronage from the royal family, was well versed in and inspired by the works of earlier painters, but particularly by the monumental landscapes of the Northern Song period Chinese court artist Guo Xi (c. 1000–1090). “Eight Views of the Four Seasons” (National Museum of Korea, Seoul) attributed to An Gyeon, reflects Chinese tradition, meanwhile demonstrates innovative interpretations of the beloved earlier paradigm (Lee, 2009, p. 24).

According to Lee, the An Gyeon style early Joseon landscapes entered Japanese collections and were confused with Chinese Song painting (Lee, 2009, p. 24).

A similar opinion is expressed by Lee, SangNam, who wrote that Korean paintings that were brought to Japan by means of trade in the 16th century were often listed as *karamono* or Chinese goods and therefore lost information on their Korean origin. Besides, Lee Sang Nam mentioned that a number of art objects, including paintings, were brought to Japan as a result of Japanese attempt to conquer Korea at the end of the 16th century. This factor has contributed to the situation that part of Korean cultural heritage is found in Japanese collections (Lee, 2014, p. 166).

Early Joseon pictorial representations of “Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers” are romantic paintings: they represent the Joseon’s elite’s intellectual nostalgia for the past. These works symbolized ownership of the past, in this case, a broader, shared East Asian artistic tradition that was very much a part of the Joseon Korean’s history. They were idealized, familiar representations of a celebrated foreign space, an exotic locale familiar to the educated elite, although few had actually seen it. In addition, the poetic vision, both literary and pictorial, provided aesthetic delight, satisfying the cultured class’s appreciation of beauty.

Influenced by the successful “Eight Views” conventions, Korean painters created a parallel tradition. In the late Goryeo period, the 14th century,

the theme of “Eight Views of Songdo” (another name for Gaeseong, the Goryeo capital) had emerged, incorporating native sites and scenery. In the early Joseon, painters developed “Eight Views of the New Capital” (Hanseong, popularly known as Hanyang, today’s Seoul) (Lee, 2009, p. 25). Since these paintings survive only as references in written records, we cannot be certain of the exact nature of their iconographic or stylistic links to the classical conventions of “Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers”. Nonetheless, the adoption of “Eight Views” format, as well as thematic similarities between the individual scenes constituting “Eight Views of Songdo” and those of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers’ prototype, provide ample evidence that the Korean adaptations were based directly on the Chinese “Eight Views” tradition (Lee, 2009, p. 25).

The 18th century saw the development of true view landscape painting inspired by the new emphasis on Korean cultural and historical identity. True view landscapes (*chin’gyong*, or “real scenery”) represented the trend in painting that advocated the depiction of actual Korean scenery as an alternative to the classical themes of Chinese painting practiced by earlier Korean artists (Hammer, 2002, p. 29).

Paintings of “Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers” were continuously produced for the elite throughout the Joseon period; toward the end of the Joseon, the theme was even adopted by and absorbed into folk painting.

During their times, artists of the folk paintings were regarded as mere craftsmen, and they bore a lower social status than the literati and court painters. Their works of art were relatively simple and unadorned, enriched with lively colours and often used to decorated screens and cupboards. In folk painting, “Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers” had the meaning of auspiciousness and blessings. Besides, one approach was to join two landscapes in one painting. An impressive collection of Korean folk paintings is held in the Joseon Folk Art Museum at Youngwol, Kangwon, with over three thousand pieces (I, 2018, p. 18).

Major part of the folk art was produced during the latter half of the Choson dynasty – in the 18th and 19th centuries. Folk art that reflected

native beliefs and customs is a long-admired tradition in Korea (Hammer, 2002, p. 30).

The theme of “Eight Views of Xiao and Xiang” is absent in Chinese and Japanese folk art. In Korea, poetry and paintings of “Eight Views of Xiao and Xiang Rivers” since the 12th century depict beautiful sceneries, which is congruent with the people’s hope for bliss (I, 2018, p. 18).

Korean folk paintings with the theme “Eight Views of Xiao and Xiang” included titles and content that was originally absent in the Chinese works. Korean versions with titles “Crying Dragon in Huang-Ling” and “Evening Cloud of Cang-Wu” tell the story of E Huang and Nu Ning’s undying love for their husband, Emperor Shun, which led them to suicide when he died in the Cang Wu Mountains during his journey to the south. This is related to the belief that Shun Emperor was the ruler of the Dongyi people, and that the Koreans were of their descent. The Chinese “Eight Views of Xiao and Xiang” paintings also incorporate the story of Shun Emperor and his wives, but their emphasis, however, is on political harmony. There is a number of other differences from the Chinese model, for example, additional motifs could be contributed to the set of traditional ones. In the scene “Autumn Moon over Dongting”, apart from the conventional elements like moon, lake and mountains, a phoenix was added. Some researchers believe that Koreans are descendants of the Dongyi people, and phoenix is their symbol (I, 2018, p. 22).

In the 18th century, along with the rise of tourism, population interest in travel guides, a new type of pictures appeared – those describing the actual topography of the native land.

Conclusion

As discussed previously in this article, the topic of “Eight Views of Xiao and Xiang Rivers” was a popular theme in East Asian poetry and painting. With its origins in China, it developed along slightly different paths in China, Japan and Korea. Each country adopted it according to its own aesthetic tastes, interests and necessities.

While all three countries in later centuries adapted this theme for the depiction of native real landscapes for the needs of the flourishing tourism industry, in other aspects the paths of development have dissimilar features. Different than in China and Japan, Koreans developed this topic in folk painting that was directed towards simple people.

The three countries have a different situation in respect of this theme's legacy nowadays.

While young Chinese artists still employ this theme in the contemporary Chinese painting, as Hao Liang's recent exhibition "Eight Views of Xiaoxiang" in UCCA Beijing 2016–2017 it is difficult to find similar examples in Korea (Hao Liang, 2017). In Korea, apart from several tourist spot names, museum and art researcher activities, the theme seems almost extinct from contemporary culture. Korean situation is poorer than that of China and Japan also because almost no original paintings survive to this day in Korean collections. A great many of Korean cultural heritage is held in the foreign museums and private collections. Another problem – it requires deeper research and analysis. Several researchers have pointed to the fact that Korean paintings in Japanese collections for centuries have been regarded as the Chinese ones, therefore lacking clear evidence of their origin.

At the same time, bearing in mind the historical legacy of the topic of "Eight Views of Xiao and Xiang Rivers", it has a huge potential in strengthening the bridges between Chinese, Japanese and Korean cultures that share common cultural heritage.

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COMPARISON OF HONORIFIC FORMS IN KOREAN AND LATVIAN LANGUAGES AND THE IMPLICATIONS ON LANGUAGE LEARNING

The question of honorifics in the Korean language is difficult to grasp and it has been a subject of scrutiny in the field of comparative linguistics and Korean language education for a long time. This paper examines the differences and similarities of the Korean and Latvian language from the perspective of honorifics systems and their usage in everyday life. The very complex system in Korean and the much subtler system in Latvian make for a case study that could be used to improve the understanding of how to showcase these differences in a way that makes it easier for Latvian learners of Korean to grasp them and put them to use both while learning the language in a classroom setting and while using them outside of it. The paper is divided into sections that examine both of the systems separately and then compare them in the section on usage. Finally, conclusions are made on how to introduce this to students of Korean language and how this topic could be expanded in the future.

Keywords: Korean language, Latvian language, comparative linguistics, language education

The most difficult parts of learning a language are frequently the ones that do not appear in the mother tongue. Or if they do, they take on a completely different look from what the person is used to. Korean language and Latvian language share only slight similarities, as they are from totally different parts of the world and with different linguistic characteristics. Latvian language is part of the Baltic branch of the Indo-European

language tree, whereas Korean language is said to be an isolated language part of its own language family. This makes the comparison between the two difficult and sometimes impossible, but even so, to attain better understanding on how one or the other language can be more efficiently learned by the native speakers of the other, it can become necessary.

In this case, the comparison will be made between the two languages' approach to formality and honorifics. The usage of honorific forms is important in a variety of languages, but especially so in Korean, where the system is based on a long-standing tradition, which stems from Confucian values. Not using the correct honorific forms will result in awkward situations at best, and ruined chances in business or personal relationships at worst. In the case of Latvian, the use of honorifics is much subtler and not such a decisive focus in daily life. Even so, native speakers frequently use these subtle forms, a lot of the time not even thinking much of it. With the possibility of some comparison and showcasing enough examples, this becomes a way to better learning of languages and understanding of the culture that surrounds them.

Honorific forms in Latvian

There is no specific honorific system in Latvian as such, instead, a system called functional language styles was created to classify a somewhat similar phenomenon. There are five functional language styles – scientific, formal, journalistic, colloquial and literary style. This system was created during the 1960s on the basis of an existing one in Czech language. However, it has been noted that attempts at categorization began even before that, at the first attempts to systematize Latvian language as such. A functional language style can be defined as a historically developed type of language, which is characterized by a certain sphere of functioning and the related selection of specific language tools (Veisbergs, 2013, pp. 175–177).

Honorific forms or lack of them appear quite prominently in the formal and colloquial styles of Latvian language and their combination with

one another. The formal style is usually considered mainly in a written form. The oldest written examples of a formal functional style in Latvian language come from the 17th century documents and translations of documents (Veisbergs, p. 178). It has since been further developed and has distinct guidelines on usage depending on the type of document or communication. The spoken parts of this style and their combination with the colloquial style are much less defined, but they can definitely be observed, especially in business, work spaces and daily interactions, which require a certain psychological distance between the users.

A notable grammatical part of the formal style in Latvian is the so-called T-V pronoun distinction, which has the 2nd person plural pronoun used in certain contexts as the 2nd person singular pronoun. While it is no longer part of common day English language and has decreased in usage in many others, it remains a feature in many Indo-European languages and it originates from the Latin *tu* and *vos* (Sebeok, 1960, pp. 264–266). In Latvian, this distinction is made by *tu* and *jūs*.

The first pronoun *tu* and its case forms (shown in table below) note a sense of closeness or lack of necessity for formalities and are the most widely used form to address somebody in the 2nd person. The second form *jūs* and its case forms (shown in table below) are rarer and note a sense of high formality or a lack of closeness. This form is frequently used in formal settings and when talking to somebody for the first time. It is maintained if the relationship remains strictly professional. It is expected to be used and the form with the capital letter has to be maintained throughout when writing formal documents that are addressed to somebody (formal e-mails, letters, greeting cards etc.).

Table 1. Comparison of case forms for the 2nd person pronouns in Latvian (adapted from Veisbergs, p. 68)

Grammatical Case	Singular	Plural and Formal Singular
Nominative	<i>Tu</i>	<i>Jūs</i>
Genitive	<i>Tēvis</i>	<i>Jūsu</i>

Dative	<i>Tēv</i>	<i>Jums</i>
Accusative	<i>Tēvi</i>	<i>Jūs</i>
Instrumental	<i>(ar) Tēvi</i>	<i>(ar) Jums</i>
Locative	<i>Tēvī</i>	<i>Jūsos</i>

Another part of the formal style stems from the Latvian grammar characteristic of matching the verbs in the sentence to the nouns, or in this case, pronouns used. Thus, even though the addressee is a singular person, if the plural pronoun is used, the verbs are also changed accordingly. There are also cases where the verbs do not change, it all depends on the characteristic of each verb – 1st, 2nd, 3rd conjugation verbs or irregular verbs. (Veisbergs, pp.75–78)

Examples:

Who are you? – *Kas tu esi? Kas jūs esat?*

Where are you going? – *Kur tu ej? Kur jūs ejat?*

Your bag is open. – *Tava soma ir valā. Jūsu soma ir valā.*

I am going with you. – *Es iešu ar tēvi. Es došos ar jums.*

The examples show both cases of verbs changing or staying the same in their conjugated forms. The last example shows that there are instances when a different verb is preferred to be used in the case of wanting to appear more formal – using *doties* instead of *iet* (both mean go in Latvian). This is a characteristic of the formal functional style of language which prefers stronger, but neutral words, instead of more colloquial style expressions (Veisbergs, p. 183).

The last part of honorific forms in Latvian to mention are honorific titles or address. In Latvian these are words that show respect towards a person or that person's achievements, usually in academics or career. The most common example is *kungs/kundze* which is the equivalent to Mr./Mrs./Ms. titles in English. They are usually placed after person's full name or last name. Another common example is in academics with the use of

profesors/profesore which is the equivalent of professor in English. This form is usually placed before the person's full name or last name. There are no honorifics used in the case of informal situations, then the person is simply called by their name or nickname and sometimes by their familial relationship title to that person, but is not usually considered an honorific form.

Examples:

Annas Liepas kundze, Jūs tikāt ielūgta uz atklāšanas balli?

Profesors Liepiņš piedalījās grāmatas atklāšanā.

Mamma aizgāja uz veikalu.

Honorific forms in Korean

The very first thing most Korean learners see in their studies is the way how to say “I” in Korean. This is their first step into the world of honorific forms in Korean. There are two ways to say “I” – *jeo* (저) or *na* (나). The first one is regarded as a way of showing humbleness, lowering yourself and showing respect towards the addressee of the sentence, while the other does not have that connotation and in a lot of conversations could be considered rude if uttered. Beyond this, Korean language overall is a language that is rich with grammatical forms requiring specific context and situations to be used in. A great part of those fall into the many categories that can be called honorific forms.

These forms as a group in Korean have a variety of names used in different contexts – *nopimbeop* (높임법), *nopimal* (높임말), *jondetmal* (존댓말) etc. Nevertheless, all of them express the same idea that there is somebody that is “lowering” their speech in politeness and that there is somebody that is making their speech “higher” in politeness according to the situation (Lee, 2017, p. 275). Thus, these honorific forms are used according to certain conditions: social (age, family, status) or psychological (personal relationship with the person). These honorific forms have a long

history and they have evolved over time. A lot of them have been forgotten and they are not used in common modern Korean language. For sake of clarity and ease, for this particular paper only the modern Korean language forms that are most used will be looked at.

Overall, it has been agreed that there are three types of honorific forms in modern Korean language and the types of expressions are grammatically divided into sentence final endings (*jonggyolomi*, 종결어미), pre-final endings (*seoneomalomi*, 선어말어미), postpositions (*josa*, 조사), vocabulary (*eobvi*, 어휘) and suffixes (*jeobmisa*, 접미사) (Kim, 2008, p. 267). The three types of honorific forms are discussed below.

1) *Juchenopim* (주체높임) or subject elevation.

This first group uses all of the grammatical forms mentioned above to show politeness towards the subject of the sentence. It is important to know the subject's age and/or social status. These forms are only used for the 2nd or 3rd person. In rare cases, the 1st person may also be used, but only when exaggerating for literary purposes. Forms used: pre-final ending -(으)시, postpositions -께, -께서, suffix -님, special vocabulary (verbs). (Kim, pp. 268–270)

Examples:

할머니께서 아이들을 부르신다.

선생님이 여기에 오셨다.

이 교수님은 사무실에 계십니까?

An interesting case is when the listener of the sentence is older than the speaker, but the subject is younger than the listener. Then the pre-final ending -(으)시 is usually omitted. This is usually referred to as *apjonbeop* (압존법) or relative honorifics (Choi, 2018, p. 45).

Example:

할머니, 어머니 어디 갔습니까?

It is also possible that not the persons themselves, but their possessions or traits are treated with the same respect (Kim, p. 269).

Example:

사장님의 사업이 잘 되셨어요?

2) *Sangdenopim* (상대높임) or addressee elevation.

This group is mainly expressed through sentence endings and take into account the person that is hearing or reading the conveyed message. In this case, it is important to know the addressee's age and/or social status. The sentence ending types are classified as *ajunopim* (아주높임) or elevating addressee highly, *yesanopim* (예사높임) or elevating addressee moderately, *yesanatchum* (예사낮춤) or lowering addressee moderately, *ajunatchum* (아주낮춤) or lowering addressee profoundly. In everyday life, these forms are frequently referred to as *jondetmal* (존댓말) or formal speech, and *banmal* (반말) or informal speech. Forms used: various final endings of sentences according to sentence type and connotation (Kim, pp. 270–271).

Examples:

아주높임 – 그 소식을 들었습니까?

예사높임 – 그 소식을 들었어요?

예사낮춤 – 그 소식을 들었어?

아주낮춤 – 그 소식을 들었냐?

These examples illustrate how different a sentence with the same meaning can sound when there is an addressee of a different age or status.

3) *Gekchenopim* (객체높임) or object elevation.

This type of formality is mainly expressed through vocabulary and postpositions. It shows respect to the object or adverb in the sentence. It is important to know the object's age and/or social status. Forms used: vocabulary, postposition -님, suffix -께 (Kim, pp. 278–279).

Examples:

내일에 뵙겠습니다.

선생님께 말씀 드립니다.

Another part of Korean honorific forms are the forms of address which were partially considered above, but there are more cases than the-fore mentioned grammatical forms and these are honorific forms of address. Just like the other honorific forms this is also a complex phenomenon that would require a lot of in-depth research to showcase them all. Here the most common forms of address that learner of Korean language use will be discussed.

The form of address towards another person depends on a lot of conditions. It is once again a question of age, status and the relationship between two people. When first meeting and when upkeeping a formal relationship *ssi* (씨) or *nim* (님) is added next to the last name or full name. In other cases, the title of the person's profession or position with the suffix *nim* (님) is added to their last name (Kim, pp. 79–80).

Examples:

김하늘 씨 여기 오세요.

이석진 님도 초대했습니다.

If it is a closer or more familiar relationship with a slightly older person than the speaker, then familial titles that usually mean brother or sister, like *hyeong* (형), *nuna* (누나), *eonni* (언니), *oppa* (오빠) etc. are used either alone or added to the person's name. If it is a younger person than the speaker then frequently just that person's name is used (Sohn, pp. 409–401).

Examples:

아린 누나 왔어요?

민호 오빠를 봤어?

윤호가 어디 있어?

These types of formal address are usually used both when speaking to the person and referring to them as the subject or the object of the sentence, so they apply to all the honorific form categories above.

Honorific form usage comparison

The comparison of the different honorific systems in each language can shed a light on how to introduce the very complex system in Korean language to new learners. It would be much easier if there were proper terms and plenty of examples explained in a way that is familiar to the learners' own language and culture. A part of it might also be creating new terminology and teaching this terminology to students learning the language. Thus far, there have been distinguished researchers and papers made on Chinese and Japanese languages in Latvian, but beyond student theses and some textbooks almost nothing on Korean language. This paper will attempt to make some headway in the process of creating a bridge on navigating the two languages' differences and similarities.

The first point of comparison would be the pronoun system usage and formality. As mentioned above the Latvian system of formality weighs mostly on usage of T-V pronoun distinction. Whereas in Korean while they do exist, in practice the 2nd and 3rd person pronouns are usually replaced with honorific forms of address or skipped altogether.

Examples:

교수님, 어디 가세요? *Profesor, kur jūs dodaties?*

오늘 언니가 못 갔어요. *Viņa šodien nevarēja ierasties.*

The two examples show how vastly different the two sentence structures and sometimes even meanings can become when trying to adhere to each language's honorific system and their natural usages. In the first example, while the Korean sentence has just the honorific form of address, the Latvian sentence has both the honorific pronoun and form of address.

The second example mentions the honorific form of address in Korean, but in Latvian it is more natural to use the 3rd person female pronoun. To further expand upon this, the table below shows a comparison of the pronouns in both languages with some important points highlighted.

Table 2. Comparison of Korean and Latvian personal pronouns (Korean adapted from Kim, p. 86)

Person		Korean			Latvian
		예사말	높임말	낮춤말	
1 st	Singular	나/내	본인	저/제	<i>Es</i>
	Plural	우리(들)		저희(들)	<i>Mēs</i>
2 nd	Singular	너/네, 당신	당신, 그대	자네, 당신	<i>Tu / Jūs</i>
	Plural	너희(들)	여러분(들), 그대들		<i>Jūs</i>
3 rd	Singular	그/그녀	당신		<i>Viņš / Viņa</i>
	Plural	그들/그녀들			<i>Viņi / Viņas</i>

As the table shows, there is a variety of pronouns in the Korean language according to formality, while Latvian has a much simpler system. It is, however, interesting to note that a lot of the Korean pronouns are not used in everyday life. The ones that do get used frequently are the 1st person pronouns and 2nd person plural pronouns. For new learners of Korean language, especially coming from a background of Indo-European languages, it can be difficult to get used to this, but with plenty examples similar to the ones above and more exposure to the language in the classroom and outside, it will eventually become a part of their language habit to adhere to the proper system in each language.

Lastly, an important part of pronoun usage is the switching between the formality levels. Usually, the usage of honorifics in Latvian comes quite naturally, but there can be instances when one party asks the other if they can refer to them as *tu* – the 2nd person singular pronoun. This indicates a sense of the relationship getting more familiar and friendlier. Sometimes it happens without asking over the course of time while

working with or getting to know the other person. This is similar to Korean language, where it is not uncommon to ask permission to use *banmal* (반말) or informal language with somebody of a similar age. This also can happen quite naturally over time, but it is more common to actually ask.

An interesting part to consider in the honorific system is the honorific nouns used in Korean. Like using different words for house, age, person, meal etc. when speaking to or about people who are older or higher status than the speaker. In Latvian, while it is usually not done in day-to-day conversation, there are some instances where synonyms or diminutive forms of a word might be used instead to give the sentence emotional flare or a different connotation. This can only be done in appropriate situations and with the right people, otherwise it can be considered rude. This might be a good comparison for learners to grasp this concept in Korean.

Examples:

House: 집 / 댁 *Māja / Mājele / Ūķis*

Age: 나이/연세 *Gadi / Gadiņi*

The next part to compare would be the honorific postpositions and suffixes used in Korean sentences. These can be daunting for Latvian learners at first, because they seem like a completely new grammatical pattern they are not used to. Here the comparison can be made with the noun case system in Latvian as shown in the table below.

Table 3. Comparison of postpositions in Korean and case system in Latvian

Postposition in Korean language	Case in Latvian language
-은/는 -이/가 -께서	Nominative
-의	Genitive
-에게/-한테/께	Dative
-을/를	Accusative
-와/과 -(이)랑 -하고 함께	Instrumental

-에 -에서	Locative
-야/-아, -님	Vocative

This is only an approximate comparison that is made, so it would be understandable to Latvian students, more complete research into Korean postpositions would be needed to make a complete table and thorough examples.

Finally, the most complex case for comparison is the sentence ending honorifics. As noted by the author based on personal experience Latvian students of Korean language often get confused with the difference in translations or sometimes the lack of them. In the most basic cases, it is not hard to make distinctions when looking at two complete opposites of the honorific system spectre, like those shown below.

Example:

뭐 하고 싶어? – 무엇을 하고 싶습니까?

Ko tu gribi darīt? – Ko Jūs vēlaties darīt?

However, in a lot of more complex cases, there are no Latvian equivalents to make the translations different enough that the formal connotation behind them comes through.

Example:

오늘 뭐 해? – 오늘은 뭘 해요?

Ko šodien dari? – Ko šodien dari?

While these are just rudimentary examples, they show a difficulty that comes with learning a language with grammatical forms vastly different from one's native language. This is something that can only be taught through a lot of exposure to dialogue between different people in the target language and, when necessary, making comparisons to their native language.

Conclusion

Overall, grasping the subtle differences concerning formality will still be a challenge to any learner of the language, no matter what. Nevertheless, comparative linguistics offer a chance to examine both the learner's mother tongue and their target language closely, noting the differences and bringing up examples that can be comparable to better understand both sides. In the case of Latvian and Korean, there was a surprising number of grammatical constructs that could be comparable. This shows possibility in expanding the materials Korean language teachers use to include more technical aspects of the language, while including examples from real life that illustrate them.

Thus far, the grammar books and textbooks published in Latvian only showcase the Korean language grammar points, making little or no comparison to other languages. For those learners who are using these books for self-study with no teacher to expand upon the topics, this can make it quite difficult to fully understand what exactly is meant there. With case studies and further research in both comparative linguistics and language education, it is possible to make this more of a common feature in Korean language classrooms or study materials in Latvia and other places, too.

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THE BEAR AND THE HERO: PARALLELS IN KOREAN AND LATVIAN EPICS

Comparative research of Latvian and Korean literature is a new field. It would be quite logical to consider the epic paradigm at the very outset. The epic hero, the environment, the events, the poetics of the epics tell a great deal about a nation. To talk about the epic in a comparative aspect today is a relevant and appropriate occasion, because the Latvian reader has the first opportunity to look into the of Korean epics, since the celebration of the 30th anniversary of Latvian–Korean diplomatic relations has been marked by publishing of selected Korean fairy tales with the support of the Korean Embassy. This paper will examine the parallels of Latvian and Korean epic tradition in the context of bear mythologeme.

Keywords: epic traditions, national identity, bear mythologeme, Lāčplēsis, Bearslayer Dangun.

The bear is one of the largest mammals on earth. Various species of bears are common across all continents. Bears tend to live close to human habitation. They are highly intelligent and, when they rise on their hind legs, visually may resemble people. Many and different nations of the world have perceived bears as a peculiar and essential link between man and the natural world. In various cultures, the bear has attracted people's attention as a powerful, dangerous and therefore respectable force. The image of a bear in languages and myths helps to express ideas about nature

and culture. The Latvian folklorist Beatrise Reidzāne, who has studied the semantics of the bear in Latvian language and folklore, emphasizes that in the study of myths, the bear is the main protagonist within a wide range of research regarding folklore and materials characterising customs and traditions (Reidzāne, 2015).

Given the importance of the bear in national cultures, comparative research on the presence of the bear in different texts produced in distant time and space can be a stimulating source for a deeper understanding of togetherness and unity. This article compares the Latvian epic poem “Lāčplēsis” and the Korean legend of Dangun.

Typology of heroes

The Latvian hero Lāčplēsis and the Korean hero Dangun are important figures in the national conscience and identity of both nations. The actions and actions of these heroes embody patriarchalism, self-denial and other values safeguarded by the nation. The story of each hero is also fundamentally different. The Korean hero could be called a mythically historical character. There are certain historical events associated with the Korean hero, about which there are both oral and written legends. The existence of a Korean hero is a very distant past, which can be said to be a whole of myth and history. “Dangun Wanggeom (or Tangun) was the legendary founder of Gojoseon (Gochoson or Old Choson), the first Korean state which spanned northern Korea in the second half of the first millennium BC. Gojoseon possessed the most advanced culture in the Korean peninsula at that time and was an important marker in the progression towards the more centralised states of later periods. According to mythology, Dangun was born on the third day of the tenth month, and so the 3rd of October is celebrated as National Foundation Day in modern South Korea (Cartwright, 2016).

The hero of the Latvian epic poem is a literary image created by the poet Andrejs Pumpurs. The Latvian reader was introduced to it in 1888, when Andrejs Pumpurs’ epic poem “Lāčplēsis” was published. Meanwhile,

it is an image rooted in traditional folklore. Andrejs Pumpurs combined different folklore materials and created a unified image. The poet includes the indefinite mythical time characteristic of epics within historical chronological limits. The activity is associated with the events of the 12th century, when the ancient Latvians lost their freedom. Thus, the epic poem based on folklore becomes an important stimulus for the development and promotion of national feelings. In the 19th century, a modern Latvian nation was formed and intertwined with the past, including mythical heroes. The image of Lāčplēsis is constructed to be close and understandable to the modern man. At the same time, it is similar to a classic epic hero, and it also retains totemic atavistic qualities – it has bear's ears. Kaspars Kļaviņš wrote about the essence of Lāčplēsis: “in some ways the hero of the epic is a “monster slayer,” a “saviour of the people,” and is thus similar to the other heroes in the world's epic tradition such as Hercules, Beowulf, Cuchulain, etc. For Bearslayer, his ears are the same as the heel is for Achilles, the patch on his back for Siegfried, and so on” (Kļaviņš, 2007).

Dangun and Lāčplēsis – descendants of the bear

Korean hero Dangun, like the Latvian hero, originated from a bear. This once again demonstrates that the seemingly distant and strange phenomena and characters are closer and more understandable than appears at first, although, of course, for a modern person, neither in Korea nor in Latvia, a kinship with a bear may seem something meaningful and understandable.

However, at the same time, it is quite clear and understandable that there are some parallels and typological similarities in ancient mythological thinking.

The mythology of the bear reveals both the commonalities and the differences in the way the world is formed, the relationship between man and nature.

The origin of the bear is humanized in various ways. In the case of Korea, it is a path of transformation – food and meditation. Next to the

bear, a tiger tries to attain this humanization, but to no avail. This episode has a wide connotative field. It reflects a specific human relationship with nature, but at the same time serves as an example of any creation.

In the Latvian epic poem, the relationship between the bear and the man is dealt with more brutally. The first feat of Lāčplēsis is the killing of a bear, and it is not literally seen as the murder of a relative, it is a symbolic ritual, whereby the man overcomes the animal in himself: thus, the boundaries in this world are strict and marked. Lāčplēsis performs his first feat – the slaughter of a bear, as, during a walk with his foster father in the forest they are attacked by a bear, embodying a brutal and primitive image of nature:

*Already eighteen summers was the yield
That now had come to bless the Lord's young heir.
The old man ever sought his son to show
In nature have the Godhead close by stands,
And in it mighty, wondrous powers flow,
In heavens, waters, forests, and the lands.
Conversing thus, the forest's edge they found,
Into the oak trees' shadow then to pass.
Grown weary, there the old man on the ground
Beneath the oaks sat on the verdant grass.
When all at once from out the forest sprang
A savage bear that fell upon the man;
He had no time to stand against its fang –
He thought its strength would end his mortal span.
The young man ran up fast, with swiftness rare,
And seized creature by its gaping jaw;
With mighty strength he tore the bear –
A baby goat troubled him no more.
When in his son such strength he came to see,
The old man to him uttered up this view:
"A chosen hero you will surely be,
As prophesied in ancient times for you. (Pumpurs, 2007).*

After this feat, the foster father tells the young hero that eighteen years ago he had been found in the woods with a she-bear – his mother, and is therefore a particularly chosen hero with a remarkable future.

Historicity in epic telling

In the Latvian epic poem, the main character is a pure image of folklore without any historical prototype developed by poet in national hero. On the other hand, the plot is set in very specific historical circumstances. Furthermore, the poet Andrejs Pumpurs has used historical texts and protagonists from these texts to create the plot. Pumpurs uses the 12th-century Livonian Chronicle of Heinrichus, which is the most significant source of history reflecting the crusader invasion of the Baltics, and introduces a whole host of historical figures from this chronicle onto his epic poem, where they interact closely with the images created in folklore and those coming from the poet's imagination.

In Korean epic tradition, Dangun is connected with establishing of the ancient Korean state.

Lāčplēsis tradition has survived in Latvian culture as mythopoetical metaphor, in the interwar period – as metaphor for military heroism, whereas at the end of Soviet era it was remastered and staged as the rock opera “Lāčplēsis” created by the poetess Māra Zālīte and composer Zigmonds Liepiņš, revealing an intellectual ability of hero of leader to hear his nation and to respond to it.

The reception history of Dangun represents an instructive case study of the process, whereby national myths are used to construct national histories and national identities. Dangun remained a powerful, emotionally charged symbol for some Koreans, but the mainstream academics would not accept the historicity of Dangun and many rejected the mystical, racial nationalism that he represented. Dangun thus provides an example of how myths and traditions are remembered, reinterpreted, and/or ignored to serve the prevailing intellectual and political currents and the concerns of various groups. The myth of Dangun has undergone constant

re-examination and reinterpretation, as Koreans, in both North and South Korea, seek to extract a meaningful history from their past. While never central to Korean national identity, Dangun remains sufficiently important as a symbol of “Koreanness” to continue arousing controversy and discussion. For all of South Korea’s impressive economic achievement, Korea remains a divided nation, and the South is still trying to reformulate a distinctive national identity amidst a very rapid social and cultural transformation. Under these circumstances, it is not likely that a universally attained consensus on the meaning and use of the Dangun myth will emerge in the near future (Kim, 2017).

Conclusion

Real history eventually fulfilled the predictions of the epic poem “Lāčplēsis”, when, in 1919, the fate of the new Latvian nation really was decided on the shores of the River Daugava. The day of liberating the capital city of the recently established Republic of Latvia, November 11 was named Lāčplēsis Day, because in public opinion, the defenders of Riga were metaphorically perceived as epic heroes akin to Lāčplēsis, and it became a day of remembrance and veneration of Latvian soldiers. The celebration of this day was strictly forbidden during the Soviet occupation. After the restoration of independence, Lāčplēsis Day regained its significance in the Latvian calendar. Today, people light candles at the wall of Riga Castle on Lāčplēsis Day. The castle was once built by German crusaders, but when the Republic of Latvia was established, the castle became the residence of the President and one of the symbols of Latvia’s statehood. Thus, Lāčplēsis has become an integral part of the collective memory and remembrance.

Dangun Day, October 3 is the date when the Korean nation celebrates the founding of the state of Gojoseo, commemorating very distant and ancient times. In both cases, there is a spiritual similarity. The epic tradition is equally valuable and important for the modern man. It makes life more meaningful.

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REVIEW OF THE JAPANESE COLONIAL PERIOD IN KOREA (1910-1945) AS CULTURAL TRAUMA AND PART OF COLLECTIVE MEMORY FORMATION

Collective memory is one of the main parts of identity that shapes a nation and has enormous influence both on the present but also on the future. Therefore, this study tries to identify and prove the importance of history (and its incidents), as well as its impact upon the formation of collective memory. Focusing on historic trauma of the Japanese colonial period in Korea (1910–1945), an attempt of conceptualizing the historic events in correlation with collective memory (Halbwachs, Assmann) in a sociocultural context and the idea of cultural trauma (C. Alexander, R. Eyerman, B. Giesen, N. J. Smelser, P. Szotompka) is made, proving that the occupation period in Korea is a collective trauma with enormous consequences for the future formation of identity and collective society in Korea. This case study of the Korean colonial period allows to prove that all occupational periods of the 20th century can be perceived as cultural trauma, which manifests itself as a cut in the continuously existing collective memory.

Keywords: Collective memory, Korean history, colonial trauma, cultural trauma

The past has invariably been important to humanity. People perpetually endeavour to write down the present so it could live on as history, as attested by the ancient annals, stories, manuscripts. The attempts to find, record and preserve history and memories of the past alone already proves the importance the past holds for humanity. In terms of history and the

past, the 20th century is particularly important, and the consequences of the unforgettable events that eminently changed the world as it has been known so far can still be observed in everyday life. Undoubtedly, the 20th century did not leave any country in the world untouched: the First and Second World Wars shook and redistributed the world order, Nazism developed between the two world wars, led to the Holocaust, while in Asia Japan followed Western expansionism, the Russian Revolution led to the development of communism in Eastern Europe, China, and Cuba. In other words, the 20th century created several unforgettable events. These events can be called traumatic situations. Therefore, the experiences of the past and the memories they have invoked are not merely influencing the formation of the present, but also contribute to shaping of the future; therefore, in order to be able to understand the present and obtain the key to the future, it is necessary to take into account the injuries of identity which were created by the convulsions of the past.

Different communities, ethnic groups, different nationalities have different experiences, and people belonging to the same group often struggle with the same “ghosts of the past”. In other words, each particular group has its own individual perception of the past, which has manifested itself throughout the years as collective memory. This collective memory can be formed, changed, or deleted by different particular events. Especially traumatic incidence hold meaning and power of influence; therefore, it can be stated that trauma is directly related to memory, because only through memory a traumatic effect is possible (Štutiniene, 2002, p. 59). In Korea, the notion of past trauma holds a significant place in the public discourse, and Koreans even have a specific term for it – “han” (한). This concept is the main trait of the Korean national character expressing pain and sadness of a heart-breaking event, which can be not only personal but also collective. One of the most studied spheres related to collective memory and trauma in Korea is the problem of ‘comfort women’ (e.g., Kim, J. C. H., 2007; Min, P. G., 2003; Soh, C. S., 2008; Kimura, 2015), which occurred during the Japanese occupation of the Korean Peninsula (1910–1945). The topics of forced labour, cultural repression and financial

discrimination are heavy covered topics. Since the colonial period includes both world wars, it is crucial to understand that the trauma experienced during the colonial periods blends together with war-crimes in Korea. In other words, the colonial period is not only understood as a time of being occupied and in control of foreign power, but also as a time of war-exploitation.

This idea formed as a continuation of a study which was conducted last year together with a colleague. There, it was argued that similar historic processes can lead to a similar national sentiment and an understanding of the past in similar ways. All of this leads to the further study of memory, thus of the concept of collective memory since the main point of research is not a single individual but a whole nation. This paper is built mostly on the conceptualised historic background, which was made last year updating and restructuring it, thus, it shows the link between colonial period and the formation of collective memory through it. This study also focuses on exploring the different parallels (expressed in historic events) of the events which hold the most significant influence on the formation of post-colonial collective memory. In other words, it attempts to dive one level deeper and targeting different events which took place during the colonial period and often are expressed either as the trauma of colonial sentiment or separate traumatic experiences.

1. National past and shared memories

1.1 Collective memory

Looking at the past of a nation, one would usually be met with the concept of collective memory. Although the term of collective memory was first used as early as at the very beginning of the 20th century by Hugo von Hofmannsthal (1902), the true pioneer of introducing a full concept of it in a socio-cultural context is considered Maurice Halbwachs (1877–1945), who was a French sociologist and anthropologist of Jewish descent,

as well as a pupil of Émile Durkheim (1858–1917). Durkheim himself did not use the concept of collective memory in his work but laid the foundations for the perception of collective memory, and thereby made the groundwork for Halbwachs. According to Halbwachs, memory is formed in society because only in society it is, that people remember, recognize, and localize their memories, and depending on how individuals' minds interact with one another, the nuances of memory change because their perceptions are influenced by structured social arrangements (Halbwachs, 1992, p. 38). In other words, memory is an ever-changing tool that is constructed by society to suit the current circumstances, as well as the followed and pursued ideology. Ergo, collective memory is formed only in groups of people (in society), while outside them is impossible to exist, because only as an individual begins to belong to a group, communicates with the group and thinks like others in the group, he becomes able to identify himself with the group's shared memory (Halbwachs, 1992, p. 43).

Nevertheless, Halbwachs' theory of collective memory has received considerable criticism from the later 20th century researchers. Some of the most prominent developers and expanders of Halbwachs' theory are Jan Assmann and Aleida Assmann. The German scholars' couple greatly supplemented the theory of collective memory. The most striking addition to the theory of collective memory can be argued to be the further division of collective memory into cultural and communicative memory (later also into political memory). J. Assmann noted that Halbwachs did not emphasize the importance of writing which can be understood as cultural memory (Assmann, 2000, p. 46). In other words, he did not make a clear distinction between written (cultural) memory communicative memory. The separation of these two is important because communicative memory, which is transmitted orally from generation to generation, only covers at most three generations without changing its basics. On the other hand, cultural memory can only exist in "past culture carriers" such as texts, monuments, images, rituals but also in living beings such as teachers, priests, and shamans (Assmann 2000, p. 50; 52). Furthermore, cultural memory is not defined by time and can bring back very distant memories

of past periods to the present (Mykolaitytė, 2020, p. 244). This theory of cultural memory attempts to link memory (the past), culture, and a group (community), hence, cultural memory is inextricably important to collective memory. Can collective memory survive without the influence of cultural memory? The answer to this question is a definite negation, because considering the statement formulated above, it is clear that the collective memory is formed by the group-sentiment, which is still formed by external factors (feelings, traumas, experiences, perceptions). Cultural memory that exists in texts, monuments, cartoons, and so on is consumed by group representatives and combined with communicative memory forms a collective memory. Accordingly, collective memory can be divided into different sub-memories but at the end, all of the sub-memories influence and form the collective memory.

Thus, in terms of collective memory, it is also worth remembering Halbwachs' observation: since collective memory is a construct made by a group of people who follow the same values and made a choice to be part of the same society, with that comes also the choice to forget certain things or, on the other hand, bring other things to the surface which are useful or fit the ideology followed by the group, and helps it to create the desired community of the same character (Halbwachs, 1980, p. 82). Later in his work, Assmann goes even a step further and compares the Halbwachs' approach of "the choice to forget" to Goffman's (1974) "framing theory" (Assmann, 2000, p. 36). In other words, the systematization of everyday experiences and the framework of the stigmas organized by the group show values which dictated by the group identity, express the importance of different memories. Also, unlike communicative memory, where information travels freely from mouth to mouth, cultural memory requires the involvement of (a) the "carrier of the past" or "past culture carrier" and also needs (b) members of a group. This interaction becomes an artificial construct of memories which makes it easier to be used even as a tool in certain situations where a certain favourable version of historical truth (memory) is needed to help fulfil the group's purpose (Assmann, 2000, pp. 54; 55).

In summary, when it comes to collective memory, it is important to keep in mind that it is being formed in groups of people as time goes by and is impacted by different events then manifesting and showing itself in different artifacts (“past culture carriers”) that not only convey history (memories) but also influence the further formation of cultural memories for future generations. In other words, it’s a closed never stopping flowing circle. Whether the events are joyful or traumatic, the point is for the team to accept them as important and remember them. Why is collective memory and its preservation important? Because along with such memories, the identity of the collective is formed (Assmann, 2006). One such element that forms (changes) the identity is trauma.

1.2 Trauma in a socio-cultural context

As mentioned earlier, more and more scholars (e.g., Winter, 2006; Funck & Berg & Eghigian, 2002; Andersen & Sindbæk & Törnquist-Plewa, 2017) are paying special attention to memory research related to the historic events which accrued in the 20th century. In other words, the catastrophes of the 20th century and collective memory are inseparable. The experienced traumatic events lead to a significant impact on the formation of collective memory. Cultural trauma is directly related to collective – cultural memory, because only through memory a traumatic effect possible. The concept of trauma was transferred to sociology and the public discourse from psychoanalysis by Z. Freud in the 20th century. Scholars from the early 21st century also show interest in the research of the historic traumas of the 20th century, their traumatic effect and impact on groups, countries, and societies (Šutinienė, 2002, p. 57). Some of the most prominent researchers, extensively contributing to the sociological discourse on theory of the concept of trauma (and its connection with the concept of collective memory) are J. C. Alexander, R. Eyerman, B. Giesen, N. J. Smelser, and P. Sztompka. In their book of 2004 “*Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity*” the scholars discuss the idea of collective trauma, which is named cultural trauma and its strong impact on the formation of

collective identity, but in order for the identity to be formed, collective memory becomes an unavoidable variable.

Cultural trauma occurs when group members feel they have experienced a horrific event that leaves indelible marks on their group's consciousness, eternally marking their memories and changing their future identity in essential and irreversible ways (Alexander et al., 2004, p. 1). Sociology is dominated by various concepts such as anaemia, social disorganization, collective guilt, identity and cultural crises, societies at risk, etc., but these concepts only partially satisfy the specific meaning of cultural trauma, which characterizes a crisis or disorganization (sometimes fractured radicality) variety of abruptness, in other words – a violation of the usual structures of society and consequences that persist (Šutinienė, 2002, p. 58). Therefore, when using the word 'trauma' in a social context, it is important to define the exact concept of trauma. Smelser, a scholar who contributed to the conceptualization of sociocultural trauma significantly argues that cultural trauma is the memory of a situation or event that the same group understands as: (a) a negative event; (b) impossible to forget; (c) threatening the existence of society (or group) or affecting its core culture as values, group identity, grounds for collective pride, etc. (Smelser, 2001, pp. 18, 19 in Šutinienė, 2002, p. 58). This definition emphasizes once again that what is really traumatizing is not the event itself, which can be in principle even imagined, but its memory and perception, which is characteristic of the everyday life of society (Šutinienė, 2002, p. 58).

We can perceive social or cultural trauma as a lightning-speed break in the ordinary social or cultural order of a group (society), whose consequences irreversibly change the group (society), its daily life and its self-perception. Traces of traumatic experiences for a group can be observed in contemporary times in various media outlets, news, be orally spread. It is also important to note that trauma can be divided according to Smelser into (a) a mass phenomenon, where most of the group members experienced trauma as individuals; (b) a collective phenomenon, where members of a certain group perceive trauma as affecting them all,

even without experiencing the trauma individually (Smelser, 2001 from Šutinienė, 2002, p. 57). By limiting ourselves to the trauma of a collective phenomenon, we can say that such trauma is inseparable from collective memory.

2. Trauma and collective memory in the Korean discourse

There are several studies of Korean collective memory, – cultural and historical traumas are particularly common. Korean researchers usually represent the idea of Koreans having experienced several cultural traumas. Theologist Go Yu Sik states that Korean society is severely constrained by trauma of historical, social, and cultural nature, and lists them comprehensively: the Sewol ferry tragedy, the murder of a woman in a public toilet in Gangnam, the Guui stop tragedy, the occupation period, and the “comfort women” problem (Go Yu Sik, 2017). This approach is also reflected in socio-cultural research, where special attention is paid to the Korean war, the division of the Korean Peninsula into North and South and the problem of Korean refugees. Jong Gong Kim is a scholar who explores the division of Korea into South and North by incorporating the discourse of collective memory and trauma into his research. In his work, he used the theoretical concept of scholar Dominick La Capra to conceptualize a theoretical framework which argue that historical trauma has a direct influence on the transformation and rebalancing of society (Jong Gong Kim, 2013). Another study of his was suggesting that the perception trauma was a fact that needed to be shared and made public (Jong Gong Kim, 2013). On the other hand, Eun Young Jin has done a theoretical work on the association of memory with Nietzsche’s idea that oblivion is the greatest destruction of life, and the author argues that collective development is needed (Eun Young Jin, 2010). This shows the attempts to find ways to “tame” and then “overcome” or “get rid” of national traumas.

Furthermore, research conducted in Korea indicates that special attention is directed at art and landscape. For example, Bae Hyejeong and Kim Hongjoong conducted an analysis of modern art in the discourse of

memory. These authors also argue that the collective memory of Koreans is shaped by multiple traumas and argue that depicting traumatic events in modern art can become a strong tool for freeing from trauma (Bae Hyejeong & Kim Hongjoong, 2017). Ethnographic research is likewise found in Korean sociocultural discourse. Hyeon Yu, for example, conducted a study at the Busan Citizens' Park Museum focusing on depicting symbols caused by different cultural traumas, describing two different sides of the discourse: (a) nationalist, arguing that symbols that are anti-national as a "rising sun flag" should not be used and portrayed in museums, and (b) non-nationalist, arguing that history should be depicted with both traumatic stages and their symbols (Hyeon Yu, 2018). Mil Il Oh and Yoon Gi Bae conducted a study of memorial sites in Incheon and explained how symbolic sites of memories affect collective memory (Mil Il Oh & Yoon Gi Bae, 2009).

The colonial period is, nevertheless, seen as the biggest black hole of Korean history. Especially contemporary problems, which are associated with the colonial period, receive much attention with modern scholars. The best example of that would be the issue of "comfort women". For example, Na Yeong Lee conducted a study on the trauma of "comfort women" and found that the organizations, activists and active foundations fighting for their redress have created the view of this trauma, not as a disaster that solely concerns the comfort women themselves, but as a collective tragedy that should be addressed by society as a whole (Na Yeong Lee, 2017). The author Da Geum Song also conducted a study of the cultural trauma of "comfort women" by analysing different approaches to the issue, choosing two movies, and concluding that such movies encourage trauma healing in society (Da Geum Song, 2017). As mentioned above, research in South Korea often highlights the importance of trauma healing in society and tries to find ways to deal with it.

3. Historic background of Korea

This article aims to define the most important symbolic pieces found in the history of colonized Korea, which serve as special "past

culture carriers” of collective memory, reminding society of the cultural trauma which was created during colonialization. From some point of view, the prelude of the colonial period including the Japan–Korea Treaty of 1905 etc. could also be considered as an inseparable part of the colonial trauma but this study limits itself to the official colonialization moment from which the Korean peninsula was officially declared part of the Japanese empire.

One cannot ignore that there was also the wing accepting and supporting the Japanese colonial period since it was understood as a chance to modernize Korea and become stronger individually and earning profit. Nevertheless, this study won't include this aspect, since it is focused on the cultural trauma in collective memory, which sees the need to analyse history from the perspective of a victim.

3.1 Colonial period (1910–1945)

The colonial regime in Korea began in 1910. Korea's annexation by Japan is often referred to while talking about the occupational period, while the truth is that Koreans never really obtained Japanese citizenship and were perceived just as conquered objects. To maintain their regime on the peninsula, Japan employed large military and civilian police forces and ruled over Korea, appointing governor-generals from Japan (Peterson, 2009, p. 142). The Japanese Military Government in Korea immediately tackled political and social changes with the disintegration of the imperial Government and the associated political institutions, as well as organisations. Instead, a general Government was established as the centre of colonial policy and was led by a general and had several administrative and special departments by the Japanese (Park, 2015, p. 43 in Mueller & Tumasaitė, 2021). Ergo, the colonial period is not a single continuous and systematic rule following the same strategies throughout the whole regime. Japanese tactical approach of how to take care of the peninsula changed a couple of times and can mainly be divided into three main periods. 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 first and last periods were definitely most exhausting in terms of oppression, while the second period allowed people to come together, which encouraged resurgence of national sentiment.

3.1.1 Military period (1910–19)

The first decade under Japanese colonial rule had already brought very strict policy over the peninsula. Japan had strict laws against any possible opposition. On top of that, very strict censorship was installed to facilitate the control over Korea. Political organisations, newspapers and magazines were banned and anything which could trigger a patriotic uprising was banned (Kang Mang-gil, 2005, 9; Peterson, 2009, p. 145). Because of such actions, the political memory of Korea started to change under the influence of the Japanese rule. Japanese supported the historiography wing of Korea as a place of 1000 invasions and chaos, which legitimized their annexation of the peninsula. Changing the idea of Korea being a strong and peaceful state having a dynasty whose age almost spanned a millennium, they planted seeds of a different perception of Korea – as a weak vassal state of China, since such an image of Korea significantly simplified justifying of colonization by the Japanese side. Japan announced that Korean modernisation was of equal profitability for both states, while in reality Japan was trying to thoroughly squeeze Korea to obtain the maximum benefit from the peninsula. Koreans lost a lot of land to Japan, eventually even becoming tenants on the land that they had once owned themselves. This was one of the symbolic losses which triggered traumatic sentiment.

After the death of the last king of Joseon in January 1919, people gathered in the streets to pay their respects, which sparked a long-lost feeling of unity and nation-sentiment. Anti-Japanese wing took advantage of the rumours that the king had been poisoned by the Japanese to gather more participants for the rebellion. Rebels prepared a declaration which indicated the independence of Korea and planned a public reading of it, but because of fear that the date could be leaked, the reading was set for

March 1, while the funeral was scheduled for March 3 (Peterson, 2009, p. 152). The movement spread across the country and received widespread support. Nevertheless, this uprising failed to achieve a happy ending with many demonstrators killed or arrested. Meanwhile, although Korea did not regain independence after March the 1st Movement, the rumour spread and became a catalyst for the formation of the Provisional Government in Exile.

3.1.2 Cultural policy period 1919–1931

March the 1st Movement was a breaking point for Japan to change its so far oppressive policy to one focusing on assimilation through cultural approaches, trying to inject a more pro-Japanese sentiment among Koreans. Next to heavy propaganda, this period also brought a little more cultural freedom for the Korean people. Nevertheless, the lives of many Koreans being improved in one or another manner at the same time involved public control, which mostly took place backstage, and increased heavily (Seth, 2016, pp. 78–80). Koreans were allowed to form common interest groups and meet regularly amongst themselves under the condition that the group would be registered.

Gradually, the short relaxation period came to close. It was mainly because of the interlocation of a law, declaring that it is forbidden to participate or assist any schemes “with the purpose of changing the national policy or of denying the private property system,” which allowed the police to freely frame and arrest regime-negative opponents (Totman, 2000, pp. 364–365; Peterson, 2009, p. 166 in Mueller & Tumosaitė, 2021). Suppression and censorship increased rapidly and many of the KAPF (Korean Federation of Proletarian Art), who were the authors trying to increase national sentiment of the people and fight for independence using their writings, being arrested, or escaping to Manchuria (Peterson, 2009, p. 166).

3.1.3. Assimilation period (1931–45)

Japan eventually saw a change in taking over Manchuria, and Koreans had a big part in the plan, as they served as cheap labour force building industrial plants, railways, and telegraph lines, mining the ore, and cultivating the rice. The Japanese approach, perceiving the Koreans as low-status workers also had enormous impact on how memories were being created during the period. The assimilation policy could be seen in different spheres. For example, in 1934 a new curriculum was introduced, making Japanese language, ethics, and history mandatory, while dropping any studies related to Korea. Eventually, only Japanese was used in all public offices, while by the 1940s all businesses and banks kept records only in Japanese (Eckert, 1990, p. 315 in Mueller & Tumosaitè, 2021).

The assimilation was taken even further 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 (Mueller & Tumosaitè, 2021). Promises of benefits were made to those who successfully assimilated but were almost never fulfilled. Even after changing to a Japanese name, the public record would note ethnicity, since Korean workers should be paid lower rates 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 in Mueller & Tumosaitè, 2021).

3.2 End of colonial period

With Japan’s loss of World War II, the colonial period was eventually over, and no one knew back then how many new burdens the Korean peninsula was about to face. As mentioned before, the colonial period encompassed different phases. Most Koreans referring to colonialization tend to use the characteristics of the last assimilation period, which saw the worst repression and exploitation, thus creating the most traumatic experiences which turned into collective memory. Nevertheless, the 35 years included different incidences, such as development of modern civil

service, postal system, newspapers, banks, corporations, and trade associations. Capitalism and the response to capitalism, including trade unions and leftist organisations also formed during the colonial period. Japan left behind a versatile cultural legacy which can be found in the everyday life of Koreans, such as bath houses, tearooms and even the way the subway system is laid out.

The anti-Japanese sentiment, which had formed after the 1910, became the most powerful symbol for Korean national consciousness, thus forming collective memory of repression and constant resistance. The ongoing wish for independence had a profound influence on the formation of a strong national pride and nationalist feeling. There is no doubt that the collective memory of the Japanese colonial period is still contributing to the shape of South Korean national identity in present times (Lee, 2013, p. 1 in Mueller & Tumosaité, 2021).

4. Colonialization period as collective cultural trauma

As stated above, Korea underwent a colonial repression, which influenced all possible sections of its society. This section will look deeper into the different parallels which have made significant contribution to the collective memory. In other words, an attempt is being made to define the exact moments where the natural structure of society was fractured and so produced consequences which eventually persistently changed collective memory as it was. This review is followed by the main impacting elements. The Japanese colonial period is considered to represent the actual start of the formation of Korean national identity, since the anti-Japanese movement period has connected people to stand up for a joint goal through which the rise of modern Korean nationalism was set in motion (Hart, 2000, p. 139). Therefore, the following events can be further categorized into two further sections: memories and traces of resistance; and memories and traces of repression.

4.1 March the First Movement (1919)

March the First movement 1919 is a significant event in the formation of collective memory, since it is an important event contributing to the strengthening of national identity as well as the birth of civil society. Especially after the March First Movement, around the 1920s and 1930s, the fight for independence became more active and visible (Hart, 2000, p. 139). Even now, many Koreans are looking back at March the First movement with nationalistic sentiment and a national holiday is dedicated to it, which proves its importance as a component of national pride for South Koreans.

4.2 Yu Gwansun (1904–1920)

The then sixteen-year-old girl, Yu Kwan-sun, who was arrested and ultimately died in prison, became an icon of the independence movement widely known as a flower of March the First Movement” or “a symbol of Korean independence campaign” (Yi, 2008, p. 213). It is being told that during her trial, she shouted to the judge, “as invaders of my country, what rights in the world do you have to punish me?” and eventually that became the reason of her sudden death purportedly was brought about by torture (Yi, 2008, p. 215). For a long time, only one memorial shrine in Cheonan, where her portrait was kept was dedicated to her, but later a statue was erected in front of the South Gate by her supporters. Then, in 1974, on the territory of Ewha Girls’ Middle and High School, a memorial hall was named after her (Yi, 2008, p. 216).

4.3 Provisional government in exile

Initially, three separate provisional governments were formed in Vladivostok, Shanghai, and Seoul. Eventually, in April 1919, an official and unified provisional government was established in Shanghai with Syngman Rhee as president (Seth, 2016, p. 86). In current times, the existence of a provisional government serves as evidence that Koreans did not give up on their own nation but tried their best to resist, thereby creating

collective memories which back up the narrative of a repressed country doing its best while fighting for independence.

4.4 Discrimination

Discrimination of race was another extensively traumatic experience for the Koreans who had to cope with the worst treatment in their own homeland. There were many different points where Koreans were not being treated the same as Japanese. Japanese reports serve as a good example, as they confirm that the Japanese who emigrated to the peninsula had advantages in various fields. The Company Ordinance law taking effect from the end of 1910 (revoked in 1920) also ensured that it was way easier for Japanese to start a new company which played a big role in their capital growth (Peterson, 2009, p. 148). Also, the inside of factories was built on a model where it was almost impossible for Koreans to be promoted to higher positions (Park, 2020, p. 189). Nevertheless, it was not the only legal discrimination, for example, only Koreans could be flogged, since Koreans were falsely denoted as having such a tradition.

4.5 Changing landscape

As Seoul and also other sites came into the dominance of the Japanese, Japanese-style houses, business buildings and the dominant government office buildings were erupted. Such changes indicated that former “past culture carriers” had been widely replaced with other symbols which did not support Korea’s sentiment. In other words, the colonial period also started to change the cultural memory, which could be found in landscape, thereby deleting a part of Korea’s former collective memory.

An example of Japanese power instalments on the peninsula was the new capitol building completed in 1926, which was housing the Japanese colonial administration. It sat directly in front of one of the main Korean palaces, so destroying the natural flow of *pungsu*, which was a concept of paramount importance in Korean architecture, emphasising complete harmony of buildings and nature. This disturbance of Korean architectural

culture was intended to express Japanese power to destruct Korean power (Cooney, Scarbrough, 2008, p. 175 in Mueller & Tumosaité, p. 2021).

4.5 Educational reforms

There were several attempts to convert the education system in Korea during the colonial period. The first reform was installed as a tool to spread pro-Japanese ideology and to act as propaganda helping to convert the Korean youngsters but eventually backfired. This happened because a limited number of Koreans, only the top students were given the chance to study in Japan (by 1912, there were 3171 Korean students in Japan) which only led to Koreans obtaining access to different literature and a chance to bond with other foreign students, learning about ethnical discrimination (Eckert, 1990, p. 275; Peterson, 2009, p. 151 in Mueller & Tumosaité, 2021). This turned most of them into leftists and nationalists, further serving as another traumatic trigger resulting in hatred against the colonial power.

4.6 Historic approach promoting perception of Korea as originally being weak

In 1934 yet another curriculum was introduced to Korean schools, demanding intense studies of Japanese language, ethics, and history, while deleting the studies of Korean language and traditions, in addition banning the use of Korean in general instruction (Peterson, 2009, p. 169). Historic narrative changes were made, and a historic approach which promoted the perception of Korea as originally weak was promoted.

4.7 Literature as a way of resistance

The cultural policy period caused new wormholes for Korean independence fighters. The newly installed law allowed associations to be formed and so authors organized themselves, creating a new trend of writing literature in Korean since Hangul was no longer seen as the alphabet of the lowlife (as was the case under the Joseon dynasty) but as a part of

national pride (Peterson, 2009, p. 162). Newspapers, journals, and other literature was printed in Korean. Since literature had to pass censorship of the Japanese police before being printed, many began to write, using symbolic means which could only be uncoded and understood by Korean readers. The Korean Federation of Proletarian Artists (KAPF) was founded in 1925 by left-wing writers and, despite many of them believing that literature should serve the independence movement, not much of their writings could pass censorship. Nevertheless, they kept on trying to reinforce the lost collective memory of a strong state and use national sentiment created by literature to encourage more people to stand up against the colonial rule.

4.8 Sin Chaeho (1880 – 1936)

As a Korean independence activist, historian, anarchist, nationalist, and founder of the history of Korean nationalism, Sin Chaeho definitely has an eminent place in the memory foundation. He is highly esteemed in both North and South Korea. The two works, “A New Reading of History” (1908), and “The Early History of Joseon” (1931), are considered as creating groundwork of nationalist historiography in contemporary Korea (Henry, 1999). He constructed a theory discussing ethnic history which challenged the traditional border concepts in Korea. Re-interpreting history dating back thousands of years was a tool to reinforce national pride, and meanwhile it was a safer way to resist colonial rule than direct disobedience against the colonial regime, which resulted in immediate punishment. Nevertheless, he was arrested for his anti-Japanese activities and died in prison on February 21, 1936.

4.9 Resistance movement of 1929

In 1929, the second largest demonstration against the Japanese government took place. It was triggered by a completely insignificant event, as Japanese students quarrelled with Korean students over the coincidence that November 3 on the lunar calendar (the birthday of the Emperor of

Japan) was October 3 (national holiday of Korean Foundation Day) on the solar calendar. The news spread rapidly, and many student organizations throughout the country joined the movement. This uprising failed to incur profound changes, and quickly was suppressed, as thousands of students were arrested (Peterson, 2009, p. 166). Nevertheless, the cause of this uprising could serve as an assurance that during that time the national sentiment was still proudly safeguarded by students, implicating that traditional collective memory had undergone a heavy torment but was not yet fully deleted and replaced by Japanese ideology.

4.10 Cultural repression

Peterson cites Cumings observed that Korean culture was simply crushed and overpowered by the end of the 1940s (Cumings, 2005, p. 182; Peterson, 2009, p. 170). Ultimately, the Japanese government insisted that only Japanese would be used in all public offices, and by the 1940s all businesses and banks had to keep records only in Japanese (Eckert, 1990, p. 315; Peterson, 2009, p. 170). Combined with the name change order, Koreans were facing an existential crisis. By the end of the colonial period, much of the “Koreanness” was lost, which obviously brought about a big impact on the collective memories. The loss of identity was another extensively traumatic experience which was made possible by the colonialization period.

4.11 Forced labour

Forced labour and detrimental work conditions are an extensively covered topic in the past few years, reinforcing anti-Japan sentiment. Koreans were used in Manchuria as extremely cheap labour force. By 1938, Korean men were brought to Japan and forced to fight on the side of the Japanese military forces where they would be sent to the most dangerous places and be put in the front lines (Peterson, 2009, p. 169). The past couple of years have cast light upon reminiscence of forced

labour from memories contributed by the victims to whole collective memories thanks to an active civil society in Korea.

4.12 Comfort women

The case of “comfort women” has been an ongoing weapon – memories of forceful recruitment of girls who had to sexually serve Japanese soldiers. Scholars debate that the number of women used in the so called “comfort corps” could range between fifty thousand and two hundred thousand women, with the estimation that over 70 percent of all comfort women were from Korea (Yoshimi, 1995, pp. 79–80; Soh, 2007, p. 86). Japan kept denying the fact that it was a governmentally installed and curated system, and this position made it even worse. Nevertheless, one should remember that this problem was long-ignored, while only the early 1990s started to see more support from civil society, which was fiercely fighting for redress of the former comfort women. Nowadays, the comfort women issue is being viewed as one of the most profound traumatic experiences, having its roots very deeply into collective memory.

All these events, which are serving as further crack points, can be further categorized into memories and traces of resistance and memories and traces of repression.

Table 1

memories and traces of resistance	memories and traces of repression
March the First Movement (1919) Yu Gwansun (1904–1920)	Discrimination
Provisional Government in Exile	Changing landscape
Literature as a way of resistance Sin Chaeho (1880–1936)	Educational reforms Historic approach depicting Korea as originally weak
Resistance movement of 1929	Cultural repression
	Forced labour
	Comfort women

Source: Compiled by author.

Notably, there are several physically traumatic indicators, such as land loss, as well as ideological ones, such as changes in historic narrative inducing the perception of Korea as originally weak. The second approach was a weapon for actively changing memories and the perception of their own history. On the other hand, there were those who refused to accept the changed reality and this is reflected in the symbols of coping with the regime and uprising against it, for example, March the First Movement or even the guerrilla wars. These actions are still accepted as heroic, fighting for the motherland. And the fact that the comfort women issue or the forced labour discourse do not perish only proves that people do not want to forget their traumatic past and seek recognition and a kind of approval of their 'victim' narrative. Hence, collective memory of a period is continually forming until eventually settling for one main "truth" about the incident.

Coming back to the concept of Smelser, after analysing the Korean case, it is clear that all three necessities of (a) a negative event; (b) impossibility to forget; (c) threatening the existence of society (or group) or affecting its core culture as values, group identity, grounds for collective pride, etc. (Smelser, 2001) were fulfilled and resulted in perception as a cultural trauma with heavy impact on collective memory. That being said, the colonial period in Korea can be described as a time which has definitely changed the social structures and drastically converted society.

Conclusion

Japanese colonial period can be described as a single prolonged traumatic experience. Nevertheless, the collective memory of the Japanese colonial period is also a complex synthesis of many smaller injustices playing together and working like a domino composition, reinforcing the bigger picture of anti-Japanese sentiment. Here, a cut is inflicted upon the natural and independent formation period – not only of a Korean peninsula (which at the time yet had to modernise), but even upon the formation of its modern national identity.

The Japanese colonial era is seen as the real beginning of the formation of Korean national identity, as the era of the anti-Japanese movement united people to work towards a common goal, thereby igniting the rise of modern Korean nationalism. This is the best proof of how much importance the colonial period and its collective mind continue to hold today. The different events have changed collective memory forever, it still indicates the cultural trauma which re-shapes the society and even changes values from their very roots. Moreover, as much as destructive force of the collective memory came crashing down, the Koreans fought back, hanging onto their traditional collective memory. Korea was colonized but eventually the uprisings, cultural repression and ethnic discrimination created even more traumatic experiences as time went by, adding up the weight of the initial indicator of the colonialization as a starting point, since ultimately it is not about the mere moment of colonialization but rather about the subsequent incidents.

Nevertheless, it should be kept in mind that this study was limited to the analysis of historic events which can be seen as a starting point of cultural trauma and a break in the collective memory of the Korean peninsula, changing the “Koreanness” and its characteristic forever. The colonial period is being treated differently by historians representing different wings, although this study does not include symbols of today, such as museums, galleries, exhibitions or other “carriers of past culture”, which were established to remember the oppression by Japanese and serve the goal of commemorating the experienced wrongdoings. Rather, it had the goal to summarize the colonial period in categories especially important for collective memory with regard to the concept of colonial (cultural) trauma.

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THE JAPANESE ANNEXATION OF KOREA REVISITED: REFLECTIONS BY THE LATVIAN NEWSPAPERS IN 1910

This article analyses the Latvian reading public's perceptions of the Japanese annexation of Korea in 1910 based on an examination of a heretofore untapped source of information in the field of Korean studies: Latvian-language newspapers. The information and analysis of the events which appeared in Latvian press can be regarded as Latvian reflection of the situation in Korea and East Asia before WWI.

Keywords: Korea, annexation, imperialism, Japanese, Latvian, press

Information of the Japanese annexation of Korea in 1910 as is seen from the pages of then deeply provincial press of Russian Empire turns out to be a valuable source of information. The information and analysis of the events which appeared in Latvian language press represented the public opinion regarding the situation in Korea and East Asia. The local public opinion differed from that of governmental mass media representing the official stance. As the subjects of Russian Empire, Latvians in considerable numbers lived in Manchuria, Korea, Japan (Katajs, 2000), therefore, the family members of those living in East Asia were greatly interested in the political events there. People with the knowledge of Russian Far East and neighbouring countries regularly presented public lectures, educating the local audience in Latvian cities (Dzimtenes Vēstnesis, 1910).

Published in an imperialist country, Latvian newspapers in their articles partly reflected the interests of its colonial metropolis from a common imperialist standpoint. The democratic values and such notions as human rights were not yet globally established. Latvians and other East and South European nations under Russian rule were looking forward to their own independence, hence, local press information reflected the solidarity with Korean people. The more extensive analytical materials discussed international geopolitical combinations among imperialist great powers. The reading public of that era at least partly shared the anxiety of the occupation of Korea and the hopes of successful resistance to Japanese as reflected by the incoming information.

This study seeks to shed light on the contents and characteristics of the reports that appeared in Latvian papers “*Liepājas Atbalss*”, “*Sadzīve*”, “*Dzimtenes Vēstnesis*”, “*Latviešu Avīzes*”, “*Jaunās Latviešu Avīzes*”, addressing the annexation of Korea in 1910. Much as is the case today, local Latvian newspapers had a profound impact on the formation of domestic opinion approximately one hundred years ago.

Events leading to annexation of Korea as viewed by the Latvian newspapers

Japan established its protectorate in Korea after the Russo-Japanese War. Although it formally maintained the Korean monarchy, it gradually seized control of diplomatic, financial, and internal affairs, implementing a series of treaties to “legalize” these encroachments on Korean sovereignty. Under the terms of the February 1904 Korea-Japan Protocol, Korea was required to follow Japan’s “advice” in reforming its government. The subsequent treaties of August 1904 and November 1905 abrogated Korea’s autonomy in diplomacy and forced the government to appoint Japanese financial advisers. In July 1907, a new treaty gave Japan further rights to issue government regulations, recruit higher civil officials, and appoint Japanese officials to the Korean government. Kojong resisted this process throughout and was eventually deposed (Moon, 2013, pp. 20-44).

The Japanese government officially announced the annexation of Korea on 29 August 1910. However, the actual signing of the annexation took place on 22 August. Concerned about the fierce opposition that the news of the agreement could cause among the Korean people, Japan purposefully postponed the announcement of the annexation and carried out a major suppression of the press. In Korea, all public speeches and assemblies were banned, and people were regularly questioned whenever more than two people gathered. As a result of the strong military occupation strict press control was established in annexed Korea by the Japanese.

Nevertheless, the Latvian press had already published reports regarding signs of the forthcoming Japanese annexation of Korea long before 22 August 1910. On 25 June 1910, "Dzimtenes Vēstnesis" published an article titled "Dying Korea", describing the process of gradual colonization of Korea. The information hinted that the resistance from the Korean population is quite probable, but, alas, the overwhelming force of Japanese was evident.

Japanese are making Korean independence die a slow death. Shortly after [former Prime Minister] Ito Hirobumi was killed (it was eight months ago)¹, Japan announced that Korea should be incorporated into Japan. It would be the response to the assassination. Japanese society and the press rejoiced that the killed statesman would serve his homeland with his death. However, the jubilant society soon encountered an obstacle. [...] Probably many Korean insurgents and freedom fighters against the Japanese authorities will rise. [...] All that remains is to deploy troops all over the country for the long-awaited final embezzlement of Korea cities (Dzimtenes Vēstnesis, 1910).

Report by "Dzimtenes Vēstnesis" was not an exception. Similar news was published by "Sadzīve", No. 70 (26.06.1910), and other Latvian

¹ The assassination of former Prime Minister Itō Hirobumi in Harbin by a Korean nationalist, Joong-Geun Ahn in October 1909 is mentioned.

newspapers (Liepājas Atbalss, 1910). The technology of annexation, gradually swallowing the Korean ministries and departments, including police, was of special interest to readers. The events in Korea in a way reminded the failed Revolution of 1905, when Czarist counter-revolution crushed the public institutions initiated by Latvian revolutionaries.

The Japanese are systematically and ceaselessly approaching their goal of turning Korea into a Japanese province, even though the independence of Korea has been confirmed on paper. The new Japanese Resident-General in Seoul Terauchi has signed a treaty with the Korean Monarch to transfer police control of Korea to the Japanese. As is known, the Ministries of Schools and Justice have already passed into the hands of Japanese officials. Some 1 700 Japanese are incorporated into Korean police, but now that the police are completely in Japanese hands, it will be easy for them to crush the Korean independence. It is no wonder that the recent rumours about Korea's forthcoming annexation are coming true (Sadzīve, 1910).

A day before actual signing of the annexation took place on 22 August, “Liepājas Atbalss” reported that annexation of Korea was *fait accompli*.

Telegraphed from Tokyo, that Korea is transformed into a Japanese colony. Terauchi has been appointed Governor-General, and the Korean Monarch will receive the same salary as before but will move to Tokyo next year (Liepājas Atbalss, 1910).

After negotiations with the Korean pro-Japanese minister of government, Yi Wanyong, the “draft of the Annexation Treaty” prepared by Japan was approved during a cabinet meeting of the Korean government on 18 August without any special amendments. On 22 August 1910, a perfunctory royal meeting was convened in Ch’angdōk Palace’s Hūngbokhōn Hall, during which Emperor Sunjong appointed Yi Wanyong as a plenipotentiary representative of the emperor who would be endowed with full authority. That same day, the Annexation Treaty was signed by Yi Wanyong and Terauchi at the Office of the Japanese Resident-General.

The Annexation Treaty was composed of a preamble and eight articles. The preamble stated that the decision to forge ahead with annexation was based on the need “To maintain peace and stability in Korea, promote the prosperity and welfare of Koreans, and at the same time ensure the safety and repose of foreign residents.”²

While Article 1 stated that “His Majesty the Emperor of Korea makes the complete and permanent cession to His Majesty the Emperor of Japan of all rights of sovereignty over the whole of Korea”, Article 2 stated, “His Majesty the Emperor of Japan accepts the cession mentioned in the preceding article and consents to the complete annexation of Korea to the Empire of Japan.”³

This charade of a letter being sent by the Emperor of Korea to his counterpart in Japan petitioning the latter to annex his country was intended to cover the colonial nature of Japan’s forced annexation backed by military violence (Kim, 2011, p. 93). Latvian press reflected it in different way, exposing the real imperial goals of Japan. The paper “Jaunās Latviešu Avīzes”, one month after the Annexation Treaty (21.09.1910) with noble promises about the coming prosperity and welfare, reported:

The situation in Korea is very worrying. Prisons are overcrowded. Executions take place every day. Many Korean students have committed suicide in protest to the destruction of Korean independence (Jaunās Latviešu Avīzes, 1910).

Korean resistance movement was one of themes permanently reflected in Latvian papers, writing about Korea in 1910.

The Korean National Union, headquartered in France, has protested the Korean Monarch’s transfer of all his sovereign and land rights to Japan. Japan’s “violent efforts” have been strongly condemned in this

² Annexation of Korea by Japan, August 22, 1910. Treaty of Annexation. UCLA International Institute, <https://international.ucla.edu/institute/article/18447> (Retrieved 18/01/2022).

³ Ibid.

protest similarly as its desire for new territories and the desire for power. Korean sons have "called to never end the struggle for freedom and independence of their beloved homeland" (Dzimtenes Vēstnesis, 1910).

Korea as a victim of imperialist geopolitical manoeuvrings

Latvian newspapers followed the manoeuvres of the big actors of international geopolitics and informed the local public, reflecting simultaneously the local approach and evaluation of great political events by local people. Newspapers from countries such as Great Britain, Russia, and the United States, all of which had marked interests in the Far East, reported and analysed the forthcoming Japanese annexation of Korea from their own national standpoints. For example, "The Times" of Great Britain, a country which had formed an alliance with Japan, and "The New York Times" in the United States, which was engaged in a dispute with Japan over the Manchurian issue, paid attention to different aspects of the Japanese annexation of Korea (Kim, 2011, p. 93). Russian newspapers were not an exception. Provincial Baltic papers reproduced world press views and its political forecasts, as well as the Russian political interests. Latvia was close to its independence (1918) from Russia, the revolutionary sentiment was in the air. Therefore, the reflection of Korean issue was an important element shaping the minds of future Latvian freedom fighters and politicians. The world press editions shared viewpoints found across all imperialist countries that possessed colonies. Latvia was a certain exception due to its social-democratic and nationalistic leanings characteristic to Western minorities of Russian Empire, Latvians, Estonians, Finns, Poles, Lithuanians.

Colonization of Korea was a part of greater political changes, taking place at the turn of 19th and 20th centuries. Victorious in the Russo-Japanese War, Japan tried to extract concessions from Russia in Manchuria (railways, opening of ports) and to monopolize the process of opening Manchuria. Japan seized control over the southern part of the Chinese

Eastern Railway (CER), built by Russia, in June 1906. It served as the economic backbone for the regional market. In August of that same year, Japan established the post of Governor-General of Kwantung. It occupied the Liaodong peninsula. Japan's moves sharpened the major powers' interest in Manchuria. There, Japan's economic monopoly was established when local customs authorities in Niuzhuang were replaced with Japanese nationals.

Russia and the United States used Russo-Japanese Conventions, as well as the neutralization of the Manchurian Railway as implements with which to curb Japan's attempts to monopolize power in Manchuria. Great Britain chose to stand by its ally's actions, which, as it perceived, were leading to the relaxation of the international tension in Europe.

The pressure on Japan's 'protectorate rule' from international community led the Japanese government towards new steps. The decision to move ahead with the annexation of Korea was taken in April 1909 (Kim, 2011, p. 90). The news exposing these plans were commented in the Latvian press throughout 1910. In the summer of 1910, the Latvian paper "Mājas Viesis" reflected the global interests of involved imperial powers and the role of Russia in the following way:

In the Far East, despite the Russo-Japanese peace agreement in Portsmouth, there were still many irreconcilable differences between Russia and Japan, forcing both countries to hold large military forces there and join forces to resolve other issues. While in the Far East Russia could not be safe from Japan, it could not act safely and decisively there. [...] While the Russians and the Japanese in the Far East armed and confronted, China colonized Manchuria. Neither Russia nor Japan could enjoy such conditions. Both countries needed to reconcile. Now, on June 21, Russian Foreign Minister Izvolski and Japanese Ambassador Motono signed an agreement on the railways and the maintenance of the status quo in Manchuria. The two countries agreed to support each other in matters which would promote the development of rail traffic and trade, and to renounce

any competition which might be prejudicial to that purpose. In addition, both countries undertake to maintain the status quo in Manchuria with all existing treaties. Much attention is paid to this agreement abroad. [...]

“Shanghai Times” puts so much weight on the Russo-Japanese agreement that it ended (1) the so-called ‘open door’ policy in Manchuria, which means that all countries have equal rights to trade in Manchuria. (2) China’s immunity for Manchuria has been waived.

“Kreis-Zeitung” notes the importance of the agreement and points to the need for friendship between Germany, Austria and America to counterbalance Russia, Japan, England and France. “Müchener Neue Nachrichten” writes that Germany is not politically interested in Manchuria, but that Germany’s economy also needs an open door. “Post” believes that France and England are not happy, because the settlement between Russia and Japan will benefit none of them. The “Frankfurter Zeitung” thinks Russia and Japan are natural enemies, so the treaty will not change their relationships and a new war has been postponed for a while.

The Japanese are now systematically preparing for their goal of turning Korea into a Japanese province. Terauchi, the new Japanese Resident-General in Seoul, has signed an agreement with the Korean rulers to transfer local police control into Japanese hands. As is well known, schools and the judiciary have already passed into the hands of Japanese officials. There are 1,700 Japanese serving in the Korean police, but now the police are falling completely into Japanese hands, and it will be easy for them to suppress Korean independence (Mājas Viesis, 1910).

The United States’ calls for the neutralization of the Manchurian Railway greatly impeded the interests of the dominant powers in

Manchuria: Japan and Russia. For Japan, Manchuria was a spoil of war that had been gained at a great cost in the Russo-Japanese War. Thus, it could not accept the neutralization of Southern Manchuria. Japan, as well as Russia, expressed their objection to this proposal and jointly responded to the U.S. attempts to enter Manchuria through the second Russo-Japanese Convention signed in July 1910. During the process of preparing this convention, the Japanese government secured the approval of Russia regarding the annexation of Korea (Kim, 2011, p. 92). This event was applauded by France, which was looking for the Russian protection in European politics of the day.

The French newspaper "Journal des Débats" says that this Russian Japanese agreement makes both countries freer and more determined to speak on other issues. Russia will now be better able to maintain political balance in Europe. If the agreement had been signed earlier, according to "Globe" newspaper, the Americans would not have dared to treat the Japanese as rudely as it happened to the Japanese immigrants in California.⁴ "The Morning Post" says the Japanese have signed the deal specifically because the Chinese have begun flooding Manchuria, and the Japanese want to have a free hand in Korea. Russia should now focus on its western borders and colonize the Caspian region. The Japanese are now able to settle peacefully in the conquered areas and establish their power there (Mājas Viesis, 1910).

Colonization of Korea, as reflected by Latvian press, was technically performed by Japan, with direct or at least tacit agreement of other colonial powers, having interests in the region. Thus, it is safe to say that the colonization was a joint venture of many imperialistic actors.

⁴ Washington's decision to limit Japanese immigration to the United States in 1907 had the effect of pushing the conflict with Japan to the brink of war. However, the Roosevelt government launched a diplomatic overture to Japan that eventually resulted in the settling of the crisis through the Root-Takahira Agreement of November 1908.

Conclusion

In 1910, Korea was annexed by the Empire of Japan after years of war, intimidation, and political machinations; the country would be considered a part of Japan until 1945. Despite Japan's official apology, the Japanese right has continued to insist that colonialism has played a positive role in the Korean history. Their idea is that colonialism transformed Korea into a well-organized society, turning it from an impoverished country to productive and prosperous state (Booth; Deng, 2017, pp. 61-98). Koreans, on the other hand, see Japanese colonialism as a humiliating experience of little benefit to Korea.

The attempts to reflect the occupation of Korea as a powerful endorsement of development were not confronted with the reports of the contemporary press. The Latvian newspapers in 1910 mentioned the name of Korea 444 times.⁵ The greatest part appeared in the political context. The occupation of Korea was a great international scandal, and the multitude of smaller democratic newspapers critically evaluated these events, regretted the abortive resistance against imperialistic moves. The newspapers' reports expose the great scale of murders and violence of Japanese in power, as well as the resistance of Koreans, individual and collective. The reflection of the humiliating character of the occupation of Korea was the dominating tune of the press reports at the time.

It is safe to say that the global reading public could discover that the occupation of Korea was only technically carried out by Japan. Without legal and political assistance coming from Russia, Great Britain, France, and the USA, Japan could not have done much. Latvian language press' reflection of historical events in East Asia exposed the public opinion of Latvians as unsupportive regarding Japan's colonization of Korea.

The question of how to evaluate the Japanese colonial legacy, the suppression of Korean independence is not only intellectually challenging, but also has profound political implications for the future of regional and global politics in East Asia.

⁵ <http://periodika.lv/> (Retrieved 18/01/2022).

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ZAINICHI KOREANS IN JAPANESE FAR-RIGHT DISCOURSE: CASE OF “SPECIAL PRIVILEGES”

This article aims to explain the reasons behind “the special privileges for Zainichi Koreans”, a fictional concept of Japanese right-wingers. I contend that the inclusivity issue which is seen in the “special privileges” is stemming from the economical premises defined by A. Wimmer (1997). The sharing of scarce resources pushed Japanese nationalists to start Action Conservative Movement (ACM). Among them, Makoto Sakurai, the founder of Zaitokukai movement, was mostly triggered by the social welfare programs to Zainichi Koreans who, according to him, were not Japanese citizens. The analysis of Makoto Sakurai’s blog “Doronpa no hitorigoto” shows that the initial phase of Zaitokukai activism indeed was highly dependent on economic arguments but eventually historical revisionism overshadowed this narrative and blurred the ideational boundaries of Zaitokukai activism.

Keywords: Zainichi Koreans, national identity, Japan

Different “nations” in Japan

Being a part of a nation brings certain advantages. This membership provides access to the public goods, gives the feeling of unity and belonging. This psychological factor is especially important for the individuals who qualify for the membership, since they, in turn, are allowed to choose whether they want to be with others and contribute to the common good. That is, once they are identified as fellow nationals, they have freedom to decide if they want to maintain this special bond or not. However, becoming the member of nation is not that simple.

Smith (1991) claims that national identity consists of the following features: 1) an historic territory, or homeland ;2) common myths and historical memories; 3) a common, mass public culture; 4) common legal rights and duties for all members; and 5) a common economy with territorial mobility for members (p. 14). These features depict the composition of “Our” identity, and it suggests that the abovementioned features are prerequisite for those willing to become members of a particular nation, as well. Looking at this pattern, there seems to be very few possibilities for new members to join the nation. How can someone from the “outside” meet the requirements? The answer lies in the interpretation of nation itself.

Back in 1908, Meinecke divided *Kulturnation*, the largely passive cultural community, from the *Staatsnation*, the active, self-determining political nation (Smith, 1991, p. 8). Cultural nation, which can be equalled to nation based on ethnicity, is contrasted to the political nation, whose centre is formed by a legally defined and regulated group of people. This basic dualism tells us that there are at least two different nations in one country at a time. The boundaries of each nation differ, and so do the population size and the contents. While cultural nation has a limited inclusivity, political nation is more inclusive.

Following this division, in Japan there are two dominating notions of nation, *minzoku* (equivalent to *Kulturnation*) and *kokumin* (equivalent to *Staatsnation*). *Minzoku* was the first to emerge and this is related to the need to defend the position of the emperor in early 19th century. At that moment, the struggle between the supporters of *bakufu* (Tokugawa shogunate) and the emperor was reaching its peak. The threat from outside was growing and intellectuals (like Aizawa Sekisai) were looking for 1) a working definition of Japan; 2) a factor which could work as a common denominator for all Japanese. Emperor encompassed cultural, religious and moral qualities that Japanese felt a connection to. Japan was a land which was ruled by the unbroken line of emperors (Doak, 2007). Consequently, Japanese were those who accepted the role of imperial throne and believed in its power to rule the country.

This, emperor-centred Japanese nation was then referred to as *minzoku*. Translations into English vary, but the most common would be the ‘cultural nation’. Even the characters of the word denote its emotional origin – “people” and “family”. Family, in whose centre is the Father, or the Emperor. *Minzoku* carries the connotations of pure-blood nation, practicing Japanese culture because they *can*; because it is in their blood. *Minzoku* as a concept is non-inclusive, as it does not suggest any possibilities to become a part of Japanese *minzoku*. Either one is born into it, or not.

In early Meiji period, the diversity of thought emerged together with Western influence. It effected the way a nation can be defined thus a term *kokumin* appeared. Term *kokumin* consists of two characters – “state” and “people”. To compare to *minzoku*, *kokumin* was not a cultural body, instead, it was a political one. The nation, which is defined by legal system, government, institutions. *Kokumin* is a group of people who comprehend their belonging together because that is stipulated by laws. For Yukichi Fukuzawa, there was no nation [*kokumin*] in Japan before the Constitution was proclaimed in 1889. In other words, one does not need to have a cultural background or pure blood line to be a part of *kokumin*.

Minzoku and *kokumin* kept on changing the dominant positions in the public discourse. *Kokumin* was incomparably more inclusive in comparison with *minzoku*, therefore, it had a wider practical usage during imperial period until 1945. Although the people of the newly occupied territories were not Japanese *minzoku*, they were Japanese *kokumin*. Such sense of belonging had to motivate to work together for the Empire and to overcome a possible sense of inferiority to Japanese *minzoku*. *Minzoku*, on the other hand, was popular among the Marxists, who saw the expanding *kokumin* as an embodiment of imperialism. This might be the reason why during immediate post-war years the use of term *kokumin* was strictly censored, while *minzoku* continued appearing in publications (Doak, 2007).

Post-war Japan was officially the country of Japanese *minzoku*. When the occupied territories were detached from Japan, the respective peoples were removed from Japan’s imperial family of nations, as well. In doing so, Japan became seemingly ethnically ‘pure’ with no foreign element in the

new Japanese nation. It goes without saying that not all the former imperial subjects, the former Japanese *kokumin*, left Japanese archipelago. They simply were conveniently ignored. Furthermore, *kokumin* denoted the militarism-infested nation, which led Japan towards destruction. They had no place in new, peace-oriented Japan. On the other hand, pure Japanese *minzoku* allowed to mobilize the nation, to organize it, and to direct the people towards rebuilding of nation which resulted in unprecedented economic rise. As a by-product, *nihonjinron* literature appeared in 1970s, glorifying the odd but unique Japanese cultural nation.

Heisei era, which coincided with the end of Cold War, brought a multitude of changes. Among them, there was the raised awareness of multicultural composition of Japan. The naturalization process was still gaining momentum – thus, considerable numbers of second-, third-generation non-Japanese (Koreans, Chinese, etc.) were living in Japan; Japanese diaspora from Brazil were returning to their homeland; a rising number of 3D (dirty, difficult, dangerous) workers from South East Asia were migrating to Japan in search of jobs that were not attractive to locals; sports celebrities, businessmen, pop stars who were not pure-blooded Japanese or had obtained the citizenship via naturalization – all these groups made the situation quite complicated when trying to explain who is and who is not a part of Japanese nation. Therefore, *kokumin* slowly returned to political discourse. Concurrently, the dispute of inclusivity was developing in right-wing circles.

Contemporary right-wing activism in Japan

Being a right-winger is seemingly equated to being a racist and xenophobe (Mudde, 2000). In Japan, this is not exactly the case, and bearing a right-winger's label does not intrinsically mean being a xenophobe. To better understand what aspects the inclusivity dispute has acquired in Japan, and how it is related to nationalist agenda, it is useful to look at the variety of right-wing movements.

Nationalist movements in contemporary Japan can be roughly divided into three groups: traditional right-wing, the New Right and Action Conservative Movement (ACM). The first and oldest type is the so-called traditional right-wing, which is stereotypically associated with the term *uyoku dantai*, literally meaning “the right-wing”. Their ideology is based on anti-Communist and anti-socialist struggle but also reverence for the Emperor (Higuchi, 2016). *Uyoku dantai* are easily recognized from public rallies in the streets with loudspeaker-equipped (usually) black vans, blaring nationalist slogans and playing military songs from Imperial era. They are loud but have become a commonplace in Japanese urban noise, thus, their rides are usually ignored. The New Right emerged in early 1970s as a counter-movement to the massive left-leaning student-led demonstrations. The New Right supporters were even more traditionalist than the traditional right-wing because they rejected Western influence on Japanese society and politics (Smith, 2018). Therefore, they did not use the political left-right division in Japanese (*sayoku-uyoku*) and decided to emphasize the cultural and religious importance of the Emperor by choosing *minzoku* as their ideational basis subsequently naming themselves *Minzoku-ha*, which means “ethnonational division” (Dixon, 1972). Like their predecessors *uyoku dantai*, the New Right did not renounce the use of force and terrorist elements in their activities. There have been violent attacks and blackmailing against the media companies and publishers that criticized the Emperor (Andrews, 2016). But neither traditional right-wing, nor the New Right can be called xenophobes.

The third and most recent type of right-wing organizations in Japan is usually called Action Conservative Movement. Their emergence is tightly related to a vague mass of internet lurkers, in Japanese known as *netto uyoku* (literally, internet right-wing). Continuing discussions on the internet chat rooms resulted in their peculiar ideology, which is based on racism and xenophobia. Neither precise size, nor the composition of *netto uyoku* is known (Sakamoto, 2011) on the other hand, their negative attitude towards the ethnic groups in Japan and Japan’s neighbours is certainly established.

ACM and 'special privileges' of Zainichi Koreans

ACM ideology is substantially based on the internet right-wing discussions, influenced by historical revisionism that began in late 1990s. Those discussions embodied the need to counter the mainstream historical narrative, which hurt the pride of right-wingers. For them, the history education was masochistic, making modern Japanese feel guilty for the things they have not committed during the WWII (Saaler, 2016). The sense of responsibility, according to them, was making Japanese inferior to the neighbours – Koreans and Chinese. Consequently, it made them the enemies of Japan and its people. Moreover, believing in such narrative, internet right-wingers saw the South Korea as constantly humiliating Japan, while the Koreans in Japan were seen as 'privileged foreigners', consequently – not a part of Japanese nation.

In this context, Zainichi Koreans were noticed by right-wingers in early 2000s. Zainichi Koreans are ethnic Koreans permanently residing in Japan. In 1991, as a result of improving Japan-South Korea relations, Zainichi Koreans have acquired a legal status of "special permanent residents" (*tokubetsu eijyūsha*), but it only applies to the 'oldcomers' who are direct descendants of those who came to Japan before 1945 and remained there after the end of WWII (Ministry of Justice, 1991). Special permanent residents are almost entirely Zainichi Koreans, although there is a small number of Taiwanese and Southeast Asians.

Being a special permanent resident provided the benefit of some legal exemptions, for example:

1. Opportunity to work in the public sector;
2. Opportunity to work in local government bodies;
3. Opportunity to work in schools;
4. Tax benefits;
5. Changes in departure and return procedures to Japan;
6. Changes in the deportation process;

7. Right to vote in local elections (Ministry of Justice, 1991).

However, the term ‘special’ caught the attention of internet right-wingers and the discussions about privileged ‘foreigners’ had started. Those internal discussions were evolving, and the list of privileges began expanding. The process included taking cases out of context or using examples from local municipalities, because these administrative entities have a relative flexibility to implement locally important ordinances (Weiner, Chapman, 2009). Eventually, all Koreans in Japan, no matter if pro-South or pro-North Korea, long-term or short-term residents, were seemingly mashed into one homogenous group of people who exploit Japan and its people using their ‘special privileges’.

According to Gill (2018), most often the ‘special privileges’ include these points:

1. Special permanent residents are treated almost like Japanese citizens when they go through immigration procedures. They do not have to be photographed and fingerprinted, unlike other permanent residents.
2. Unlike other foreigners, they are not subject to deportation if they commit serious crimes.
3. They are allowed to use a registered alias (*tsūmei*) in certain legal documents, therefore it may make it possible to apply for a loan under one name after failing to repay one under the other, for instance; and if a Zainichi Korean commits a crime, it may be reported in the media using his/her Japanese name, thus making it seem as if the criminal is a Japanese person.
4. Special permanent residents can pass the National University Entrance Exam easier, because Korean is one of the foreign language options, and some Zainichi Koreans are near-native speakers after attending Chongryon Korean schools.
5. Koreans are often accused of being allowed to avoid taxes, thereby many are said to have become very rich.

6. Zainichi Koreans are also accused of organizing various welfare scams and having an abnormally high proportion of people receiving social welfare or 'livelihood protection' (*seikatsu hogo*).

Although the 'special privileges' were created by using a seemingly flawed system of in-group radicalization, these constructs were ideologically powerful enough to become a basis for Zaitokukai movement. Zaitokukai is a shortening of *Zainichi tokken wo yurusanaï shimin no kai* and it means 'The association of citizens who will not forgive the special privileges of Zainichi Koreans'. This movement was established in 2006 by Makoto Sakurai and is considered as a pioneer among ACM organizations. A crucial aspect in case of Zaitokukai is that this movement managed to drag the people from anonymous internet discussions and to start a social movement openly. Those who read the literature of historical revisionists would end up searching for more information on the internet and would eventually end up watching videos of Makoto Sakurai or reading his blog (Higuchi, 2016). Smart use of modern technologies allowed the people to directly know more about 'special privileges' from Sakurai or his fellow right-wingers. Before Sakurai, such discussions were not public and people would not show their faces while presenting topics like 'special privileges' of Zainichi Koreans.

But ACM is 'action', because talking about 'special privileges' was not enough. Therefore, Sakurai started using various pressure techniques – inquiries by telephone and fax, visits to institutions, writing petitions, printing and sharing leaflets and eventually staging demonstrations. What he initially believed to be an unfair treatment of Japanese and other foreigners (other permanent residents, because every non-citizen is a foreigner in Sakurai's narrative), was, in other words, the preferential the preferential social welfare treatment of Zainichi Koreans. The first attempts to solve the situation were in 2007 – the case of "unfair tax reduction" in Iga city (Mie prefecture) (Doronpa, 2007a). Sakurai devoted a couple of days to this issue and kept on calling different institutions until he found out that tax-related questions are city-specific (Doronpa, 2007b).

Another financial issue was presented in Kodaira city, where unusually high number of pensions were provided to Zainichi Koreans. From November 2007 to April 2008, Sakurai created 33 posts about the unlawful distribution of the welfare benefits (*fukushi kyuufukin*), and this issue dominated among other problems which had to be solved. Interestingly enough, the ‘special privileges’ were mostly used in his posts precisely in this period (November 2007 to April 2008) (Fig. 1). It shows that the term ‘special privilege’ originally used to be attached to the finance-related issues. The argumentation of scarcity is openly expressed in Sakurai’s texts. Metaphor like “People die because of famine and hang themselves” (Dorona, 2007c) is just one of many examples referring to unprivileged situation of Japanese, suffering from the unlawful Zainichi Koreans.

In later periods, the amount of ‘special privileges’ increased, but they did not appear that often because other issues, like comfort women and pachinko parlours, captured and redirected the attention of Sakurai. Therefore, it is safe to claim that the beginning of Zaitokukai movement should be associated with the economic and financial questions because these aspects best reflect the scarcity.

Conclusion

Right-wing movement in Japan has changed since the immediate post-war period. Today, we can distinguish 3 large different groups of right-wing organizations – traditional right-wing, the New Right and Action Conservative Movement. While the first two types are more prone to brutality and violence, they are not openly racist and that is a noteworthy feature of right-wing movements in Japan. On the other hand, the ACM organizations do not refrain from using racist and xenophobic language. Their definition of nation contrasts with that upheld by the previous right-wing types, and the arising inclusivity issue can be traced to the unwillingness to share the resources. This is seen in the narrative of Makoto Sakurai, who started Zaitokukai movement and dedicated his activities to countering the so-called ‘special privileges’ of Zainichi Koreans.

The initial stage of Sakurai's activities was indeed focused on the 'special privileges' that were related to the distribution of financial welfare. Sakurai saw it as a phenomenon that was discriminating Japanese and using public resources for non-Japanese. Nevertheless, the narrative in Sakurai's blog lost a strict line, thus making it unfocused but still highly racist and xenophobic.

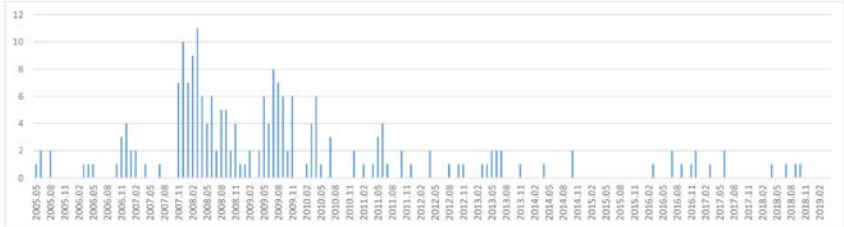


Figure 1. The frequency of term “Tokken” (特権) in Makoto Sakurai posts from “Doronpa no hitorigoto”. Compiled by author.

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DISCOVERING SEOUL IN CELJE: IMAGE OF EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY SEOUL IN PICTURE POSTCARDS BROUGHT BY A SLOVENIAN TRAVELLER ALMA KARLIN

Alma Vilibalda Maximiliana Karlin (1889~1950) was one of world-famous Slovenians who was a traveller, writer, poet, collector, polyglot and theosophist. She is especially renowned as an explorer who has made a journey around the world between 1919 and 1927. On her way, she visited Korea by boat, crossing from Japan. It is known that Karlin travelled from Busan to Pyongyang in 1923 and explored the Korean peninsula, as well as observed the people therein. The collection obtained from her souvenirs is currently stored in Celje, her hometown. These items include the postcards depicting the 1910s Seoul. She brought the picture postcards about Seoul and Seoul-related themes. The early 20th century saw Seoul as an emerging centre of modern tourism, transforming its identity from the old 'Hanseong' of Joseon to the new 'Keijo' of Japanese imperialism.

The image of Seoul which Alma Karlin brought is a part of the historical scenery like Gyeongbokgung Palace. Notably, the historical scenery was representative of 'Joseon', a subject in need of reconstruction, destruction and transformation by Japan. In itself, the image of Joseon in the postcards conveyed a sense of the premodern and decline. On the other hand, urban scenery that often features on other postcards was portrayed as a symbol of the new, the modern, the civilised as 'Japanese'. Therefore, while seeing the enchanting images printed on the postcards, the viewer should not overlook the implication that the items were used as a symbolic tool for an artificial 'image' to consolidate the political and imperialist project of the Japanese government.

Keywords: Alma Karlin, Celje, Seoul, picture postcards, image, imperialism, Korea, Japan

November 24, 1919. A twenty-year-old lady, born in Celje, Slovenia, embarked upon a grand tour of the world. Her journey was set out in Europe and reached far away through South America, Asia and Oceania. Somewhere within the series of her destinations was Joseon, the Korean peninsula. which at the time was a Japanese colony.

Her name is Alma Maximiliana Karlin (1889–1950). Karlin corresponds to the contemporary conception of a Renaissance person: she was a traveller, writer, poet, collector and activist. Furthermore, she was a polyglot, fluent in twelve languages.

It was 1923, when Karlin landed in the Joseon peninsula. She arrived in Busan first by boat from Kyusyu, Japan, then travelled to Seoul, Pyongyang and China by train. Although it is difficult to pin down the length of her stay in Korea, one could speculate that it spanned a few weeks at minimum and three months at maximum. The Celje Regional Museum currently holds the remains of her souvenirs from Korea. The items comprise 16 picture postcards, 39 photographs and three newspaper articles.

Recently, there has been a rising interest in Karlin amongst the Slovenian scholarship. A special exhibition dedicated to her life was held, and historians also probed into the objects she brought from Korea. Still, the subject is in the initial stage of research. Dr Chikako Shigemori Bučar in University of Ljubljana is currently collecting and researching the items.

The postcards with the news articles and photographs, are considered as an important material to understand the early 20th century Korea. They are useful in the sense of a characteristic which photograph holds: the so-called touristic postcard insightfully presents different images, as well as information of places of historical significance. It is a medium that allows one to attempt a visual communication with itself.

The history of a postcard in Korea is closely related to Japan. Postal laws and regulations became effective in 1900, the year when Japan acknowledged the domestic use, printing and distribution of commercial postcards in Joseon (Hwang, 2017, p. 50). Soon, the postcards featuring the images of Joseon were mass produced in Japan, from the late period of the Joseon Dynasty to Japanese colonisation

period. The objects recently have gained public attention, resulting in exhibitions and publications for public awareness about modern Korean history (Kim, 2018, p. 570).

The research in the modern history of Korea through picture postcards does not yet have a very long history, nevertheless, it is of notable importance. The past two decades have witnessed steady attempts to investigate the turn of the century Korea through the postcards. Kwon (2003) argues that picture postcards can be understood as a political product. His approach to postcards, in the perspective of “the politics of representation” in his words, continues in his later book titled “postcards from Joseon” (Kim, 2009). There, he focuses on the image of Incheon in the postcards and explores the social and historical details in Korea. Yun (2013) specifically examines the female image represented in the early twentieth-century picture postcards. She argues in her book “Life of Koreans and Colonial Rule in Postcards” against the idea of postcards during the period as an objective representation for historical study. According to Yoon, the real life of Korean people was manipulated in the postcard in favour of Japan. Her study weighs more on surveying and cataloguing the collection than on an in-depth analysis of the details. Choi (2016) attempts to explicate the relationship between orientalism and non-orientalism, civilisation and barbarism, and images and poetic lines in the postcard. Kim (2018) attempts a suggestive reading of the postcards, arguing that they were used as a tool of the “image politics” and “tourism politics” (Kim, 2015, p. 27).

Picture postcards are often called tourism postcards. They represent the images of the sublime landscapes in the tourist spots rendered in paintings or photographs. In Japan, the postcards were first issued as drawing postcards, although the range included not only drawings but also photographs. Today, they are commonly referred to as “photograph-picture postcards” (Kim, 2018, p. 582). Because of its visual effect and historical significance, a postcard allows one to observe various aspects of the time and locality. One should bear in mind the possibility of manipulation, as the images might have been a representation subjected to the producer’s editing.

The present study does not aim at full interpret Karlin's postcards into a whole context of Korean history. The representation of Gyeongseong in her picture postcards need a careful examination, wary of a hasty conclusion. The postcards are potentially an edited, selected result. Reading what is behind the visible is the aim of the study. There are three aims the study attempts to demonstrate with regards to the significance of the early 20th century Korea through Karlin's picture postcards. Firstly, it investigates how the postcards under Japanese rule and were manufactured, issued and circulated. Secondly, it demonstrates the significance of the fact that Alma Karlin, a Slovenian traveller, brought the postcards from the 1920s Korea. Lastly, it examines the image of Gyeongseong, which, according to the argument of the study, was selectively represented and manipulated.

The image of modernity: Rethinking picture postcards of Joseon

According to "A Centennial History of Korean Posts" (1984), a postcard was first introduced in Korea on May 10, 1900. The date was several months after an article about the postcard was included in the domestic law and regulation for postal service on January 17, 1900. Following Austria, the first country that printed postcards 30 years before, the Joseonian Ministry of Agriculture, Commerce and Industry ordered the production of stamps and postcards by hiring artisans who were working for the Sculpture Department in Japanese printing office. There were four types of postcards available, and each piece was priced at one jeon. The quality was not yet the best, which motivated V. E. Clemencet, a French advisor of postal head office, to propose to entrust France with the design of the products for a higher-quality elaboration. Soon after his submission, Charles Aleveque, a French expat and editor of the first French-Korean dictionary, showed interest in production. Aleveque played a crucial role in establishing the Korean postal history. As an avid pro-Korean, who had a second name An Rye Baek, Aleveque exhibited his items at the Paris Exposition Universelle in 1900. The photographs that feature in his postcards are his own work which are now called "Aleveque picture postcards".

His collections are highly competitive in the vintage market, engaging a large number of enthusiasts until today. One of his photographs is in the collection of Sergej Masera Maritime Museum of Piran, Slovenia. Alevéque's photographs touch upon various subjects, ranging from war and landmarks in Seoul to the funeral of Empress Myeongseong. On the bottom right side, the phrase "A French Teacher Alevéque in Seoul, Daehan Jeguk" is printed, with a serial number printed below the line (Gyeonggi Province Museum, 2003, pp. 30–31). The design suggests the postcards were a private possession, as his name is written on the cards.

The popularity of postcards drastically increased after the breakout of the Russo-Japanese War. The consensus in world history scholarship holds the view that the conflict was an unavoidable one. Because of the war, Korea became recognised worldwide, followed by a rising interest in the picture postcards of Korea. Tourists were the major buyers, including Japanese, as well as Europeans. Private printing houses, such as Daisho photo house, Hinode commerce store, as well as photo studios, were the leading site for production (Kawamura, 2002, p. 266).

Japanese Ministry of Post and Telecommunications set out a commemorative postcards scheme in 1902. After the Russo-Japanese, most of the items depicted the images of war. Twenty-three types of postcards were out for sale, nine times from December 25, 1904, to May 6, 1906 (Hwang, 2017, p. 54). The most successful sales were achieved by the postcard commemorating the discharge of war veterans from their military service. The public interest was particularly high, as the card portrayed vivid scenes of the battle. Sixty sets in total were issued, which were sold out soon, causing disturbance and commotion amongst masses of people that had gathered to buy them. Japanese government adopted symbols that marked national events such as war, artilleries, soldiers in the form of government postcard. The fact bears witness to a noteworthy example of how the Japanese government used the postcards for a specific project (Kim, 2015, p. 34).

In May 1905, the postal service department was relocated to the administration of correspondence office. It was the year of Japan–Korea

Treaty. A postcard, produced privately by then, came under control of the government, as the office for Japanese Resident-General of Korea was established in Seoul. On August 31, 1909, when all the postcards and stamps ceased to be issued and sold, their circulation was also banned. Instead, Japan took over the manufacture and started to issue “Memorial Posts and Postcards”, which later developed into promotional material for the Japanese government even after the Japanese Resident-General of Korea was reorganised into the Governor-General of Korea in 1910.

Table 1 shows the lists of government postcards issued by Governor-General of Korea and Japanese Resident-General of Korea during the period 1906–1933. They were printed 26 times in total, with an average price between 10 to 15 jeon, which was not too different from the prices of those issued by Japanese Ministry of Post and Telecommunications. Given that the maximum wage of a Joseonian worker was 60 jeon, however, the price was not reasonable for ordinary people in Korea at that time (Hong, 2009, pp. 177–179).

Table 1. The list of government postcards used between 1906 and 1933

No.	Contents	Date of release (Year/Month/ Day)	Type(s)	Price (Currency: Jeon)
1	A memorial postcard of Governor-General Itō Hirobumi's arrival at his post	1906/03/28	2	Not for sale
2	A memorial postcard of the Korean Emperor's coronation	1907/08/27	1	5
3	A memorial postcard of the replacement of Governor-General	1909/07/10	2	10
4	A memorial postcard of the fifth anniversary of the Japanese cooperative communication service	1910/07/01	2	15

5	A memorial postcard of Governor-General Terauchi Masatake's arrival at his post	1910/07/30	2	10
6	A memorial postcard of the administration of Governor-General of Joseon	1910/10/01	2	10
7	A memorial postcard of the first anniversary of the administration of Governor-General of Joseon	1911/10/01	2	10
8	A memorial postcard of the second anniversary of the administration of Governor-General of Joseon	1912/10/01	2	10
9	A memorial postcard of the third anniversary of the administration of Governor-General of Joseon	1913/10/01	3	10
10	A memorial postcard of the fourth anniversary of the administration of Governor-General of Joseon	1914/10/01	3	10
11	A memorial postcard of the fifth anniversary of the administration of Governor-General of Joseon	1915/10/01	3	10
12	A memorial postcard of Emperor Taishō's coronation	1915/11/10	2	10
13	A memorial postcard of the sixth anniversary of the administration of Governor-General of Joseon	1916/10/01	3	10

14	A memorial postcard of the seventh anniversary of the administration of Governor-General of Joseon	1917/10/01	3	10
15	A memorial postcard of the eighth anniversary of the administration of Governor-General of Joseon	1918/10/01	3	10
16	A memorial postcard for peace	1919/07/01	2	10
17	A memorial postcard of the ninth anniversary of the administration of Governor-General of Joseon	1919/10/01	3	10
18	A memorial postcard of the tenth anniversary of the administration of Governor-General of Joseon	1920/10/01	2	10
19	A memorial postcard of the fiftieth anniversary of the commencement of the communication service	1921/04/20	2	10
20	A memorial postcard of Emperor Taishō's twenty-fifth royal wedding anniversary	1925/05/10	3	20
21	A memorial postcard of the fifteenth anniversary of the administration of Governor-General of Joseon	1925/10/01	2	15
22	A memorial postcard of the present king's royal wedding ceremony	1928/11/10	2	15
23	A memorial postcard of the fifty-eighth rebuilding of the grand shrine	1929/10/02	2	10

24	A memorial postcard of the interdivisional defensive flight	1930/10/07	2	Not for sale
25	A memorial postcard of the first flight of Patriot Joseon plane	1932/05/15	2	10
26	A memorial postcard of air defence near Gyeongseong	1933/06/15	2	Not for sale

There are more picture postcards relevant to the list according to the record. The abundance is arguably attributed to the historical trend; after the Russo-Japanese War, Japanese people had easier access to overseas holidays. Postcards were among the most affordable gifts for the tourists of both types, – those who visited and those who left the country for vacation preferred to buy a postcard to commemorate their moments. The images vary, including monumental sites, culture, advertisement and prominent figures. Cities were the dominant feature on the postcards – Seoul, Busan, Incheon, Pyongyang and Gaesung, to name but a few, frequently appeared thereon.

The wide range and volume of postcard production were phenomenal. According to the record of Hinode commerce store, daily sale would pitch ten thousand, and there were up to seven hundred versions of the original image for the “monumental places in Joseon” series, and six hundred for the “customs of Joseon” series. Four large size printing factories barely met the demand, suggesting the high commercial success of the item (Kwon, 2003, p. 123).

Busan Museum in Korea and Saga Prefectural Nagoya Castle Museum in Japan have collections that can become a valuable resource for the researchers in the field. The two museums published a catalogue book of the picture postcards in 2009 and 2017, respectively. “Exploring Modern Scenery Through Postcards” (2009) by Busan Museum comprises eight volumes, and “Modern Joseon on Postcard” (2017) by Kazuya Urakawa comprises seven. To sum up the total amount of postcards in the collections, there are

6 375 postcards. The items are useful to investigate the image of modern Joseon, thus, the present study mainly refers to the resources.

2. Alma Karlin, the traveller, and her souvenir picture postcards

2.1. The Odyssey of a Lonely Woman

Karlin described her life journey as “The Odyssey of a Lonely Woman”. She was the only female who travelled the entire world in the late 19th century. She was born on October 12, 1889, in a Slovenian family: her father, a military man and her mother, a teacher. Her hometown Celje, Slovenia, was part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Following her father’s death, her mother travelled with her 10-year-old daughter Karlin in the neighbouring countries such as Dalmatia and Herzegovina. Later Karlin reflected that the early days of her life provided an opportunity for her identity to mature, turning her into a world traveller. The death of her father became a turning point in her life (Jezernik, 2009, pp. 12–20).

In 1904, she learned from her mother that she had poliomyelitis. that the year after this discovery she started to study foreign languages. The language acquisition was not a mere means to fill pastime for her; she found her genius in the subject. It is known that she was fluent in 12 languages, including Chinese, the language most Western speakers found challenging to acquire. After two years of tuition, she was able to communicate in French and English as a native speaker. With this talent in mind, she set out her first Cross-Europe journey in 1908. The itinerary involved Italy, Switzerland, France, England, Belgium and Germany. The journey started and ended in Celje. That autumn, Karlin was employed as a translator in London. The next five years she spent at the UK office, and taught herself more European languages such as Scandinavian, Russian, Spanish and Italian. She decided to pursue her life-career as a writer, and later published her first book in Norway. Her writing was outstanding and was nominated for the Nobel literary prize. In 1918, Karlin returned to Celje

and established an international school, while preparing to make another journey to the other parts of the world.

In November of 1919, Karlin finally commenced a grand odyssey across the sea. She visited South America in 1920, Central and North America, as well as Hawaii in 1921, and lastly, she arrived in Japan in 1922. After spending a year working for the German Ambassador in Japan, Karlin visited Korea in 1923. The itinerary included Busan, Seoul, Pyongyang and then she proceeded further up north to China. During 1924-1926 she explored Oceania, and the year after reached Indonesia, Myanmar and Thailand. After her final stay in India in 1927, Karlin came back to Slovenia, learning the news of her mother's death. The event became another turning point in her life.

Back in Slovenia, Karlin spent her final years focusing on writing and giving lectures. In 1931, she met Thea Schreiber Gamelin, and the two became life partners until Karlin's death. Karlin was also active in the Slovenian social movement against Nazism, as she published many essays arguing for social change.

2.2. Joseon in Karlin's suitcase

According to Bucar, Karlin entered the Korean peninsula crossing the East Sea by boat that departed from Japan. She first arrived in Busan, then took a train to Seoul, staying there as a guest at a Japanese family. While the common method to date the exact year and month of her stay would be scrutinising the postcard, information about her stay in Korea is scarce. Given the record of news articles she contributed, one could assume the length to be a few weeks a minimum, up to 3 months.

Bucar argues that Karlin would have stayed in Korea until October of 1923. The cities she stopped over are the major cities of Korea today. They are, both then and now, the greatest tourist attractions. The souvenirs she obtained while on the journey are now exhibited at the Celje Museum. Table 2 below provides the list of items:

**Table 2. Korea-related postcards brought by Alma Karlin
(currently in the collection of Celje Museum)**

Postcard No.	Title	Words on the Back of the Postcard
KR-144	(Folk Customs in Joseon) Flogging (16 customs)	Bestrafung eines Verbrecher
KR-199	(Folk Customs in Joseon) The Sixtieth Birthday Ceremony Table (95 customs)	Kirschenhändler
KR-201	(Folk Customs in Joseon) Jipsin (67 customs)	Der Sandalenverkäufer
KR-297(66)	(Folk Customs in Joseon) Hang-A-Ri Merchant (Yi25)	/
KR-298	(Folk Customs in Joseon) Yongbin (76 customs)	Koreanischer Korbhändler
/	Baektap and Yookgack-dang in the Pagoda Park Seoul (Gyeong 71)	poslana ge. Mimi Ludwig v Celju, Jugoslavia, s poštnim žžigom KEIJO, CHOSEN, z datumom July 12. julij 1923 in znamko 8 senov.
KR-300 12	(Attractions in Joseon) Joseon- nian Villages in Gyeongseong (Gyeong149)	1. Straße der Vorstadt von Seoul, zum Keijo genannt
KR-301 (63)	(Attractions in Joseon) Parts of Gyeongseong New Town (with the image of Governor-Gen- eral of Joseon in the front and Namsan temple on the right side) (Gyeong110)	2. Totalansicht von Seoul
KR-302	(Attractions in Joseon) Gyeon- ghungak in Changdeokgung Palace, Gyeongseong (Gyeong4)	3. Alter Palast.

KR-303	(Attractions in Joseon) Nam-daemun, Gyeongseong (Soonrhyemun)	7. Das große Tor in Seoul.
KR-304	(Attractions in Joseon) Doruritsu Mon Seoul (Youngeunmun) (Gyeong58)	8. Außeres Tor.
KR-305	(Joseon Gyeongwon Railroad) Seokwangsa Temple Statue of the Buddha	10. Buddha im Tempel. Seoul.
KR-306	(Attractions in Joseon) Joseonian Villages in Gyeongseong (Gyeong149)	IV/2
KR-308	(Attractions in Joseon) Inner Court in Changdeokgung, Gyeongseong	4. Der Chang Tok Palast
KT-357	Ancient Joseon Cruise Ship Nakrang (issued by Hyunmu-dang)	/
KT-307	Two Exorcist Totems of Joseonian General Under Heaven (issued by Hyungmu-dang)	Pyongyang (Heyo) Die Götzen an dem Wegrund

According to the latest research, Karlin brought 16 postcards to Slovenia. One could categorise them into two main themes: the folk custom and the tourist attraction. The two were the best-selling themes during the Joseon era. Some postcards have the printing of the series, “Attractions in Joseon” and “Folk Customs in Joseon”, which indicates that the item was produced following the theme. Although the “Ancient Joseon Cruise Ship Nakrang” and “Two Exorcist Totems of Joseonian General Under Heaven” do not bear the printing of a theme, they could be categorised into the folk custom theme, as they depict the Joseonian ship and a totem.

The Joseon-themed picture postcards were produced since the late 19th century. They constitute the majority in number. They were often sold in a set of 10, 12 and 32, with a serial number and an English caption below the image, and a Japanese caption on the side. Two groups of people are rendered on the Joseonian folk custom picture postcards: firstly, upper-class people and secondly, peasant people.

The allegorical hint indicating the social rank of the models in the photo is given by their outfits. The cards focus on hairstyle, garments, as well as accessories of the models, arguably to show that Joseonian upper class has a distinctive lifestyle and culture from Japan and the West. Male models often appear in the clothes for officials and females – dressed as courtesans (*kisaeng*) (Kwon, 2003, p. 197). In comparison, the postcards that present peasant models are focused on the kind of work they do rather than their dress. One of the many images is a male with a traditional wooden transport tool (*Jige*) on his back, which would have attracted foreigners' attention, as the tool was new to them. Amongst Karlin's postcards, there is one that features a pot (*Hang-A-Ri*) merchant, which can be likened to the image of a *Jige* worker. The foreign tourists wanted something exotic, which they would not have had a chance to see in their home countries, and such a demand explains why the most widespread images on the postcards are related to folk tradition: the common examples are a *Jige* worker, a well-dressed *kisaeng* and a traditional wedding ceremony (O, 2014, p. 13). Karlin's photocard, titled "Hang-A-Ri Merchant" is analogous to the image of *Jige* worker, and a traditional sandal (*Jipsin*) to the image of traditional dress. Both demonstrate the exotic appeal of Koreanness to the world.

The other theme, "Attractions in Joseon", is also frequently present on Karlin's postcards. The rise of modern tourism in Korean then, one could argue, took place along with the exertion of imperialist policies by the Japanese government (Cho, 2009, p. 8). In other words, tourism in Joseon played the role of esteem booster for Japan; it helped Japan realise its national identity, as well as superiority. For the Joseon people, it played a counter-active role; demanded to adapt their life to modern objects

introduced through Japan, colonial Joseon would form a certain consciousness inferior to Japan. Japan was inclined to this tendency. One could address two circumstances that would have drawn Japan's interest in tourism. Firstly, sentimentality as a source of consciousness formation would be the motif. Likewise, there would have been an industrial project, as Japan's supportive attitude toward tourism was arguably related to the plan of the government to establish a logistics base in Korea. The Governor-General of Joseon promoted tourism in Korea to improve the railway system in the country. Designating big cities and attractions as key points, the Governor-General of Joseon transformed each area into a tourist spot and actively publicised them. Brochures and tour guides were distributed to foreigners as the same as in tourism industry of today.

1923, when Karlin travelled around Korea, was also the year when the Joseonian Association of Railways actively boosted tourism. The policies included 1) installing information booth; 2) designing and writing of promotional pamphlets; 3) making use of motion pictures; 4) publishing picture postcards; 5) lecture tour; 6) hosting promotional conferences for tourism (Cho, 2009, p. 22).

While "Folk Customs in Joseon" series tends to feature pre-modern lifestyles of Joseonian people, "Attractions in Joseon" series is focused on the postmodern images. On the one hand, it attempts to highlight the advanced cityscapes through the modernised cities such as Busan, Incheon and Gyeongseong, and on the other hand, it presents the image of palaces, courts and palace gates in a way different from their originals (Choi, 2012, p. 267). One could notice an intended motif in the postcard that presents newly renovated images of the attractions in Joseon, which arguably conveys the Japanese propaganda. The Japanese government, the producer of the postcard, was also interested in an exotic appeal to the public by using the traditional scenes of Joseon. The image of Gyeongseong suggests the implication, which will be discussed in detail in the next section.

The "Attractions in Joseon" series that Karlin brought to Slovenia consists of eight pieces. Except for one, all of the cards are concerned with the image of Gyeongseong. It would be neither a mere coincidence, nor the

result of her personal preference that the majority of her souvenirs are about Gyeongseong. One could claim those items as a product of tourism, intended by an imperialist view and consciousness. Gyeongseong was a city which Japan wanted to show to the foreign tourists. In the project of the Japanese government, the newly built capital city could act as a landmark of colonial modernisation. It was according to that very project that Karlin put the image of Gyeongseong in her travel suitcase.

3. The image of Gyeongseong in the postcards

At the time when Karlin brought the postcards to Slovenia in her suitcase, the capital of Korea was named Gyeongseong according to the order of Japan. At the turn of the century, Korea went through a turbulent change in the wild current of history. Seoul, once called Hanyang, was urged to change its name to Gyeongseong. Everything that was regarded as traditional became the obsolete past to be discarded, and instead, what was new – introduced by Japan – was encouraged. Modern architecture and transportation such as railways and the paved road with traffic signs were the images Japan wanted to show to the tourists. If the Japanese government sought their national pride in the presentation of Gyeongseong as the capital city of colonial Korea, the tourists found exotic beauty in the city that belonged to Japan, yet held a different atmosphere. Karlin's postcards are useful to explore such a unique ramification of colonial Seoul.

3.1. More historical images than natural images, more urban images than historical images

Sunhee Kim addresses two publications as a key resource to investigate the significance of the postcards from the early twentieth century Korea: "Exploring Modern Scenery Through Postcards" and "Modern Joseon in Postcard". The number of postcards that feature Gyeongseong is 1,452, constituting 22.8% of the entire collection of 7 volumes, that is,

6,375 postcards (Kim, 2018, p. 571). The second most frequent city that features in the postcard is Pyongyang constitutes 10% of the entire amount. The postcards with the image of Gyeongseong are relatively easy to notice because of the serial number written on each card, with the Chinese character 京 (gyeong) signifying Gyeongseong. The main themes of the 1,452 postcards include natural images and urban images, although the number of the latter is scarce, fewer than 5 featuring the depiction of Bukhan Mountain, Segumjung and Ui-dong valley. Considering the geographical environment of Seoul, a question arises as to why there are very few postcards that feature natural scenery: the city is rich in mountains, and the Han River runs through the centre. By contrast, 1,332 postcards present the image of humanities. If one were to divide them into two subjects, there would be postcards about historical imagery and those of urban imagery. Historical images refer to a scene of an object that has been existing since the Joseon era. In some postcards, one could notice the traces of Joseon dynasty, as Gyeonghoeru Pavilion, secret garden and botanic garden in Changdeokgung are the frequently featuring images rather than others, such as seal engravings or palace gates. Joseon Shrine is the frequently presented image for the urban sight postcards, followed by high streets, Namdaemun-ro, Pagoda Park, The Governor-General of Joseon, educational institutions, post offices, hotels and banks.

In short, the definition of the urban imagery in terms of the Joseon postcards refers to an object, newly constructed by Japan. In the postcards Karlin brought to Slovenia, however, there is no image of Joseon Shrine. Although it is not a simple work to categorise each postcard according to theme, due to the difficulty of setting up equal standards, one could discern the change of the perspective regarding how to present Gyeongseong in the postcards, when the picture postcards were high in sales and circulation during the early 20th century Korea. Modern Seoul, captured through the lens of postcards, tends to have more urban images than natural images, if not some scenes featuring repetitively.

3.2. Karlin's Gyeongseong

The images that dominantly appear on Karlin's postcards are the aforementioned Changdeokgung Palace, Namdaemun, The Governor-General Joseon and Pagoda Park. Palaces such as Changdeokgung Palace can be perceived as a symbolic place for Joseon dynasty; this is a representation of authority. In Karlin's postcards, however, the palaces are presented in a polarised manner. On the one hand, an impression of a highly secular space is given, far from divinity. Not only the palace alone but also the surroundings, such as Changgyeonggung, botanic garden, cherry blossoms are all secularised. Apparently, they rather appeal to a sense of spectacle, trying to catch the tourists' eye. The palace is deprived of its authority, as it is presented as either an overcrowded venue or a tourist spot for cherry blossom viewing. The crowd is dressed in kimonos, and the flag of Japan is seen in the background. Another example is the image of Gyeonghungak in Changdeokgung, also giving an impression of a tourist spot rather than a royal palace. If secularisation of divine symbols was conducted by the manipulative capturing of historical objects, the bleak shot of them is another method to debase the original significance. The inner court of Changdeokgung in the postcard looks undeniably barren, making it difficult to imagine its original glory, because the object in the picture stands by itself without any surroundings. One could argue it is reminiscent of a fallen dynasty.

Another postcard, the one featuring Namdaemun, provides another example. Namdaemun, with its neighbouring gate Dongdaemun, was the main entrance to Hanyang, – another name of Seoul back in Joseon era. To date, it has played a crucial role in the geography of the city: the wall and the gate create districts, allowing passers-by to go in, out and through the gate. In contrast to this general idea of a gate, Karlin's photos show an image of Namdaemun that lacks a sense of harmony and abundance. There is no wall around the gate, which makes the image of the gate particularly bleak. A gate without walls, one could argue, is analogous to an object that fails to serve its original function. A gate, which supposedly

acts as a passage between different regions, fails to be such in the postcard. Since there is no distinction represented by walls, there is no passage. No matter how solemnly the gate stands, it is far from its original symbol, that is, a symbol of the entrance to the core of Joseon. Instead, several images feature modern vehicles such as cars and trams, but they rather contribute to the added sense of modernity; the spirit of Joseon is disconnected from its past. Nevertheless, one could assume that the foreign customers would have found authenticity in the very manipulated images. The mixture of tradition such as Joseon style palace gate and Far East Asian people whose looks are subtly distinguished from Japanese with the Western style architecture would have been a selling point for them.

The postcards that feature Governor-General of Joseon, for example, is a part of the propaganda that the Japanese government attempted to spread. The building, constructed in 1926 on the historical site of Heungnyemun, was intended to consolidate the image of modernity, as it blocked the sight of Gyeongbokgung Palace, an original symbol of Joseon. Karlin's souvenirs contain the postcard that implies such a political nuance. Another of her postcards, which features Pagoda Park (the former name of Tapgol Park), needs a careful observation, too. Established on a former site for Wongaksa Temple, the first urban park in Korea provided a space of refreshment for the Seoul residents. Yookgack-dang, was the main area for recreation. Although the park was authored by John McLeavy Brown, the Irish advisor during the reign of Emperor Gojong, whether it should be regarded as the first Western-style public park is debatable. One needs to consider from the tourist's perspective; for the foreigners such as Karlin, the park would have been a place that evokes their curiosity, given its name, as well as scenery.

The image of Joseonian villages is presented on the postcard, conveying a contrasting sense to the image of the new town, where the majority of Japanese would dwell. The villages are packed with Choga, the traditional nature-friendly house, hinting poverty and the Joseonian people's poor living conditions. In other words, the Japanese government implied the impossibility of equal living standard in Joseonian and Japanese districts by those polarised images printed in the postcards.

It is not a bold claim that the items in Karlin's collection hint the implied project of the Japanese government. Quite probably, the objects are a common example of the printed postcards at that time rather than her personal choice. Critical and objective interpretation is required when one examines the image of Joseon as it is portrayed through the medium of the postcard. Although it could be a hasty argument that all of the images on the postcards are manipulated, at least it is evident that some of them are selected and intended in favour of Japan. It is important to perceive the colonialist and imperialist project behind the representation.

Conclusion

At this point, a notable premise should be remembered: pictures are not to be seen but to be deciphered.

A Slovenian explorer Alma Karlin set out on a world tour in 1919. During her long journey around the world, Karlin stayed in Korea for a few weeks. After exploring Busan, Gyeongseong and Pyongyang, Karlin returned to her home country with some souvenirs. The items are currently exhibited at Celje Museum, Slovenia, comprising 16 postcards, 39 photographs and three newspaper articles. Slovenian academia has actively expanded the scope of research of her objects in recent years. The present study focused on the postcards and explored the political implications thereof. To this end, it surveyed the manufacturing and printing process of postcards in Korea during the period under Japanese rule. In doing so, it evaluated the significance of the images in the postcards kept by Karlin. Lastly, it offered a suggestive reading of the image of Gyeongseong that constituted the majority of the postcards.

Since 1940, when the Russo-Japanese war broke out, the Japanese government encouraged tourism in Korea. The mass-production and commercial use of the postcards under the management of Japan led to the initiation of another medium such as a government postcard. Japan promoted touristic travel to Korea so that the government could have access to the country through logistics. To improve the railway industry, Japan

sought profit from tourism, hence, it actively publicised the image of Korea. Sales of picture postcards that featured Korea soared according to the project of Japan, as demonstrated by the popularity of “Attractions in Joseon” and “Folk Customs in Joseon” series, as well as the proliferation of other relative themes. Amongst the tourist-customers, there was Karlin, and the items we have obtained today from her journey are also of the two series. Symbolic images that represent Joseon at that time presented human types and urban views. Palaces and gates were the examples of the human imagination, while modern architecture designed by Japan was the example of natural imagination. A claim should be made that neither imagery was representative of Joseon. A debased image no longer conveyed royal dignity, and the lives of Joseon people were marginalised in the urban image of Gyeongseong.

There is no doubt that Karlin’s postcards dating back a century are an important material to understand the early 20th century Joseon. Nevertheless, the danger of misinterpretation lurks under the surface of the postcards. It is imperative to be aware of the implications of the images, as well as the details of the social shift, specifically the Japanese policy and the intention behind the postcard production. It is crucial to reconsider the image of Gyeongseong, the capital city of Korea. More postcards, photographs as well as articles in Karlin’s souvenir list are waiting for further analysis. To clarify the historical setting and continue the research, one must attempt to see what is not visible.

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LITHUANIA ENCOUNTERS KOREA: THE FIRST REFERENCES AND CONTACTS DURING THE LATE 19TH AND EARLY 20TH CENTURY

By using archive materials, the article explores the earliest available references to Korea in Lithuanian language publications and also looks at the first known visit to Korea by a Lithuanian person. The time frame analysed in the research spans 1880 to 1921. On the one hand, the results are not surprising, because the information about Korea in Lithuanian language fits the general pattern of key events that attracted the most attention from the media of that time: Korea's position during the First Sino-Japanese War and the Russo-Japanese War, as well as the struggle of the Korean nationalist movement. On the other hand, some unique characteristics can also be identified, such as some elements of unity between Koreans and Lithuanians due to mutual sentiment of being nations under oppression. The first visit to Korea by a Lithuanian person proves to be a rather random event, which was neither planned nor resulted in further connections. Overall, the findings provide a realization that Lithuania and Korea of the time were trapped in myriad of their own urgent problems which prevented them from establishing closer mutual contacts.

Keywords: Lithuania, Korea, history, late 19th century, early 20th century

The 19th and 20th centuries were a difficult and dramatic time for both Lithuania and Korea. It was marked by outside invasions, occupations, destructive wars, and battles for independence. Hence, the early Lithuania–Korea relations are very limited. Nonetheless, there are a few

intriguing questions that can be explored: When can we find first remarks made about Korea in Lithuanian language? How was Korea depicted? Who were the first Lithuanians visiting Korea? The answers have not been explored so far, because Korean studies is a relatively new field in the Lithuanian context. There is only one attempt, but it has its own limitations – conference presentation by Jinseok Seo and a subsequent article published in 2012 (Seo, 2012). A lack of research and the increased attention given to Lithuania–Korea relations due to anniversary of establishing diplomatic relations (1991–2021) were the main motivating factors behind this article.

The initial exploration of available data in the archives suggested to select a time frame of three decades from 1890 to 1921. The start of this period marks the earliest reference to Korea in Lithuanian language, while the end of this period is related to the first recorded visit of a Lithuanian person to Korea. Covering a more extensive time frame would be impossible due to limited scope of this article. As a result, Lithuania–Korea ties after 1921 are left for future research.

The article is mainly based on archive material, and is limited to Lithuanian language resources. Korea-related keywords were used to search digital cultural heritage portal Epaveldas.lt and digital database of Lithuanian diaspora newspapers spauda.org. The article predominantly relies on earliest newspapers published in Lithuanian language, such as “Saulė”, “Lietuva”, “Keleivis”, “Naujienos”, “Lietuvos žinios”, “Viltis” and “Vienybė”. In addition, some early books were also used. Many of the publications originated outside of Lithuania because the use of Lithuanian language was highly restricted during 1864–1904 in the territory of Lithuania that was under occupation by the Russian Empire. Such sources of data impose some limitations, because not all early Lithuanian publications have already been digitalized and made available in the aforementioned databases. As a result, some important references of Korea may still be overlooked.

Overall, the search resulted in finding 299 newspaper articles from the period of 1890–1921 and further related 15 articles from more recent

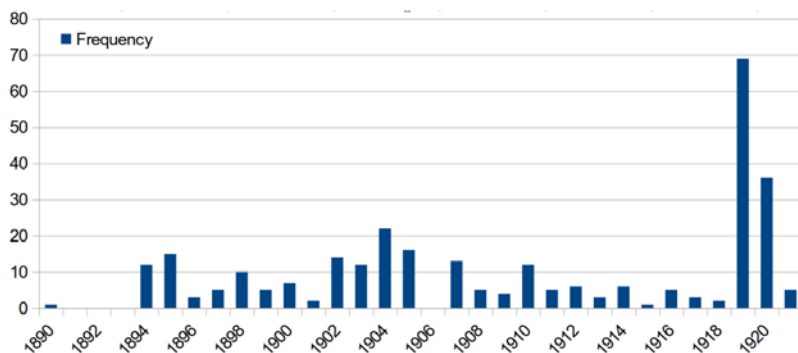


Figure 1. Frequency of references to Korea in Lithuanian language newspapers during 1890–1921

Source: Compiled by the author

years. In addition, seven books were also identified as relevant. All these items were read and categorized according to their content. What follows, is a summary and brief analysis of findings from more than 300 information units.

Before turning to qualitative analysis, a short quantitative overview deserves some attention. Due to small quantity, books that mention Korea are put aside and only newspaper articles are considered. Figure 1 shows that Korea emerges as a newsworthy topic around the time of the First Sino-Japanese War, gains a slightly greater popularity during the Russo-Japanese War, and peaks in 1919 during the time of March the 1st Movement and its subsequent violent suppression which attracted considerable international attention.

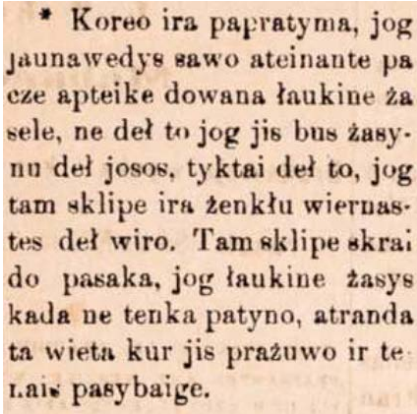
First appearance of Korea in Lithuanian publications

The search revealed that the first reference to Korea in Lithuanian language publication was in newspaper “Saulė” which was issued during 1888–1959 by Lithuanian diaspora in Pennsylvania, USA. It was the issue of March 27, 1890 which had a section “From everywhere”¹ that contained

¹ “Isz wysur”.

short stories from all over the world. Korea is mentioned in one of them which briefly describes a wedding tradition when a groom gives a wild goose to his bride as a gift symbolizing devotion and fidelity (see Figure 2). No more information is provided about Korea, allowing us to question how much the readers knew about this place called “Koreo”.

The second appearance of Korea was found in the same “Saulė” newspaper in the issue of February 15, 1894. There, an article “Unexplored



* Koreo ira papratyma, jog
jaunawedys sawo ateinante pa
cze apteike dowana laukine za
sele, ne del to jog jis bus zasys
nu del josos, tyktai del to, jog
tam sklipe ira zenktu wiernas
tes del wirow. Tam sklipe skrai
do pasaka, jog laukine zasys
kada ne tenka patyno, atranda
ta wieta kur jis prazuwo ir te
lais pasybaige.

Figure 2.

First known reference to Korea
in an article about wedding traditions.
Source: Newspaper “Saulė”,
issue of March 27, 1890

countries”², as suggested by its title, mentioned Korea as one of the uncharted territories of Asia, requiring further exploration in the future by the geographers’ community (see Figure 3). The article mainly quoted Clements Markham of the Royal Geographical Society in London. In the same year of 1894, Korea is mentioned a few more times (Saule, 1894; Lietuva, 1894) in the context of the First Sino-Japanese War. Korea is described as a peninsula with around 10 million inhabitants and the capital Seoul. Although the land is considered

to be independent with its own ruler, it is depicted to be under strong China’s influence and less advanced than its neighbours, especially Japan. As the war progressed, Korea was increasingly more presented as the prize that Japan would take for the victory against China.

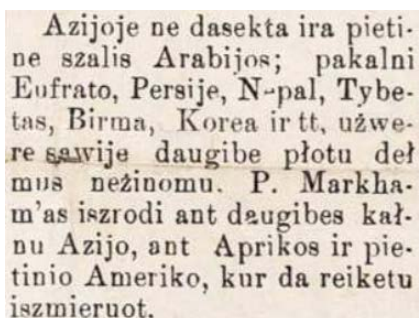
During 1895, the newspapers contained several news snippets, mainly informing about further tensions between Japan, China and Russia, and describing Korea as an important zone of influence for all three. Brief

² “Ne dasektos szalis”.

messages about assassination of Queen Min and the escape of Minister Park Yung-hyo are provided. However, not much context is given to the readers to learn more about Korea's history, culture, or society.

During 1897–1898, the newspaper “Lietuva” (managed by Lithuanian diaspora in Chicago, USA) published a series of articles under the title “Geography or science about the Earth”³ which was based on the works of Scottish geologist Archibald Geikie. The article that appeared on March 18, 1898 had a short section dedicated to Korea and provided some basic information about its geography. The article, however, has been concluded with a political message – a warning that although Korea is an independent state, it may soon be taken over by Russia.

Only two books of the 19th century were found mentioning Korea, both published in the very last years of the century – 1898 and 1899. The books are a kind of geography textbooks providing an overview of different facts about the world and its regions. The earlier one is written by Petras Vileišis under a pseudonym Neris and mentions Korea very briefly as one of the main peninsulas in Asia (Neris, 1898, p. 32). The other one, written by Juozas Adomaitis under his pen name Šernas, is more detailed, because it does not only provide a map that shows Korea's geographical location (see Figure 4) but also dedicates a whole paragraph to describe Korea's natural characteristics and difficult political situation (Szernas, 1899, p. 311). The Koreans are depicted as “hard working and quite well educated people”⁴ (Szernas, 1899, p. 311).



Azijoje ne dasekta ira pietine szalis Arabijos; pakalni Eufrato, Persije, N-pal, Tybetas, Birma, Korea ir tt, užwere savije daugibe plotu del mus nezinomu. P. Markham'as iszrodi ant daugibes kaŕnu Azijo, ant Aprikos ir pietinio Ameriko, kur da reiketu iszmieruot.

Figure 3.

Second known reference to Korea in an article about unexplored countries. Source: Newspaper “Saulė”, issue of February 15, 1894

³ “Geografija arba mokslas apie žeme”.

⁴ “Gyventojai darbsztus ir gana apszviesti.”

criticized for being an unfriendly neighbour whose suspicious or aggressive behaviour is alienating it from the Korean people.

The first messages about Russo-Japanese war and Korea's stance in it appear on February 19, 1904 in newspaper "Lietuva". Korea is mentioned only briefly by stating that it is controlled by Japan which stationed there 20 000 troops. In early March, advertisements appear in the newspapers to buy a map depicting the war, including Korea's position in it. The map seems to be either prepared or at least translated by Motiejus Damijonaitis, an active member of Lithuanian diaspora in USA. Meanwhile in Vilnius, a lecture about Korea was held in a tea house managed by a local temperance movement. However, it is unclear who was giving the lecture and what exact information was presented there.

In mid-1904, it becomes clear that Korea falls under the Japanese rule, as there are increasingly more newspaper articles that report various demands that Japan is making towards Korea and the latter succumbing to them. In this context, the first and only Korea-related illustration appears in the newspaper which depicts Gojong of Korea naming him as Yi Hy-eung (see Figure 5).

There is not much non-political content from this time. An exceptional case appears in the first half of 1905, when newspaper "Lietuva" ran a series of articles about the writing systems of the world. It was prepared by a prominent Lithuanian intellectual Juozas Adomaitis who lived in Chicago and published several popular science books. The series of articles were later turned into a book named "The history of writing"⁶ and published in 1906.⁷ Among the contents, there is a section dedicated to the Korean writing system where onmun (hangul) is briefly described as unique and more advanced than Chinese or Japanese writing due to its similarity to Latin script. Another case when the Korean language was presented was the

⁶ "Rašto istorija".

⁷ The front page says that the contents are based on the writings of A. B. Schnitzer but no further information is provided. At a guess, the book was using the works of Emin Pasha.



Figure 5.
Gojong of Korea. The only known Korea related photography that appeared in Lithuanian language publications during the 1890–1921 period.

Source: Newspaper “Saulė”,
issue of September 20, 1904

issue of November 22, 1912 of newspaper “Saulė”. There appears a short article that describes the Korean language as full of similar sounding words. Therefore, close attention needs to be paid to correct pronunciation. An anecdotal story is then told about a missionary priest in Korea who during a sermon tried to scare the listeners by describing the horrors of “hell”, but due to mispronunciation kept saying “post office” instead.

After the Russo-Japanese War was over, the reports appeared about uprisings in Korea against the Japanese rule with a goal to seek independence, for example, the Battle of Namdaemun that took place in the summer of 1907. Since the uprisings were unsuccessful and Korea lost

its right to have its own army and make independent decisions, Korea eventually was described as a province of Japan. Finally, in 1910 the articles openly talked about the “political death” of Korea, which became a mere piece of land within the ever-growing Japanese empire. There also were news about fierce internal division among the Koreans, whether to support or oppose the Japanese rule. The articles mentioned that some of those divisions between the pro-Japanese and anti-Japanese factions resulted in violence, such as killings or destruction of property.

At the end of World War I, the newspapers made many announcements about Korean attempts to present their case in the Paris

Conference. Numerous newspapers also informed their readers about March the 1st independence declaration made in 1919 and the related uprisings in Seoul and other cities. Some articles also provided more details about persecutions done by the Japanese forces in Korea and many resulting casualties. For example, “Naujienos” issue of March 17, 1919 appeared with the front headline saying “Popular uprising in Korea. The Japanese are killing Koreans”.⁸ Some newspapers also quoted the statements made by Syngman Rhee.

The most extensive presentation of Korea’s demands was written in “Lietuva” on September 8, 1919 in an article “Korea’s liberation”⁹ by Antanas Tulys. There, he explained the right of nations to self-determination, the oppressive behaviour of Japan, and Korea’s current political standpoint. Two detailed articles can be found in the February 18 and 19, 1920 issues of “Naujienos”, describing the reasons for uprisings and anti-Japanese movement. Japan’s behaviour in Korea was fiercely criticized, and the articles concluded with an encouragement to pay more attention to the events in Korea. During 1919 and 1920, “Naujienos” and other newspapers provided detailed descriptions of torture inflicted by Japanese police when interrogating Korea’s independence movement members and even some foreigners who showed support to nationalist demands, such as Christian missionaries.

Newspaper “Lietuva” (April 5, 1919) presented a very supportive position to Korea by comparing it with other “oppressed nations”, including Lithuania. A cautious hope was expressed that big nations would eventually respect smaller ones by endorsing their calls for independence. On the other hand, “Darbininkas” (August 9, 1919) ran an article that warned Lithuanians to be careful when comparing themselves with Koreans because that could hurt the goal of seeking Lithuania’s independence. This argument was made by keeping in mind that Japan became a powerful player in the international affairs. For example, the text stated: “We seek support in the Peace Conference in Paris where Japan is also participating.

⁸ “Visuotinas sukilimas Korejoj. Japonai žudo korejiečius”.

⁹ “Korėjos pasiliuosavimas”.

If we mix ourselves with the Korea's question, it will irritate Japan and result in shutting the doors of the Peace Conference for us.”¹⁰

Two books mentioning Korea can be found from the period of 1900–1921, published in Lithuanian language. Similar to the previously mentioned ones, they are focused on geography and provide a rather limited information about basic geography, natural resources, agriculture, etc. One of the books was written by Juozas Gabrys in 1910 and stood out due to including a comparatively detailed map of Asia in colour, while the other was published as a collective effort of the Lithuanian Scientific Society in 1918.

First Lithuanian person to visit Korea¹¹

“Who were the first Lithuanians to visit place X” – the questions of this kind can be complicated to answer, because the criteria necessary to qualify as a Lithuanian changed substantially during the time, especially if we consider the period of 19th century or the beginning of the 20th century (Snyder, 2002). In the case of Korea, the situation is somewhat simpler because there are very few known visits to this country by people who would self-identify as Lithuanians. The search in the archives gave no clues about such visits in the 19th century, and the first written account of going to Korea and staying there dates back to 1919 and has been left by Leonas Apolis-Opulskis. His story was published by “Naujienos” in a series of articles during August 15–26, 1971. that the validity of his story is further provided by several issues of “Darbininkas” from November and December of 1919, when short messages appeared about a person named

¹⁰ “Mes ieškome pritarimo Taikos Konferencijos Paryžiuje. Taikos Konferencijoje ir Japonija dalyvauja. Mūsų maišymasi su Korėjos klausimu būtų erzinimas Japonijos ir vertimas Taikos Konferencijoj duris nuo mūsų užsidaryti.”

¹¹ The question of who was the first Korean person to visit Lithuania is left for further research. However, some clues could be given to those who will explore this topic, because it is known that Hague Secret Emissary Affair comprised of Yi Tjouné, Sangsul Yi and Tjyongoui Yi traveled to Hague via Trans-Siberian Railway during April-June of 1907. They reached Europe in early June and crossed Lithuania through Saint Petersburg–Warsaw Railway line that included a stop in Vilnius.

“L. Opulsky” who was in Korea at the time, inquiring whether his relatives still were alive after World War I.

Leonas Apolis-Opulskis was born on February 19, 1896. His hometown was Daubariai village in the northern part of Lithuania, currently the district of Mažeikiai city. At that time, Lithuania did not exist as an independent country and was under the control of the tzarist Russian Empire. After finishing couple of years of schooling, Leonas was sent to Kaunas in 1913 and later to Vilnius to more advanced courses that would prepare him for a career of a teacher. The start of World War I prevented him from completing the studies – at first, Leonas was forced to move back to his hometown and later he was drafted to the Russian army. Unwilling to serve it, Leonas deserted the army and went into hiding by changing his name and age. After spending some time in Voronezh, where his former school relocated from Vilnius, he moved to Moscow and soon after, in early 1916, travelled by the Trans-Siberian Railway deeper into Siberia to Chita, where he found an administrative job in a Lithuanian community. There, Leonas spent two years and, once again, out of fear to be drafted into army, moved to different locations, finally reaching the very edge of the Russian Empire – Vladivostok. The latter city was chosen as the most distant destination where Leonas could feel safe, and, in case of further danger, he would be right at the border to conveniently escape Russia entirely.

Having spent several days in Vladivostok, Leonas learned about Russia's consul in Korea Krišjānis Zellis who was looking to hire a new staff member and specifically inquired for a Lithuanian person. The consul was a Latvian, keenly interested in learning and practicing Lithuanian language. Leonas was soon employed and, after receiving Japanese visa from the local Japanese consulate, boarded a ship in Vladivostok and reached Gensan in the Japanese-occupied Korea (currently – Wonsan in North Korea) in October 8, 1919. As it transpired later, it was not a short touristic visit but a stay that lasted for nearly two years – until mid-June of 1921. All this time, Leonas worked for the consulate.

Leonas did not have a positive impression about Korea. He described the country as very poor and under-developed, and the Koreans as largely illiterate. According to him, although the land was rich in natural resources, they were not exploited due to lack of industrial advancement. Therefore, local people lived simple lives revolving around low-scale agriculture and, despite being hardworking, earned very little for their labour. While describing Korea, Leonas acknowledged that he had few opportunities to travel more around and interact with the locals. Furthermore, he spoke no Korean, which also created obstacles for better understanding of the country.

After leaving Korea in the summer of 1921, Leonas briefly visited Japan and then, on June 20 of the same year, left for the USA from Moji port in Kyushu with a short stopover in Canada. He spent the rest of his life in the USA, mainly working in a pharmacy located in Cicero, Illinois.

Conclusion

This brief article makes a humble attempt to take first steps in exploring the early Korea-Lithuania relations. On the one hand, the results are not surprising, because the information about Korea in Lithuanian language fits the general pattern of key events that attracted the most attention from the media of that time: the First Sino-Japanese War, the Russo-Japanese War, and the struggle of the Korean nationalist movement. On the other hand, some unique characteristics can also be identified, such as some elements of unity between Koreans and Lithuanians due to mutual sentiment of being nations under oppression. This resulted in interest in Korea's independence struggle in the context of establishment of independent Lithuania. Whether any meetings were held between representatives of both sides (for example, in the USA between Lithuanian and Korean diaspora members), is an intriguing question that is left for further research.

The first visit to Korea by a Lithuanian person proves to be a rather random event, which was neither planned nor resulted in further contacts. Arguably, the story is an interesting one, because it reveals the dramatic

historical circumstances that uprooted millions of people at that time. However, in many ways, this first visit also provides a realization that Lithuania and Korea of the late 19th century and early 20th century have been trapped in myriad of their own urgent problems, which prevented them from establishing mutual geographical and cultural contacts bridging the distance.

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MEDIEVAL MUSLIM GEOGRAPHICAL AND TRAVEL RECORDS AS WITNESSES TO ANCIENT KOREAN – MIDDLE EAST CONTACTS

Korea's enhanced material capabilities and international standing are reflected also in its interactions with the Middle East that never has been as important to Korea as it is today. At the same time, the extensiveness and complexity of Korea-Middle East relations are not commonly appreciated in the public media or in people's minds. Indeed, the media coverage of this subject is sparse, even in Korea. In a way, such disregard of the once-important Islamic civilization is a phenomenon throughout East Asia, which is also linked to the political-economic and ideological problems of the Middle East today: military conflicts, overpopulation, marginalization of religion for political purposes, etc. Nevertheless, we must not judge the past or the future from the today's perspective, taking into account former cultural and historical ties between Korea and the Islamic civilization from the middle of the ninth till the sixteenth century. One of the most interesting pieces of evidence in this regard is the ancient Muslim itineraries to which certain research by Korean scholars has been dedicated, yet it has not become sufficiently popular internationally and calls for further serious study and analysis, considering the specific features of these itineraries, their religious and didactic context and origination of evaluation of other cultures in the medieval Islamic civilization's stereotypes of the world and its population.

Keywords: Ancient Korea, Silla, Islam, Muslim, Geography, Paradise, utopia, analogy

Today the size of Muslim communities in Northeast Asia are small, constituting less than 1% of the total population of both the Republic of Korea (ROK) and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK)

(Al-Sudairi, 2021, p. 9), yet it does not diminish Korea's ties with the Islamic civilization in the past covering Middle Eastern, Chinese and Korean culture over a very long period of time. According to Lee Hee Soo, contacts between Muslims and Koreans on the Korean Peninsula are described in "... twenty-three Islamic sources written between the ninth and sixteenth centuries. These documents include writings from eighteen Muslim scholars" (Lee, 2018, p. 6). The image of Korea in those ancient treatises, of which the majority are "itineraries" or informative reports about foreign countries, their climate, flora, fauna and population, constitutes a very interesting theme. Presentations of foreign lands by Muslim authors, which due to the dominant role of Arabic in the Middle East are sometimes stereotypically referred to as "Arab itineraries", like in the European medieval, Renaissance/Humanism and Early Modern Period travel literature constitute a separate genre, which unites religious, didactic, fantastic elements from literature and actually and empirically acquired eyewitness information. Mentioning and depiction of ancient Korea in these presentations should be first assessed in the context of the medieval Islamic travel literature. A mistake sometimes made by scholars is to interpret the information provided in such travel descriptions from the point of thinking of a contemporary person, whereby the only element marked as specific is the "incomplete knowledge" of the ancient authors, which has been respectively compensated with fantasy. What has to be understood is the link between the respective travel literature and the Muslim cosmology, comprehension of the universe, Earth and its inhabitants at the time when a religious-genealogical explanation of the origin of the people of the "newly discovered lands" or their relation to the apocalyptic peoples indicated in the Quran or narratives of Middle Eastern literature forms an integral part frequently evaluating the "unbelievers" from the standpoint of religious superiority. To this is added glorification of nature's resources and tangible riches characteristic to utopia alongside presentation of strange phenomena. In a sense, those Arab itineraries can be compared to the European medieval Christian pilgrimage and *ars apodemica* which follows later. Not always medieval travel literature and

descriptions of strange lands can be assessed as “facilitating intercultural understanding” according to the contemporary notion. In fact, frequently both the Islamic and European Christian travellers were from the very beginning already prepared for what to expect abroad and armed with stereotypes, which had to strengthen their prejudices (Stagl, 2004, p. 78). As correctly stressed by Lee Hee-soo:

Muslim scholars’ knowledge about the Korean peninsula in medieval times was generally scanty. Worse, some was fantastic or fictional based on hearsay or folklore. Accounts from later times frequently quoted or recapitulated earlier writings without supportive documentation or footnotes. Nevertheless, a few historians and geographers made some worthwhile observations in their accounts of the state of the peninsula. Their knowledge of the Korean peninsula was far from actual reality because of Silla’s geographical location at the extreme end of Asia (Lee, 1991).

Alongside the religious and literary context, we have to understand that Muslim travels to Korea had actual preconditions originating from the politically economic developments at the time. For example, it is possible that a part of Shiites (Shi’a) sought refuge on the Korean Peninsula after fleeing persecution during the Umayyad dynasty (661–750) and developed their community on Hainan Island, south of China, from where they “...could have advanced as far as the Korean Peninsula seeking a more peaceful existence” (Lee, 2018, p. 6). Especially after the uprising organized by the fifth Imam of the Twelver and Isma’ili Shi’as – Zayd ibn Ali (695–740) against the Umayyad Caliphs at Kufa (740), fleeing was the only option of saving their lives for a lot of Shiites. Information regarding a possible location of a Shiite community in Korea is provided, for example, by Shihāb al-Dīn Ahmad bin ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Nuwayri (1279–1333) in his work “The Ultimate Ambition in the Arts of Erudition” (Lee, 2018, p. 6). It is difficult to judge today whether this information was only “fantastical claims” as Mohammed Al-Sudairi wrote (Al-Sudairi, 2021, p. 13), or should be indeed qualified as evidence of ancient historical events.

The problem is that the Korean sources are silent about these events. However, considering that since the 8th century the trade and commercial relations between Middle East and China had also become more frequent, Muslim contacts with Korea simply are a logical element of the process. Moreover, it should be taken into account that the Arabian and Persian sailors travelled to China by sea "... from Persian Gulf via the Strait of Malacca northward to Jiaozhou and Guangzhou" (Zhang, 2009, p. 95). And Jiaozhou is in immediate vicinity of the Korean Peninsula.

According to Lee Hee Soo, already before the advent of Islam, Korea and the Middle East had established trade relations by sea and overland routes such as the Silk Road, which is witnessed by archaeological monuments. Many treasures from the Sassanid Persia excavated in Korean tombs (Gyeongju, Korea), for example, includes glassware, tapestries and musical instruments (Park, 2012, p. 205). Regarding written evidence which could possibly contain information from Korea and pre-Islamic Middle Eastern contacts, a Persian epic poem "*Kūshnāma*", written by Hakim Iranshah ibn Abi al-Khayr (the 11th–12th centuries), which contains description of the ancient Korean kingdom Silla (*Basīlā*) has been preserved (Lee, 2018, p. 5). Speaking about the name of Korea, let us remember that the early Arabic name for Korea was *al-Silā*, which comes from the Silla dynasty who ruled it until the tenth century AD (Mackintosh-Smith; Montgomery, 2014, p. 156). Although "*Kūshnāma*" is first of all a literary-epic composition where legends and mythological beliefs of ancient Persia are mixed with historical data and the story it contains about a Sassanid prince who immigrated with his subjects to Korea (Silla) and married a Silla princess named Frārang, is a serious argument for the supporters of the confirmation of the ancient Korean-Iranian contacts (Lee, 2018).

If we speak about the "fantastic claims" regarding Korea in the ancient Muslim treatises, they are in general mentioning of Korea in connection with the great conqueror Alexander of Macedonia (356 BC–323 BC) and the mythical peoples of Gog and Magog. Since the Middle Ages, the great conqueror Alexander of Macedonia, who gave rise to the Hellenistic

period, was viewed in the European, Arab, Persian and Turkic traditions as an ideal ruler. In Islam, praise of Alexander began already with the Quran. Commonly referred to as Alexander the Great and also called “He of the Two Horns” (*Dhū al-qarnayn*), he is mentioned several times in the Quran’s Surah 18¹ in the context of Gog and Magog (*Ya’juj* and *Ma’juj*)² – barbaric and horrible tribes that would ravage the earth before the end of the world and were separated off from the rest of the world by Alexander of Macedonia.³ The origin of the Gog and Magog theme plays a role in the eschatological tradition of all three Abrahamic religions – Judaism, Christianity and Islam (Doufekar-Aerts, 2020). But from the 8th to the 11th century, Arab authors transformed Alexander of Macedonia from a Hellenic pagan into an Islamic saint (Zuwiyya, 2006, p. 95). Where do we place Korea in this context? The fact is that Muslim geographers (for instance, Ibn Khordadbeh and al-Idrīsī) believed that this mystical wall was built by Alexander of Macedonia in order to separate Gog and Magog, located somewhere in the north of China (Park, 2012, pp. 133-134). There is a very interesting account of Silla provided by a historian and traveller Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Mas‘ūdī (893–956) in his work on history and geography “*The Book of Notification and Verification*” (“*Kitāb al-tanbih wa al-isbrāf*”), where he stresses that:

Among cultural spheres of the world, one that lies to the end of the east is China and Silla. This ends at the Great Wall built by King Alexander against the onslaught from Gog and Magog races... (Lee, 1991, p. 5).

Al-Mas‘ūdī writes the following about the population of Silla:

Silla people, along with those from China and from around China, belong to the 7th community. They are descendants of Noah’s son

¹ Quran 18:83–101.

² The names Gog and Magog can be found in sacred texts, namely in a number of biblical books. In the New Testament, Gog and Magog appear in Revelation (20:7–8) on the defeat of Satan.

³ <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Yajuj-and-Majuj>

Japhet and Japhet's son Amur [Gomer – K. K.]. They all serve one king and use one tongue (Lee, 1991, p. 5).

According to the Hebrew Bible, Gomer was the eldest son of Japheth.⁴ On the other hand, in the Book of Ezekiel he is referred to as the ally of Gog, the chief of the land of Magog.⁵ Regarding Japheth's descendants, Islam agrees with the Biblical traditions. Mentioning of ancient Koreans in this context together with Chinese only proves their integration in the discourse of the “familiar world” of the medieval Muslim travellers and geographers. In the European tradition, for example, most of the nations of Europe have been identified as the descendants of Japheth already since the distinguished encyclopaedic work by Isidore of Seville (c. 560–636) “*Etymologiae*” (Leyser, 1994, p. 5).

At the same time, it is very interesting to see an idealized presentation of Korea, which makes one think about certain elements of utopia in this narrative. For instance, a Persian-Arabic geographer Abu'l-Qasim Ubaydallah ibn Abdallah ibn Khordadbeh (820/825 – 913) in his work “*Book of Roads and Kingdoms*” (“*Kitāb al-masālik wa-l-mamālik*”) pathetically renders the following:

“..Silla is a country abounding in gold. Muslims who advanced there, captivated by its congenial surroundings, tend to settle there for good and do not think of leaving the place (Lee, 2018, p. 6).

We can find very similar information in many works of medieval Muslim explorers and geographers. For example, Ahmad ibn Rustah Isfahani (the 10th century) in his “*Book of Precious Records*” (“*Kitāb al-a'lāq al-nafisa*”) writes:

There is a country called Silla to the extreme end of China, abounding in gold ... (Lee, 1991, p. 2).

Abū Naṣr al-Muṭahhar ibn Ṭāhir al-Maqdisī (?– ~966) in his “*Book of Genesis and History*” (“*Kitāb al-bad' wa-l-ta'rikh*”) describes Korea as a

⁴ “Table of Nations” in the Hebrew Bible (Genesis 10).

⁵ The Book of Ezekiel (38:6).

country to the east of China with fresh air, fertile land, clean water and excess of wealth, where the people use fabric embroidered with gold thread, wear silk dresses and use gold to make tableware (Lee, 1991, p. 8).

The famous medieval Muslim geographer Abu Abdullah Muhammad al-Idrisi al-Qurtubi al-Hasani as-Sabti (1100–1165) in his description of the world “*The Excursion of One Who is Eager to Traverse the Regions of the World*” (“*Nuzhat al-mushtāq fī ikhtirāq al-āfāq*”) or “*Tabula Rogeriana*”, as it is known in the West, written under the protection of the Norman king Roger II of Sicily (1095–1154), mentions that travellers to Silla do not think about leaving because of the charm of the pleasant climate (Lee, 1991, p. 8).

Abū al-Hasan ‘Alī ibn Mūsā ibn Sa‘īd al-Maghribī (1213–1286) in his treatise “*Geography*” (“*Kitab al-juġhrafīya*”) compares Silla with the Fortunate Islands (*al-Jazā‘ir al-Kbālidāt*), but “... while Fortunate Isles are not inhabited by men, Silla is a fertile land inhabited by men” (Lee, 1991, p. 8).

Abū al-Fidā (Ismā‘īl b. ‘Alī b. Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad b. ‘Umar b. Shāhanshāh b. Ayyūb b. Shādī b. Marwān) (1273–1331) in his compilation “*A Sketch of the Countries*” (“*Taqwīm al-buldan*”) wrote:

Silla belongs to the first climate zone to the east of China, comparable to the island of happiness in the west. The place is more blessed, abounding in rich produce than the Island of Happiness of the west.

The prosperity of Korea (Silla) is also stressed by Abū Bakr Muhammad ibn Zakariyyā al-Rāzī (854–925). According to him:

Those who went there do not want to come back because of fresh air, pleasant living conditions and abundant gold (Lee, 1991, p. 8).

A Persian-Arabic cosmographer and geographer Zakariyyā’ al-Qazwīni (Abū Yaḥyā Zakariyyā’ ibn Muḥammad ibn Maḥmūd al-Qazwīnī) (1203–1283) in his geographical dictionary “*Monuments of the Lands and Historical Traditions about Their Peoples*” (“*Āthār al-bilād wa-akhbār al-‘ibād*”) stresses the importance of Silla as a place where people are free

from diseases:

Silla – a very beautiful country – is lying beyond China. Its inhabitants do not suffer from illness thanks to fresh air, clean water and fertile soil. Inhabitants look quite wholesome and healthy. Sick people are very rare. It is known that amber fragrance emanates when water is sprinkled there. There are hardly any epidemic or diseases. There are almost no flies or harmful insects. Anyone who fell sick in other countries can have their sickness cured immediately if they come to Silla (Lee, 1991, p. 8).

Of course, when reading the mentions of Korea in the ancient Muslim sources the “abundance of gold” in the country is repeatedly mentioned (including Ibn Khordadbeh, etc.). This may be partly justified by historical evidence, for example, remembering the gold artifacts that were discovered by archaeologists in Silla royal tombs in Gyeongju, the capital of the kingdoms of Old Silla (57 B.C.–676 A.D.) and Unified Silla (676–935) (Lee, 2003; Park, 2012, p. 62). However, at the same time a question arises regarding the proportion of reality and imagined utopia in the description. According to Park Hyunhee, stories about a country in the east with bountiful gold continued to pique people’s interest into the thirteenth century and beyond (Park, 2012, p. 63). In this regard, along the mention of actual Silla, there appears the name of debatable land *al-Wāqwāq*, which according to Ibn Khordadbeh also lies east of China and possesses gold in such quantity that dog-leashes and monkey-collars are made from it (Park, 2012, p. 62). Park Hyunhee mentions that “... Islamic geographers continued to reproduce it, and many added further exaggerations like the fantastic illustration of trees that bear fruit that look like a woman’s head and shout “wāqwāq” when they ripen” (Park, 2012, p. 62). It is possible that the name of *al-Wāqwāq* derived from an ancient Sino-Korean name for Japan (Boxer, 1951, p. 452), yet even in such case the wondrous descriptions of riches cannot be related to a particular place, because just like in the case of Ibn Khordadbeh *al-Wāqwāq*, al-Idrisi writes the same about Silla, stressing that there even dogs and monkeys wear gold

necklaces, and its people wear clothes woven with gold thread (Boxer, 1951, p. 10). However, it cannot be stated that Muslim travellers did not know the location of ancient Korea. As correctly noted by Park Hyunhee, “It is not difficult to assume that many West Asian merchants based in China travelled to Silla, which had close relations with the Tang empire” (Park, 2012, p. 62). Likewise, it would not be correct to associate the name of ancient Korea in Muslim sources only with the name of one country – Silla – because the chronicles related to descriptions of China also bear the name of a country Goryeo (918–1392), for example, in Rashid al-Rashid al-Dīn Faḍlullāh Hamadānī’s (1247–1318) “*Compendium of Chronicles*” (the early 14th century) (Park, 2012, p. 135). In any case, Muslim travellers had sufficient knowledge about ancient Korea to create as objective description of it as possible. If the rich natural resources of Korea, existence of jewellery related to the development of craftsmanship and pleasant living conditions in the texts written in Arabic is possibly a positive interpretation of reality, as well as mentioning of fresh air, clean water and fertile land is understandable, considering the admiration of the green vegetation of Korean Peninsula by Muslim geographers, encyclopaedists and travellers who came from the deserts and semi-deserts of Middle East, the exaggerated description of the Korean richness, especially of the enormous gold reserves, is a transplanted literary narrative related to the concepts of paradise and utopia in the Islamic civilization. For example, unmistakable similarity can be noticed with the description of the island of Sri Lanka (*Sarandīb*) in an anonymously authored 11th-century Fatimid Arabic cosmography “*The Book of Curiosities*” (“*Kitāb gharā’ib al-funūn wa-mulaḥ al-‘uyūn*”), compiled by an unknown author in Egypt between 1020 and 1050, presently a property of the Bodleian Library at the University of Oxford. In addition to astronomic and geographical information, it also provides descriptions of “curiosities” such as monstrous animals and wondrous plants, etc.⁶ In our case, the interesting part is the already mentioned description of the island of Sri Lanka (*Sarandīb*), stating that it is:

⁶ <https://muslimheritage.com/the-book-of-curiosities-or-a-medieval-islamic-view-of-the-cosmos/>

... a great country on the equator, with several great cities, located in the Bay of Bengal. It is ruled by two kings and is inhabited by members of every nation. There is the Mountain of al-Rahūn, which is the place where Adam, may the blessings of God be upon him, fell [from heaven]. The trace of his foot is in the rock, but it has now been submerged by water, so anyone wishing to observe it needs to dive in order to see it. Fish as red as blood surround [the trace], and whoever eats this fish dies instantly. In Sri Lanka there are plantations of aloes-wood of unparalleled quality, and mines of gold, as well as of red, yellow and blue corundum, mines of diamonds, and corundum-like stones [...] No other country on the face of the earth equals the wealth of Sri Lanka. These examples reflect the common tradition that Adam was expelled from paradise and after his descent landed in Sri Lanka (Savage-Smith, 2016, pp. 227-283).

The association with paradise in the Islamic culture could be found in the most different locations on the Earth, which can be explained with consideration that paradise had no fixed location in the Quran, unlike the location of Eden in the Bible:

A river flows out of Eden to water the garden, and from there it divides and becomes four branches. The name of the first is Pishon; it is the one that flows around the whole land of Havilah, where there is gold; and the gold of that land is good; bdellium and onyx stone are there. The name of the second river is Gihon; it is the one that flows around the whole land of Cush. The name of the third river is Tigris, which flows east of Assyria. And the fourth river is the Euphrates.⁷

Respectively, in Christian (including Greek and Syriac) maps the exact location of paradise is often shown as a land in the east, where Adam and Eve are dwelling in the primordial garden (Savage-Smith, 2016, pp. 227-283). There are only few Islamic maps which contain the location of the place where Adam fell to earth, for example, the world map by

⁷ Genesis 2:10-14.

Mahmud ibn Husayn ibn Muhammed al-Kāshgharī (the 11th century), which is in the east, "... between the labels for Sri Lanka (Sarandīb) and the 'mountain of Sri Lanka' (jabal-i Sarandīb) and the label indicating the wall built by Alexander the Great to contain Gog and Magog" (Savage-Smith, 2016, p. 242).

Another paradox to be taken into account in Muslim geographical treatises and itineraries is the very particular description of the life in the paradise not associated with a particular location, which is because, unlike in Christianity where a person after death is oriented to an afterlife open to the imagination, Islam reveals a particular afterworld. Therefore, the depiction of paradise in the Quran is very explicit, listing forms of entertainment, vegetation, pastimes, partners, etc. (Kļaviņš, 2020, p. 350). Perhaps the arabesque description of the Korean riches and nature bounties follows from the analogy of understanding of such paradise. The problem is that seeking the paradise is *per se* to a certain extent contradictory to Islam, because there is no cultural pessimism in Islam; each issue is interpreted according to the standards specified in the religion and is applicable to secular life, and therefore there is no need in the Muslim environment to return to a past utopia or to seek happiness in faraway exotic regions, as was the case in Europe (Kļaviņš, 2020, p. 354). Something similar could have been topical in relation to Shia Muslim refugees escaping persecution from Umayyads and Abbasids during the 8th and 9th centuries mentioned earlier in this article. For them, southern China and Korea were a paradise not only allegorically but literally as a country where they could escape sure death and continue existence in the epoch so dramatic for Shiites. The comparison of the concept of "Fortunate Islands" (*al-Jazā'ir al-Khālidāt*) in the medieval works written in Arabic with the depictions of ancient Korea is much more difficult and problematic, considering that, according to Ptolemy, they were thought to lie near Canary Islands (Tibbetts, 1992, P. 101). Notably, in the context of ancient Greek science Ptolemy was one of the most important Arab geography and cosmology sources.

Conclusion

Mentions of ancient Korea in medieval Muslim geographical and travel records have very realistic explanations, considering that the information originates from the today-forgotten but once rather intensive trade and culture relations of ancient Korea and the Middle East, whose commencement dates back to the pre-Islamic period. At the same time, the religious context and stereotypes of literary narrative generally characteristic to the spiritual tradition of medieval Islamic civilization must be taken into account. In this regard, the exaggerated description of the Korean richness and nature bounties possibly follows from the perceptions of Shia Muslim refugees, who sought asylum from Umayyad and Abbasid persecutions during the 8th and 9th centuries, as well as the likely transplantation of the analogy of paradise into descriptions of Korea, which can be understood only with consideration of the absence of a particular location of the paradise in the Islamic tradition. Mentioning of the ancient Koreans in the context of the wall built by Alexander of Macedonia, Gog and Magog, descendants of Noah's son Japheth, etc. in turn, is understandable knowing that the Islamic (like Judaic and Christian) comprehension of geography, cosmology and the world outlook in general originated in the spiritual and religious-mythical discourse of Abrahamic religions, which through further interpretations became an integral part of perception of foreign lands.

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