

CENTER FOR KOREAN STUDIES  
UNIVERSITY OF HAWAI'I AT MĀNOA

# The 17th Worldwide Consortium of Korean Studies Centers Conference



**MAY 9-10, 2024**

**Center for Korean Studies**

University of Hawai'i at Mānoa

1881 East-West Road

Honolulu, HI 96822

<https://manoa.hawaii.edu/koreanstudies/>



# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Director's Welcoming Remarks	1
Introduction to Worldwide Consortium of Korean Studies Conference	2
Programs	3
Participants	5
Participants' Bio	6

## **SESSION 1 <EARLY MODERN KOREA>**

Presenter 1: Rui Guo	16
Presenter 2: Sung Ha Kim	46
Presenter 3: Tin Nok Li	60

## **SESSION 2 <KOREA AND BEYOND>**

Presenter 1: King Kwong Wong	70
Presenter 2: YongJun Park	84
Presenter 3: Zhenquen Shen	90

## **SESSION 3 <LANGUAGE, LITERATURE, CULTURE>**

Presenter 1: Hae In Lee Holden	100
Presenter 2: Minseung Kim	106
Presenter 3: Tin Nok Li	112

## **SESSION 4 <MODERN KOREA>**

Presenter 1: Eunyong Park	120
Presenter 2: Sujin Elisa Han	124
Presenter 3: Joohwee Lee	130

# Director's Welcoming Remarks

Tae-Ung Baik, Professor of Law & Director of CKS

It is my great pleasure and honor to host the 17th Worldwide Consortium of Korean Studies Centers (WWC) Conference here at the Center for Korean Studies (CKS) at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa. As Director of the CKS, I am glad to welcome you all to our Center for Korean Studies building that was built in 1980 following the establishment of the CKS at the University of Hawai‘i in 1972.

The WWC Conference was originally founded as the Pan-Pacific Korean Studies Consortium Conference in Kyushu in 2005, and subsequently expanded to be the WWC Conference in 2006. The 17th conference is happening in Hawai‘i this year with the directors of the Korean Studies centers, professors, and graduate students.

Along with the popularity of K-Pop, K-Drama, etc., we are witnessing that Korean studies research is expanding in various fields. It is important for us to understand the challenges that Korean studies overseas are facing so that we may set up optimal directions for future Korean Studies. In this conference, we will appreciate presentations made by excellent next-generation scholars majoring in Korean studies from participating universities. We will also have opportunities to review the current stage of Korean studies and discuss the difficulties that Korean studies are facing with Center Directors and participating faculty members. I am sure this will lead us to think of more means for broader Korean studies research and ways to strengthen collaboration among Korean Studies centers.

I am sure that this Conference will be an excellent forum for active discussions and a meaningful place where we will share our wisdom for deeper and broader development of Korean studies in the future.

Thank you once again for joining the 17th WWC Conference and I hope you will have a great time in Hawai‘i!

# Introduction to Worldwide Consortium of Korean Studies

The Worldwide Consortium of Korean Studies Centers Conference was initiated on February 20-21, 2005 by eight representative universities leading the world's Korean studies. The meeting participants reached the decision to form the WWC Conference composed by the Korean studies centers at 12 universities. The 12 core constituent universities of the WWC conference are: The University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, UCLA, Harvard University, The Australian National University, The University of British Columbia, Korea University, Seoul National University, Fudan University, and Peking University, Yonsei University, The School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, Kyushu University.

This year, 21 faculty members (Directors of Korean studies centers and/or representative faculty members) from 14 participating Universities and 12 graduate students will join the WWC Korean Studies Centers Conference.

Except for the pandemic period of recent years, conferences have been held almost every year in the form of meetings of directors of the Korean Studies centers and academic conferences of graduate students where the directors and professors serve as discussants. The 17th WWC Conference has been decided to be held at the University of Hawaii.

The 17th WWC Conference happens on May 9-10, 2024 at the Center for Korean Studies Auditorium and Conference room as follows:

- (1) Meeting of directors or dispatched representatives of the Korean Studies centers affiliated with WWC
  - a. Sharing the status of Korean studies research and discussing current issues
  - b. The director's meeting will be held in a hybrid format, allowing for both face-to-face meetings and online participation via the Internet.
- (2) Academic conference will be held with the presentations by graduate students recommended by each Korean Studies center and discussions by the directors or representative professors.

**MAY 9, 2024: FIRST DAY OF THE CONFERENCE**

Time	Program	Moderator/Presenter/Discussant
9:00 - 9:30	Registration (CKS Lobby)	
9:30 - 10:00	Opening Ceremony (CKS Auditorium)	Tae-Ung Baik, CKS Director Peter Arenade, CALL Dean Christopher Bae, Next CKS Director
10:00 - 12:00	<b>Session One &lt;Early Modern Korea&gt;</b> (CKS Auditorium)	<b>Dr. Don Baker</b> <i>University of British Columbia</i>
	Wall-scribed Poem and Collective Memory: Memory Construction of Ji Wenlan in Yeonhaengrok	Rui Guo, <i>Peking University</i>
	The Role of Gong-ga(公家) and Sa-sil(私室) Discourse in the Secondary Son Problem of the Chosŏn Dynasty: A Case Study of King Yŏngjo’s Admittance Actions, 1772-1774.	Sung Ha Kim, <i>Korea University</i>
	Deck the Halls with Boughs of Holly? Contextualization of Christmas in Early Korean Protestant Church (1884-1910)	Tin Nok Li, <i>Seoul National Univ.</i>
	Discussion	Dr. Hosub Jung, <i>Korea University</i> Dr. Juhn An, <i>University of Michigan</i> Dr. Ned Shultz, <i>Univ. of Hawai’i</i>
12:00 - 14:00	Director’s Meeting I (CKS Conference room); Lunch for Participants	
14:00 - 16:00	<b>Session Two &lt;Korea and Beyond&gt;</b> (CKS Auditorium)	<b>Dr. Tae-Ung Baik</b> <i>University of Hawai’i at Mānoa</i>
	Concepts of Sovereignty and Legitimacy in Chosŏn-Ming Investiture Practices and Communications	King Kwong Wong, <i>University of British Columbia</i>
	Comparative Analysis of Peripheral Diplomacy Strategies between Joseon and Modern Korea: A Constructivist Perspective	YongJoon Park, <i>Fudan University</i>
	The Developing Trend of U.S.-Japan-ROK Trilateral Security Cooperation: A Historical and Realistic Survey towards ROK	Zhenqun Shen, <i>Fudan University</i>
	Discussion	Dr. Jiyong Zheng, <i>Fudan University</i> Dr. Seungkwon You, <i>U. of Missouri</i> Dr. Sang S. Kim, <i>U. of Missouri</i>
17:00	Dinner for Participants	

**MAY 10, 2024: SECOND DAY OF THE CONFERENCE**

Time	Program	Moderator/Presenter/Discussant
9:30 - 10:00	Registration (CKS Lobby)	
10:00 - 12:00	<b>Session Three &lt;Language, Literature, Culture&gt;</b> (CKS Auditorium)	<b>Dr. Kyung Moon Hwang</b> <i>Australian National University</i>
	Reimagining Tradition: The Night of Jeonju & Heritage Story in Hanok Maül	Hae In Lee Holden, <i>Univ. of Hawai'i</i>
	Ternary Wave: Colonial Korean Literature Set in China	Minseung Kim, <i>University of California - Los Angeles</i>
	Poetry Translation of Yun Dong-Ju's "Sky, Wind, Stars, and Poetry" – Translation Criticism and New Translation with Commentary	Dalila Hadzic, <i>Freie Universitat Berlin</i>
	Discussion	Dr. Ju Hui Judy Han, <i>Univ. of California - Los Angeles</i> Dr. Tingting Li, <i>Peking University</i> Dr. David Krolikoski, <i>Univ. of Hawai'i</i>
12:00 - 13:00	Lunch for Participants	
13:00 - 15:00	<b>Session Four &lt;Modern Korea&gt;</b> (CKS Auditorium)	<b>Dr. Sun Joo Kim</b> <i>Harvard University</i>
	"Turning Crippled Children into Cheerful Workers for the Nation": Activities of the Korea Special Education Research Association in the 1960s and the Formation of the Direction of Special Education in Korea	Eunyoung Park, <i>Yonsei University</i>
	Redux and Revolution: American Pharmaceuticals in US-Occupied Korea, 1945–1948	Sujin Elisa Han, <i>Harvard University</i>
	Memories of Repatriates from Japan to North Korea: Stories of Separated Families and Narratives of Reunification	Joowhee Lee, <i>Australian National Univ.</i>
	Discussion	Dr. Tae Gyun Park, <i>Seoul National Univ.</i> Dr. Seong Bo Kim, <i>Yonsei University</i> Dr. Chehyung Harrison Kim, <i>Univ. of Hawai'i</i>
15:00 - 16:30	Directors' Meeting II (CKS Conference room); Free Time for Students	
16:30	Reception (CKS Lobby)	

# 17th Worldwide Consortium of Korean Studies Centers Conference Participants

University Affiliation	Professor(s) Name	Student(s) Name
Australian National University	Dr. Kyung Moon Hwang, Director	Dalila Hadzic
Freie Universitat Berlin	[Dr. Eun-Jeung Lee, Director - online]	Joowhee Lee
Fudan University	Dr. Jiyoung Zheng, Director	YongJoon Park
		Zhenquen Shen
Harvard University	Dr. Sun Joo Kim, Interim Director	Sujin Elisa Han
Korea University	Dr. Hosub Jung, Director	Sung Ha Kim
Kyushu University	[Dr. Kaoru Izumi, Director -online]	
Peking University	Dr. Tingting Li, Rep. Faculty	Rui Guo
Seoul National University	Dr. Tae Gyun Park, Director	Tin Nok Li
University of British Columbia	Dr. Don Baker, Director	King Kwong Wong
University of California - Los Angeles	Dr. Ju Hui Judy Han Rep. Faculty [Dr. Namhee Lee, Director - online]	Minseung Kim
University of Hawai'i	Dr. Tae-Ung Baik, Director	Hae In Lee Holden
	Dr. Christopher Bae, Next Director	
	Dr. Cheehyung Harrison Kim, Faculty	
	Dr. David Krolikoski, Faculty	
	Dr. Ned Shultz, Faculty	
University of Michigan	Dr. Juhn Ahn, Rep. Faculty [Dr. Youngju Ryu, Director - online]	
University of Missouri	Dr. Seungkwon You, Director	
	Dr. Sang S. Kim, Director	
Yonsei University	Dr. Seong Bo Kim, Director	Eunyoung Park



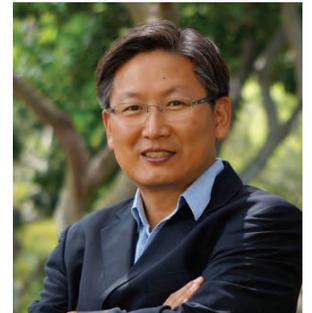
## Directors & Participating Faculty

Juhn Ahn is associate professor of Buddhist and Korean Studies at the University of Michigan. His current research focuses on the economic history of Korea during the Koryŏ period (918-1392), reading practices in Song-dynasty (960-1279) Chan Buddhism, and the cultural history of weather, empire, and wealth in early Chosŏn Korea.



Christopher J. Bae is a professor of Anthropology at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, specializing in biological anthropology, paleoanthropology, and human evolution. Born in Korea and raised in the US, Bae's research focuses on human origins, primate behavioral ecology, race and human variations, skeletal biology, forensic anthropology, and Asian paleoanthropology. He has conducted extensive research in Japan, China, and Korea, linking hominin morphological and behavioral records to gain a comprehensive understanding of human evolutionary history in East Asia. With 110 publications and \$1.4M in extramural funding, Bae is a recognized expert in the field.

Tae-Ung Baik, Professor at William S. Richardson School of Law and Director of the Center for Korean Studies at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, served the United Nations Human Rights Council Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances (WGEID) as Member (2015-2022), Vice-Chair (2018-2020), and Chair-Rapporteur (2020-2021). He received his first law degree from Seoul National University College of Law, and earned his master (LL.M.) and doctoral (J.S.D.) degrees from Notre Dame Law School. He was admitted to the Bar as an attorney-at-law in the State of New York and had researched as a visiting scholar at Harvard Law School (2033-2023) and Seoul National University (2017-2018). He teaches international human rights law, comparative law, and human rights in Asia. .



Don Baker is professor of Korean Civilization in the Department of Asian Studies at the University of British Columbia. He is currently serving as a co-director of the UBC Centre for Korean Research. He is a cultural historian of Korea, with a particular focus on philosophy, religion and science from 600 into the 20th century. His latest book is *A Korean Confucian's Advice on How to be Moral: Tasan Chŏng Yagyong's Reading of the Zhongyong* (University of Hawaii Press).

Ju Hui Judy Han, University of California, Los Angeles, Gender Studies Assistant Professor, fuels transnational conversations on gender, sexuality, and activism. Her works on (im)mobilities, faith-based movements, and queer politics appear in *Journal of Asian Studies*, *Critical Asian Studies*, *positions: asia critique*, *Journal of Korean Studies*, and in books like “Religion, Protest, Social Upheaval” (2022), “Ethnographies of U.S. Empire” (2018), “Territories of Poverty: Rethinking North and South” (2015), and “Q&A: Queer in Asian America” (1998). She is crafting a book on “queer throughlines” and co-writing on protest culture, while also co-editing for “Detours: A Decolonial Guide to Korea”.



Kyung Moon Hwang is Korea Foundation Professor in the School of Culture, History, & Language at the Australian National University and Director of the ANU Korea Institute. He is the author of *Fate and Freedom in Korean Historical Films* (2023), *A History of Korea* (Third Edition, 2021), *Past Forward: Essays in Korean History* (2019), *Rationalizing Korea: The Rise of the Modern State* (2015), and *Beyond Birth: Social Status in the Emergence of Modern Korea* (2004). At ANU he teaches courses on Korean history, society, culture, and language.

Kaoru Izumi is Professor at the Faculty of Law. He completed his Ph.D. in Politics at Kyushu University. His research interests include local politics and central-local relations in Japan, the study of party politics in South Korea, and the analysis of public policy in relation to science and technology issues. He currently teaches courses on Local Governance and on Democratization Theory. He is currently serving as a director at the Research Center for Korean studies and Institute of Decision Science for a Sustainable Society.



Hosub Jung obtained a doctorate in ancient Korean history from Korea University's Department of Korean History. At the moment he is researching ancient Korean history and archaeology focusing on Goguryeo. He is currently a professor in the Department of Korean History at Korea University and the director of the Center for Korean History. His major book publications include “The Construction and Ritual of Goguryeo Tombs”, “The Study and Recognition of Goguryeo History”, and “Secret of Goguryeo Inscriptions”.

Hojye Kang, Professor at Freie Universität Berlin, Institute of Korean Studies, graduated from Seoul University with a focus on history of western science, Korean scientific history, and North Korean history. To address challenges in North Korean Science and Technology Studies, he re-established two research centers: The Research Center of North Korean Science & Technology (RecNKST) and RCPU. Since 2016, he has directed RecNKST. The center focuses on efficient systems for collecting, analyzing, and providing North Korean literature; crucial given the difficulty in accessing historical data. Prof. Kang advocates merging North Korean technology with South Korean capital for international competitiveness.



Cheehyung Harrison Kim is associate professor of history at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. His research and teaching focus on socialism, labor, industrialism, everyday life, and urbanism in the context of East Asia and, in particular, North Korea. His research awards include the Jacob K. Javits Fellowship and the American Council of Learned Societies Faculty Fellowship. At the University of Hawai'i, he is also a faculty member of the Center for Korean Studies. *Heroes and Toilers: Work as Life Postwar North Korea, 1953-1961* (Columbia University Press, 2018) is his first book. He is currently writing a transnational history of architecture and urbanization in North Korea.

Sang Kim has directed the University of Missouri's Asian Affairs Center since September 2004 and managed the MU Confucius Institute from 2015 to 2020. Sang brings hands-on experience and knowledge of international relations in the Pacific Rim countries to his position at MU. Sang and his teams establish and maintain partnerships and programmatic relationships with universities and government entities. These collaborations have led to the development of various educational programs for governments and academic institutions, which enhance the influence and connections of Missouri throughout Asia. He earned two bachelor's degrees from Southern Illinois University in journalism and psychology with a minor in Japanese; and MBA, MAACY, and Marketing Ph.D. coursework from the University of Missouri.



Kim Seong Bo is a professor in the Department of History and the director of the institute for Korean Studies at Yonsei University. He is also a member of board of directors of the Institute for Korean Historical Studies and the Asia Peace and History Education Network. The focus of his research is the contemporary socioeconomic history of North and South Korea. He is the author of *The Origins and Development of the Economic Structure of North and South Korea*, *The History of North Korea I* and *A history to open the Future* (co-authoring).

Sun Joo Kim is the Harvard-Yenching Professor of Korean History in the Department of East Asian Languages and Civilizations at Harvard University and Interim Director of Harvard Korean Institute. She received her B.A. degree in history from Yonsei University in Korea and her M.A. and Ph.D. in history from the University of Washington. She has a wide range of research interests in the socio-cultural history of Chosŏn Korea (1392–1910), including popular movements, regional history, legal history, slavery, kinship and genealogy, and art history. She is also dedicated to making underused yet illuminating primary sources available in English through conventional and digital publishing.



David Krolikoski, Assistant Professor of Korean Literature at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa, specializes in modern Korean poetry, translation studies, postcolonial theory, and transnational literature. With an M.A. and Ph.D. in East Asian Languages and Civilizations from the University of Chicago, he has published articles and translations in journals such as *Azalea: Journal of Korean literature and Culture* and *Japanese Language and Literature*, and the Asian American Writer's Workshop, *The Margins*, co-translated a collection of essays by Kim Hyesoon, and served as research consultant for the AppleTV+ adaptation of Min Jin Lee’s *Pachinko*.

LI Tingting (Ph.D., University of Chicago, 2014) is an Associate Professor and Director of the Department of Korean Studies, Peking University and serves as Deputy Director of the PKU Center for Korean Studies. Her research interests include modern Korean history, Korean political economy, and Northeast Asian international relations. Her recent publications mainly focus on the ROK-U.S. alliance, ROK-Japan relations, sanctions and North Korea economy, and the historiography of modern Korea.



Tae Gyun Park, who holds a Ph.D. from the Seoul National University(2000), currently serves as a professor at the Graduate School of International Studies [GSIS] (2000-present), Seoul National University [SNU]. He was a dean of the GSIS in 2020-2022, and an editor in chief at the university newspaper at SNU in 2019-2020. He was a chairman of the Korean Historian's association in 2022-2023. He published books on the Korean War in 2005, the US-Korea Relationship between 1945 and 1980 in 2006, the Vietnam War in 2015, and so on. He had a class on modern Korean history at the Harvard University in 2017-2018 academic year, and at the Tubingen University.

Seungkwon You is the co-director of the Institute for Korean Studies (IKS) and the director of Global Leadership Program at the Asian Affairs Center at the U of Missouri (MU), which hosts more than 70 Asian professionals, including Koreans, Chinese and Mongolian. Additionally, he is an associate teaching professor for the Korean Studies Program at MU, and had taught courses on Korean society through cinema and U.S.-Korean relations for the past 20 years. Seungkwon got his Ph.D in Political Science at MU.



Jiyong Zheng, Professor and Director at the Center for Korean Studies at Fudan University, also contributes to the Chinese Center for Collaborative Innovation on Territorial Sovereignty and Maritime Rights. With a Doctoral Degree from Fudan University, he gained post-doctoral experiences at Kyungnam University and Kim Il Sung University. Focusing his research on domestic politics in both Koreas, he authored, co-authored, and edited over forty scholarly articles and five books, including: “ROK's Congress Politics” (2017), “The ‘Conflict-Reconciliation’ Cycle on the Korean Peninsula: A Chinese Perspective” (2012), and “Road Map to a Korean Peninsula Peace Regime: A Chinese Perspective” (2015).

## Graduate Students

Rui Guo is a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Korean Language and Literature at Peking University, specializing in Korean classical literature with a particular interest in Chinese poetry of the Joseon Dynasty. Her academic journey commenced at the same institution, where she earned her B.Litt. in 2019 and M.Litt. in 2022. Currently supported by the China Scholarship Council, she is undertaking her studies as a visiting Ph.D. student at Seoul National University. Her articles have appeared in KCI journals such as *Yeol-sang Journal of Classical Studies*, *Studies of Chinese & Korean Humanities*, and *Soonchunhyang Journal of Humanities*.



Dalila Hadzic is employed as a research assistant at the Korea-Europe Center, a collaborative initiative between the Institute of Korean Studies at Freie Universität Berlin and the KDI School of Public Policy and Management. She is currently completing her MA in Korean Studies on top of a BA in Literature and Translation Studies, complemented by a second BA in East Asian Studies/Korean Studies and Economics. She has also worked as an interpreter as well as a shipping agent for Hyundai Merchant Marine Hamburg. Her resume mirrors her diverse research interests spanning Koreaneconomy, international relations, and all things literature.

Sujin Elisa Han is a doctoral candidate in the Department of East Asian Languages and Civilization at Harvard University. Her dissertation examines the rise and spread of a commercial culture of pharmaceuticals in South Korea between 1945 and 1965. Through this research, she seeks to elucidate the influence of this commercial culture on ideas and aesthetics of health and therapeutic practices. She has been working on her dissertation with support from Harvard's Korea Institute and Weatherhead Center as well as SNU's Kyujanggak Institute and the Mellon Foundation.



Minseung Kim is a Ph.D. candidate at UCLA, specializing in modern Korean literature. Her research interests include modern literary history, translation, colonial masculinity, and comparative literature in East Asia. Currently, she is working on her dissertation, which focuses on colonial Korean literature set in China during the 1920s and 1930s. In her dissertation, she explores the representations of migrant lives on borders between Korea and China, as well as fugitive travels within and outside of the Japanese empire. She received her B.A. (2014) in Korean Linguistics and Literature from Sungkyunkwan University in Korea and her M.A. (2019) in East Asian Studies from Washington University in St. Louis.

Sung Ha Kim is a PhD student in Korean History at Korea University, South Korea, focusing on the 17th to 19th century Chosŏn Korea. She earned her M.A. in Korean History from Korea University. With a master's degree centered on the promulgation of Daedongbŏp and its impact on corvée labor (yoyŏk) and exemptions (bokho), Sung Ha's research interest revolves around the dynamics of labor procurement and management by the Chosŏn government. Currently, she aims to examine the broader framework of the Gukyŏk system, aiming to unravel the complexities of governance, labor, and societal dynamics between the government and the populace.



Hae In Lee Holden is a Ph.D. candidate in Ethnomusicology program at University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa and currently working as an administrative support staff at the Center for Korean Studies. Lee received her M.A. in Ethnomusicology at UH Mānoa as well and holds a B.M. and an M.M. in Korean traditional music focusing on gayageum, a 12-stringed plucked zither. As a professional gayageum performer, Lee has participated in musical performances not only in Korea but also in Hawaii. Her research interests include Korean traditional and contemporary music, creative industries, and identities of cultural producers.

Joowhee Lee is a Ph.D. candidate at the Australian National University (Pacific and Asian History). After two years of conducting interviews in Korea and Japan between late 2018 and early 2020, she submitted her Ph.D. thesis early this year and has been waiting for the results of the blind review process. Her doctoral thesis title is “Memories of Repatriates from Japan to North Korea: Stories of Separated Families and Narratives of Reunification.” Lee obtained an M.A. in Cultural Anthropology from Hanyang University. Her research interests include contemporary Korean studies, North Korean migration studies, Zainichi Korean studies, and family histories in the Cold War/Hot War cultural context in East Asia.



Tin Nok Li is a Ph.D. student in the Graduate School of International Studies at Seoul National University. Intrigued by the interactions between early Protestant missionaries and Korean society during a tumultuous era, she has a profound interest in exploring the history of the early Korean church from the late 19th to the early 20th century. Recently, she has also been trying to broaden her scope of interest and delve into the intricate relationship between church and state in contemporary Korean history.

Eunyoung Park is a Ph.D. student in the Department of History at Yonsei University. She is studying the history of disability and interested in special education and rehabilitation. Park wrote an article about the life of disabled soldiers of the Korean War. She basically wants to reveal the way disabled people and non-disabled people coexisted in society outside facilities in modern Korean history. Currently Park is focusing on examining the history of special education and the position of it in Korean Society.



YongJoon Park is Ph.D. candidate at the School of International Relations and Public Affairs, Fudan University. Currently preparing his doctoral dissertation titled "Changes in Sino-North Korean Relations: Focusing on the Transformation of the North Triangular Structure," which explores the impetus and impact of the establishment of diplomatic relations between Korea and China. Before embarking on his academic journey in earnest, he was involved in producing documentaries on North Korea-related topics. Currently, his research interests also encompass Sino-North Korea Relations, East Asian Security, and North Korean Diplomatic Policy. Since 2019, Park is concurrently serving as an advisory council member at The Peaceful Unification Advisory Council and writing columns on North Korea-China relations.

Shen Zhenqun is a Ph.D. student from School of International Relations and Public Affairs & Center for Korean Studies, Fudan University, China. He received his bachelor's degree in international politics from Department of Political Science, Nanjing University, China. His research interests include: international relations theory, northeast Asian international security, east Asian international relations history. He used to be an exchange student at UC-Berkeley (2019), University of Tuebingen at Germany (2023). He used to attend International Crisis Management Workshop for graduate students at GSIS Korea University (2024).



King Kwong Wong is a cultural, intellectual, and political historian of premodern and early modern Korea and China. He is currently pursuing his Ph.D. degree in the Department of Asian Studies at the University of British Columbia. His research focuses on conceptualizations of sovereignty and interstate relations from the thirteenth to nineteenth centuries. It examines how Korean and Chinese elites articulated and performed these ideas in their diplomatic communications, compilations of diplomatic missives, and relevant diplomatic rituals and practices. He is also interested in cultural, intellectual, personnel, and material exchanges in premodern and early modern East Asia.





**SESSION ONE <EARLY MODERN KOREA>**

# Wall-scribed Poem and Collective Memory: Memory

## Construction of Ji Wenlan in Yeonhaengrok

제벽시와 집단 기억:

연행록 속 계문란 이미지에 대한 기억 구축

곽예 (Rui Guo)

북경대학교 (Peking University)

### Abstract

As a series of travelogues authored by envoys dispatched to China at the behest of the Joseon Dynasty king, Yeonhaengrok offers rich insights into envoys' experiences and perceptions of China, thus providing valuable material for exploring China's image from an external viewpoint. In 1680, the discovery of a wall-scribed poem written by Ji Wenlan, a Chinese woman seized by Qing soldiers, caught the attention of Joseon envoys. Notably absent from Chinese historical records, Ji Wenlan's story was perpetuated by 57 Joseon envoys across more than two centuries. This study applies Maurice Halbwachs' collective memory theory to analyze the memory construction of Ji Wenlan in Yeonhaengrok. This paper traces the witness records of Ji Wenlan's poem from 1680 by envoys including Sin Jeong, Sin Wan, Kim Seok-ju, Nam Gu-man, Lee Seon, Choe Seok-jeong, and Kang Hyeon. Despite the poem's eventual disappearance, subsequent envoys maintained the memory by referencing these earlier records. This practice not only deepened the envoys' emotional connection to Ji Wenlan but also formed a textual system centered around the records of Kim Seok-ju, Kim Chang-eop, and Park Ji-won, thereby solidifying Ji Wenlan's image as a collective memory among the Joseon envoys. Moreover, this paper explores the dynamic reconstruction of Ji Wenlan's image in Yeonhaengrok by modifying both her dynasty affiliation and personal identity. They also positioned Ji Wenlan alongside notable Chinese women such as Cai Wenji, Wang Zhaojun, and Pipa Girl, thereby enriching and diversifying the memory of Ji Wenlan. The motivations behind the memory construction and reconstruction are linked to the mourning for the Ming Dynasty following its fall to the Qing, as well as the emphasis on chastity within the Confucian ethical framework of the Joseon Dynasty.

Keywords: Yeonhaengrok, Yeonhaengsa, Ji Wenlan, Wall-scribed Poem, Collective Memory

## 1. 서론

연행록은 조선조 군왕의 파견으로 중국을 다녀온 사신이 남긴 기행문으로<sup>1</sup>, 조선 시대 사신의 중국 사행 체험과 견문에 대한 방대한 기록을 담고 있으며, 타자의 시각에서 본 중국 이미지를 조명하기 위한 연구 자료를 제공해 주고 있다. 季文蘭이라는 清代 여성이 榛子店<sup>2</sup>이라는 객점에 남긴 題壁詩가 1680년부터 연행사들에 의해 발견되어 연행길에서의 기억 대상이 됐다. 제벽시의 내용에 의하면, 계문란은 淸初의 전란 속에서 포로가 되어 청나라 군인에게 瀋陽으로 팔려가는 도중에 진자점에 들러 자신의 처량한 신세를 한탄하며 제벽시를 남겼다고 한다. 이러한 계문란 제벽시는 연행사들의 주목을 받아 연행록에서 빈번하게 언급됐다. 1680년부터 1881년까지 200여 년에 걸친 사행 기간 동안, 57명의 연행사가 연행록에 계문란 관련 기록을 남겼는데, 이를 표로 정리하면 다음과 같다.

<표 1> 연행록에 계문란 관련 기록을 남긴 연행사 명단

번호	연행사 성명	사행 시간	계문란 관련 기 록 출처	번호	연행사 성명	사행 시간	계문란 관련 기 록 출처	번호	연행사 성명	사행 시간	계문란 관련 기 록 출처
1	申晷	1680	燕行錄	20	李喆輔	1737	止庵遺稿, 丁巳 燕槎錄	39	南公轍	1807	金陵集
2	申琬	1681	燕行詩	21	徐命膺	1755	保晚齋集	40	李鼎受	1811	游燕錄
3	金錫胄	1682	搗椒錄	22	趙榮順	1771	退軒集	41	李時秀	1812	及健齋漫錄
4	柳尚運	1682	燕行錄	23	李埰	1777	燕行記事	42	申緯	1812	奏請行卷
5	南九萬	1684	甲子燕行雜錄	25	李德懋	1778	燕行詩, 入燕記	43	徐有素	1822	燕行錄
6	李世華	1684	雙柏堂集	24	朴趾源	1780	熱河日記	44	朴思浩	1828	燕薊紀程
7	李選	1685	芝湖集	26	洪良浩	1782	燕雲紀行	45	姜時永	1829	輪軒續錄
8	崔錫鼎	1686	椒餘錄	27	洪仁謨	1783	足睡堂集	46	鄭元容	1831	燕槎錄
		1697	蔗回錄								
9	徐文重	1690	燕行日錄	28	金煜	1784	竹下集	47	金景善	1832	燕輶直指
10	洪萬朝	1696	燕槎錄	29	金照	1784	觀海錄	48	趙門淳	1835	心庵遺稿
11	宋相琦	1697	玉吾齋集	30	朴齊家	1790	貞蕤閣集	49	李尚迪	1836	恩誦堂集
12	姜錕	1701	看羊錄	31	金正中	1791	奇遊錄	50	徐慶淳	1855	夢經堂日史
13	李願命	1704	疏齋集	32	李在學	1793	芝圃遺稿	51	申錫愚	1860	入燕記
14	金昌業	1712	燕行填笈錄, 老稼齋燕行日記	33	徐有聞	1798	戊午燕錄, 戊午燕行錄	52	崔秉翰	1862	燕槎從遊錄
15	李宜顯	1720	庚子燕行詩, 庚子燕行雜識	34	李基憲	1801	燕行日記	53	姜瑋	1873	北遊草
		1732	壬子燕行詩							1874	北遊續草

1 漆永祥, 「燕行錄의 界定 및 收錄範圍에 대하여」, 『古籍整理研究學刊』 5, 2010, 60 쪽.  
2 현재 中國 河北省 唐山市 灤州市 榛子鎮에 위치하고 있다.

16	李時恒	1728	和隱集	35	洪奭周	1803	淵泉集	54	李建昌	1874	北遊詩草
17	尹淳	1728	白下集	36	李海應	1803	蘊山紀程	55	姜蘭馨	1875	乙亥燕行詩
18	韓德厚	1732	承旨公燕行日錄	37	姜浚欽	1805	三溟集	56	林翰洙	1876	燕行錄
19	任珽	1736	燕行錄	38	李始源	1805	隱幾集	57	金允植	1881	雲養集

연행록에 끊임없이 기술된 것과 달리, 계문란 제벽시는 중국 事蹟에 전혀 기록되어 있지 않다.<sup>1</sup> 즉 계문란은 연행록 속에서만 지속적으로 언급되어 상기되고 있으나, 중국에서는 완전히 잊힌 인물이라고 볼 수 있다. 이는 계문란이라는 인물 이미지에 눈여겨볼 만한 특수성을 부여하고 있다. 중국의 관련 기록이 부족한 상황에서 조선 연행사들은 계문란을 여러 차례 회상하고 기술하면서 독특한 집단 기억을 구축해냈다. 집단 기억의 개념은 프랑스 사회학자 모리스 알박스(Maurice Halbwachs, 1877-1945)가 처음으로 제기한 것으로 사회 집단의 구성원들이 과거를 공유하는 과정과 결과를 의미한다.<sup>2</sup> 집단 기억 이론은 특정 집단 속에서의 기억 구축 및 재구성에 초점을 맞추고 있으므로 계문란 기억에 대한 연행사 집단의 전파 시도와 재구성 과정을 검토하는 데 도움이 될 수 있다. 현재 한중 학계에서의 계문란 관련 연구 성과는 주로 本事 考證과 계문란 事蹟에 대한 연행사들의 관점 기술에 집중되어 있다.<sup>3</sup> 그러나 일부 연행사들의 관점 나열에 머물러 있는 경향이 다소 있어 보이고, 57명 연행사의 집단 구축 과정에서 계문란 이미지의 기본적인 윤곽과 재구성 양태를 충분히 조명하지 못하고 있는 게 사실이다.

이에 따라 본고에서는 모리스 알박스의 집단 기억 이론의 관점에서 접근하여 다음 세 가지 주요 문제에 대해 다루고자 한다. 첫째, 계문란이라는 중국 여성 이미지를 둘러싸고 연행사들은 집단 기억의 생성과 공유 과정에서 기억의 기본적 윤곽을 어떻게 보존하고, 어떤 기억 매개체를 이용하여 기억의 구축을 추진하고 있는가? 둘째, 연행사들은 계문란 이미지를 어떻게 개작하고 보완해 왔으며, 이 과정에서 기억 재구성의 경로를 어떻게 반영하고 있는가? 셋째, 계문란 이미지에 대한 기억 구축 및 재구성은 어떠한 사회적 틀 속에서 이루어져 왔고, 그 안에는 어떠한 사회적 원인이 숨겨져 있는가? 이러한 필자의

1 楊海英, 「조선 시대 士大夫의 季文蘭 콤플렉스 및 淸初 ‘잡혀간 여자’의 命運」, 『淸史論叢』, 北京: 中國廣播出版社, 2007.

2 Maurice Halbwachs, 畢然·郭金華 譯, 『집단 기억을 논하여』, 上海: 上海人民出版社, 2002, 40 쪽.

3 계문란 제벽시의 선행 연구를 보면, 葛兆光是 계문란 제벽시의 작성 시간을 1678년으로 추정하고, 계문란에 관한 연행시의 주제를 동정과 질책으로 나누어 고찰했다. 楊海英은 계문란을 淸初 被擄女의 전형으로 규명하고, 淸初 ‘잡혀간 여자’에 대한 사료 기록을 정리했다. 漆永祥은 조선 연행사들이 江南 지역을 명나라의 상징으로 여겼기 때문에 강남 출신인 계문란에 대한 특별한 관심을 드러냈다고 지적했다. 이등연과 이계연은 계문란 관련 연행시의 관점을 동정과 비판으로 분류했고, 윤주필은 동정론과 윤리론의 관점에서 접근하여 계문란 이미지를 분석했는데, 연구의 틀은 상술한 연구와 대체로 비슷하다. 葛兆光, 「異域 悲情을 상상하여—계문란 제벽시에 대한 조선 시대 사신의 상상」, 『中國文化』 1, 2006, 138-145 쪽; 楊海英, 앞의 글, 2007; 漆永祥, 「조선 시대 연행사들의 江南 鏡像 및 心理 寄托」, 『中國文化』 2, 2019, 97-120 쪽; 이등연·이계연, 「강남 여인 계문란의 제벽시에 대한 조선 사행시의 관점 연구」, 『中國學研究』 61, 2012, 3-56 쪽; 윤주필, 「진란의 상처: ‘잡혀간 여자’의 기억 - 연행 길의 진자점 계문란 사적에 대한 조선 지식인의 추모 의식」, 『韓國漢文學研究』 61, 2016, 257-298 쪽 참조.

연구가 계문란 이미지에 대한 연행사들의 기억 구축 및 재구성 그리고 기억의 구축 원인을 탐색하는 데 새로운 시각을 제공할 수 있기를 바란다.

## 2. 기억 구축: 계문란 이미지 구축의 起因 및 生成

알박스의 집단 기억 이론에 의하면, 개인이 가지고 있는 모든 기억은 집단적 성격을 지니고 있으며, 고립된 기억은 존재하지 않는다. 비록 개인적 견문에 대한 기억을 구축하더라도 개인은 늘 자신을 특정한 사회 집단 속에 두고 집단 기억을 형성한다. 알박스는 텍스트가 집단 기억의 구축 과정에서 두드러진 역할을 하고 있다고 강조하며, 개인이 기억을 형성할 때 자신이 이전에 접한 텍스트를 상기하여 이를 기억의 매개체로 삼아 기억 구축을 촉진하곤 한다고 주장했다.<sup>1</sup> 계문란 이미지에 대한 조선 시대 연행사들의 기억 구축 과정은 계문란 제벽시의 소실을 분기점으로 해서 두 단계로 나눌 수 있는데, 제벽시 소실 전의 연행사들은 계문란 제벽시에 대한 목격 기록을 남겨 집단 기억 구축의 토대를 마련했고, 제벽시 소실 후의 연행사들은 제벽시를 직접 볼 수는 없으나 여전히 전대 연행사들이 남긴 텍스트를 기억 매개체로 삼아 계문란 이미지에 대한 집단 기억의 구축을 추진했다.

### 2.1. 계문란 제벽시에 대한 연행사들의 목격 기록

계문란 이미지에 대한 조선 연행사들의 기억 구축은 계문란 제벽시에 대한 목격 기록으로부터 비롯되었다. 1680 년부터 申晷(1628-1687), 申琬(1646-1707), 金錫胄(1634-1684), 南九萬(1629-1711), 李選(1632-1692), 崔錫鼎(1646-1715), 姜覲(1650-1733) 등 연행사들은 자신이 사행길에서 목격한 계문란 제벽시를 잇따라 언급했는데, 이는 200 여 년간 이어진 집단 기억 구축의 기인이 됐다.

계문란 제벽시에 대한 목격 기록은 申晷를 기점으로 한다. 1680 년에 謝恩兼陳奏行副使로 사행 길에 나선 신정이 진자점을 경유할 때, 동행한 書狀官 陸林儒(1634-?)으로 부터 계문란 제벽시에 대한 목격 사실을 전해 들었고, 이를 자신의 연행록에서 다음과 같이 상세하게 기록했다.

書狀 陸 군이 豐潤 榛子店 벽에서 시 한 수를 읽게 되어 내게 말해주었는데, 그 시는 이러했다.

堆髻空憐昔日粧 퇴계는 부질없이 옛 단장이 그림고

1 Maurice Halbwachs, 丁佳寧 譯, 「集體記憶 및 個體記憶」, 馮亞琳·Astrid Erll 主編, 『文化記憶理論讀本』, 北京: 北京大學出版社, 2012, 47-48 쪽.

征裙換着越羅裳 나들이 가는 옷이 오랑캐 차림일세  
 爺孃生死知何處 부모님의 생사를 어디서 알겠나  
 痛殺春風上瀋陽 애닦다 봄바람에 심양으로 올라가네

또한 그 아래에 이렇게 쓰여 있었다고 한다. “나는 江州 秀才 虞尙卿의 아내이다. 남편은 피살되고, 나는 포로가 되었다가 지금 王章京에게 팔려간다. 무오년 정월 스무하루에 흐르는 눈물을 벽에 뿌리며 이 글을 쓰노니, 천하에 뜻 있는 이는 이것을 보고서 가엾게 여겨 구해 주기 바라며, 또한 이를 비방한다 해도 나는 부끄럽지 않겠다. 아아, 슬프고 또 슬프다. 나는 나이 스물하나로 부친 季 아무개는 수재이고 모친은 陳氏이며 오라버니는 이름이 國으로 府學의 수재이다. 계문란 씀.” 내가 그 일을 듣고 슬피하며 말했다. “이는 규수 중에서도 시를 지을 줄 아는 여인이 쓴 것이로다. 나라 안에 난리가 나면 백성이 그 해독을 입으니, 규중의 난초 혜초 같은 몸 또한 이를 피할 길이 없는 법이라. 이역에 끌려가 천고의 원한을 지니게 되는 것이 어찌 저 蔡文姬 한 사람뿐이었으랴!” 이에 절구 한 수를 지어 그 일을 읊었다.

壁上新詩掩淚題 벽 위의 새로운 시 눈물 훔치며 쓴 것이니  
 天涯歸夢楚雲西 하늘가 귀향의 꿈은 서편 초땅 구름 너머 향하네  
 春風無限傷心事 봄바람 속에서 끝없이 애달픈 마음  
 欲奏琵琶響轉悽 비파를 타려 해도 소리 또한 슬퍼지네<sup>1</sup>

신정의 기록에 따르면, 계문란은 江州(지금의 江西省 九江市)의 秀才 虞尙卿의 아내였다. 남편이 전란 속에서 죽임을 당한 후, 청나라 군인에게 팔려간 계문란은 1678년에 진자점을 경유할 때, 자신의 억울한 처지를 한탄하며 누군가가 자신을 가엾게 여겨 구해 주기를 바라는 마음으로 눈물을 흘리면서 이 제벽시를 남겼다는 것이다. 계문란의 시를 읽은 후, 신정은 후한 말 흉노의 병사에게 납치된 才女 蔡文姬를 떠올리면서 “천고의 원한을 지니게 되는 것이 어찌 저 채문희 한 사람뿐이었으랴(千古怨恨, 不獨蔡文姬一人)”라고 개탄하며, 白居易의 명작 「琵琶行」에서 나온 江洲司馬와 琵琶女의 전고를 인용하여 계문란에 대한 동정을 표하고 있다.

학계에서는 일반적으로 신정에 이어 계문란 제벽시를 언급한 두 번째 연행사는 1682년에 謝恩兼冬至等三節年貢行正使로 사행한 金錫胄라고 여기고 있으나, 필자는 1681년에 奏請兼三九年貢行書狀官으로 사행한 申晄이 「邦均店 벽에서 季文蘭 詩를 보고 느낌이 있어서(邦均店壁上, 見季文蘭詩有感)」라는 시 두 수를 지은 사실이 있음을 발견했다.

1 申晄, 『燕行錄』, 임기중 편, 『연행록총간』, KRpia(www.krpia.co.kr), “書狀陸君則於豐潤榛子店壁上見一詩, 向余說道, 其詩曰: ‘惟警空憐昔日粧, 征裙換盡越羅裳. 爺娘生死知何處, 痛殺春風上瀋陽.’ 其下又書曰: ‘奴江州虞尙卿秀才妻也, 夫被戮, 奴被虜, 今爲王章京所買, 戊午正月念一日灑涕揮壁書此. 惟望天下有心人見此憐而見拯, 奴亦不自慙其鄙謗也. 吁嗟, 傷哉, 傷哉. 奴年二十有一, 父季某, 秀才, 母陳氏, 兄名國, 府學秀才, 季文蘭書.’ 余聞而悲之曰: ‘此是閨秀中能詩者所爲也. 海內喪亂, 生民罹毒, 閨中蘭蕙之質亦未免淪沒異域. 千古怨恨, 不獨蔡文姬一人而已.’ 爲賦一絕, 以詠其事: ‘壁上新詩掩淚題, 天涯歸夢楚雲西, 春風無限傷心事, 欲奏琵琶響轉悽.’

其一

萬事傷心孰怨嗟    모든 일이 상심스러워 무얼 원망하고  
 悠悠天意欲如何    아늑한 하늘의 뜻은 어찌려고 것인가  
 慘看民物罹鋒鏑    백성이 칼날 아래 죽어가는 모습을 보고  
 忍使腥膻汗綺羅    차마 비단을 비린 것에 더럽게 하겠는가  
 女子能詩還有此    여자는 이러한 시를 지을 줄 알지만  
 男兒全節尚無多    절개를 잘 지킨 남자는 많지 않았네  
 都將哀恨憑篇什    애달픈 원한을 모두 이 시에 맡겼지만  
 義士今誰古押衙    고압아 같은 의사가 지금 어디 있는가

其二

萬般哀怨一篇詩    지극한 원망을 이 시편에 담아  
 壁上題來說向誰    벽에 써서 누구를 향해 말할까  
 司馬青衫知幾濕    사마의 청삼은 몇 번이나 축축해지고  
 佳人紅袖去無歸    가인은 한번 떠나 돌아오지 않는구나  
 啼殘粧淚空餘血    화장 묻은 눈물이 말라져 피만 남으니  
 寫出芳心謾寓悲    고운 맘씨 속의 비애를 시로 표현하네  
 十八胡笳千古恨    천고의 한이로다 십팔 호가여  
 傷心不獨蔡文姬    슬픈 사람은 蔡文姬뿐 아닐세<sup>1</sup>

시제에서 언급된 바와 같이, 신완은 연행길에서 계문란 제벽시를 목격하고 자신의 감회를 토로하기 위해 읊시 두 수를 지었다. 다만 신완은 제벽시의 소재지를 진자점이 아닌 邦鈞店<sup>2</sup>으로 기록했다. 방균점은 진자점과 약 100 킬로미터 떨어져 있는데, 연행록에 방균점 계문란 제벽시에 관한 기타 기록이 없는 점을 고려할 때 신완이 계문란 제벽시의 소재지를 오기했을 가능성이 크다. 그러나 신완이 지은 시의 내용을 보면, 제 1 수의 頷聯 “백성이 칼날 아래 죽어가는 모습을 보고, 차마 비단을 비린 것에 더럽게 하겠는가(慘看民物罹鋒鏑, 忍使腥膻汗綺羅)”, 그리고 제 2 수의 頸聯 “화장 묻은 눈물이 말라져 피만 남으니, 고운 맘씨 속의 비애를 시로 표현하네(啼殘粧淚空餘血, 寫出芳心謾寓悲)”는 모두 계문란 사적과 일치하며, 또한 “애달픈 원한을 모두 이 시에 맡겼지만, 고압아 같은 의사가 지금 어디 있는가(都將哀恨憑篇什, 義士今誰古押衙)”라는 시구는 계문란이 남긴 “천하

1 申琬, 『綱菴集』, 『영인표점 한국문집총간』, 서울: 민족문화추진회, 1995, 210 쪽.  
 2 현재 中國 天津市 薊州區 邦鈞鎮에 위치하고 있다.



에 뜻 있는 이는 이것을 보고서 가엾게 여겨 구해주기 바란다(惟望天下有心人, 見此憐而見拯)”라는 구절과 호응 관계를 이루고 있다. 이외에도 제 2 수의 頷聯과 尾聯에서 각각 江洲司馬와 琵琶女, 그리고 蔡文姬의 전고를 사용하여 앞서 신정이 남긴 기록과의 유사성을 드러내고 있다. 이러한 점을 고려해 볼 때, 신완의 기록도 계문란 제벽시에 대한 목격 기록에 속한다고 볼 수 있다. 신완이 사행 나간 지 1 년 후, 金錫胄는 역시 진자점에서 계문란 제벽시를 읽게 되었고 다음과 같이 차운시와 관련 기록을 남겼다.

綽約雲鬢罷舊粧    아리따운 검은 머리 옛 단장을 과하니  
 胡笳幾拍淚盈裳    몇 가락 호가에 눈물이 치마를 적셨네  
 誰能更有曹公力    뉘 다시 조공 같은 힘이 있어서  
 迎取文姬入洛陽    문희를 맞아서 낙양으로 들어오리

계문란의 原韻은 이러하다.

堆髻空憐昔日粧    퇴계는 부질없이 옛 단장이 그림고  
 征裙換着越羅裳    나들이 가는 옷이 오랑캐 차림일세  
 爺孃生死知何處    부모님의 생사를 어디서 알겠나  
 痛殺春風上瀋陽    애답다 봄바람에 심양으로 올라가네

그 아래에 또 小序가 있는데, “나는 ①江右 秀才 虞尚卿의 아내이다. 남편은 피살되고 나는 포로가 되었다가 지금 王章京에게 팔려 간다. 무오년 정월 스무하루에 흐르는 눈물을 벽에 뿌리며 이 글을 쓰노니, 천하에 뜻 있는 이는 이것을 보고서 가엾게 여겨 구하여 주기 바란다.②”라고 했다. 그 아래에 또 “나는 나이가 스물하나로, ③(석 자가 빠짐) 수재의 딸이다. 어머니는 李氏, 오라버니는 이름이 (몇 자가 빠짐)인데 國府學秀才이다. (몇 자가 빠짐) 季文蘭 씬.”이라고 썼다. 副使 柳公이 주인 노파에게 물으니 구체적으로 말하기를, “5, 6 년 전에 심양의 王章京이 白金 70 돈을 주고 이 여자를 사서 여기를 지나갔다. 슬프고 참담한 중이었지만 자태가 오히려 아리따웠다. 눈물을 흘리면서 이 시를 쓰는데 오른손이 조금 피곤하면 왼손으로 붓을 잡는데 빨리 쓰더라.”라는 것이다.<sup>1</sup>

김석주가 남긴 제벽시 관련 기록은 신정의 기록과 완전히 일치한다. 다만 시문 뒤의 小序는 약간의 차이가 있는데, 해당 부분은 위에 밑줄로 표시해 두었다. 예를 들어 ①계

1 金錫胄, 『搗椒錄』, 『연행록총간』, KRpia, “綽約雲鬢罷舊粧, 胡笳幾拍淚盈裳. 誰能更有曹公力, 迎取文姬入洛陽. 原韻: ‘堆髻空憐昔日粧, 征裙換着越羅裳. 爺孃生死知何處, 痛殺春風上瀋陽.’其下又有小序云: ‘奴江右虞尚卿秀才妻也, 夫被戮, 奴被虜, 今為王章京所買, 戊午正月廿一日, 灑淚拂壁書此. 唯望天下有心人, 見此憐而見拯.’下又書: ‘奴年二十有一, 缺三字, 秀才女也, 母李氏, 兄名缺字, 國府學秀才.’下缺, 亦不可記. 末書雲季文蘭書. 副使柳公招主媼問之, 媼俱言五六年前, 瀋陽王章京用白金七十, 買此女過此, 悲楚黯慘之中, 姿態尚嬌艷動人, 掃壁垂淚書此. 右手稍倦, 則以左手執筆疾書雲.”

문란의 고향에 대한 신정의 기록을 보면 ‘江洲’로 적혀있으나 김석주의 기록에는 ‘江右’로 기록되어 있다. 또한 ②에서 신정이 ‘또한 이를 비방한다 해도 나는 부끄럽지 않겠다. 아아, 슬프고 또 슬프다.(惟望天下有心人見此憐而見拯, 奴亦不自慙其鄙謗也. 吁嗟, 傷哉, 傷哉.)’라는 구절이 적혀 있으나 김석주는 이 부분에 대한 기록이 없다. 그리고 김석주의 기록을 보면 ③의 부분에 탈자가 다소 있는 것으로 보인다. 이외에도 ‘灑涕揮壁’과 ‘灑淚拂壁’, ‘念’과 ‘廿’, ‘惟’와 ‘唯’의 用字의 차이가 있으나, 의미상으로는 별 차이가 없다. 다만 김석주는 또한 副使 柳尚運(1636-1707)이 주인 노파에게 묻고 알게 된 내용을 추가했다. 5, 6년 전에 瀋陽의 청나라 군인에게 팔려간 여자가 진자점에서 제벽시를 남긴 장면을 구체적으로 묘사하여 재모를 검비한 계문란의 이미지를 강화했다. 유상운도 계문란 제벽시에 차운하여 시 두 수를 지었으나, 계문란의 제벽 내용이나 관련 사적에 대한 기록을 남기지는 않았다.

이처럼 김석주의 기록은 연행사들의 관심을 불러일으켰다. 또한 진자점은 북경으로 가는 여행 길에 위치해 있으므로 사행을 나간 사신들이 이곳을 종종 경유했다. 이에 따라 그 후의 여행록에서 계문란 제벽시에 대한 목격 기록이 잇따라 등장했다. 1684년, 謝恩兼冬至等三節年貢行正使 南九萬이 「榛子店 벽 위의 季文蘭 시에 차운하여(榛子店壁上, 次季文蘭韻)」라는 시의 서문에서 “灤州 榛子店の 먼지가 묻은 벽에서(灤州榛子店壁上塵暗中)”<sup>1</sup> 계문란 제벽시를 봤다는 기록을 남겼다. 1685년에 陳奏謝恩兼三節年貢行副使로 사행 나간 李選은 「榛子店」이라는 시에서 “벽에 아직 桂娘의 이름이 남아 있네(壁間今有桂娘名)”<sup>2</sup>라는 시구를 남겼는데, 李選의 다른 시작의 제목 「瀋陽에서 桂娘 文蘭 榛子店 시에 차운하여(瀋陽, 次桂娘文蘭榛子店韻)」에서 알 수 있는 바와 같이, 이 ‘桂娘’은 바로 계문란을 지칭하고 있다. 1697년에 사행한 奏請兼陳奏行正使 崔錫鼎은 역시 「榛子店」라는 제목으로 시를 지었는데, 시에서 “素壁에 적힌 시는 약간 흐릿해졌네(素壁題詩字半昏)”<sup>3</sup>라고 하여 계문란 제벽시에 대해 언급했다. 1701년, 진자점에 도착한 冬至等三節年貢行正使 姜覲은 계문란 제벽시에 대해 “字畫이 마멸되어 반은 기록할 수 있고 반은 기록할 수 없다(字畫漫渙, 半記半不記)”<sup>4</sup>라고 했으나, 여전히 자신이 본 제벽 내용을 판별하여 기록했다.

1720년에 이르러, 三節年貢行正使로 출사한 李宜顯(1669-1745)은 진자점에서 계문란 제벽시를 찾지 못해 몇 차례 물어봤으니 계문란 제벽시가 “전에는 있었는데 5, 6년 전에 벽이 다시 칠해진 바람에 없어졌다(曾果有之, 而五六年, 改墁其壁, 仍致泯滅雲)”<sup>5</sup>라는

1 南九萬, 『甲子燕行雜錄』, 『연행록총간』, KRpia.

2 李選, 『芝湖集』, 『영인표점 한국문집총간』, 서울: 민족문화추진회, 1995, 358 쪽.

3 崔錫鼎, 『明谷集』, 『영인표점 한국문집총간』, 서울: 민족문화추진회, 1995, 521 쪽.

4 姜覲, 『看羊錄』, 『연행록총간』, KRpia.

5 李宜顯, 『庚子燕行雜識』, 『연행록총간』, KRpia.

사실을 알게 됐다. 여기서 설명해야 할 점은, 1690 년에 謝恩兼冬至等三節年貢行副使로 연행 나간 徐文重(1634-1709)은 계문란 제벽시가 “마멸하여 사라졌다(漫滅無存)”<sup>1</sup>라고 했지만, 1701 년에 연행한 姜鏡이 자신이 목격한 계문란 제벽시를 판별하여 기록했다는 것을 고려하면 李宜顯의 기록이 보다 정확한 것으로 보인다. 즉 계문란 제벽시는 1714 년부터 1715 년 사이에 소실된 것으로 추정된다.

이처럼 申晟, 申琬, 金錫胄, 南九萬, 李選, 崔錫鼎, 姜鏡을 비롯한 연행사들은 잇따라 계문란 제벽시에 대한 목격 기록을 남겼다. 비록 제벽시가 시간의 흐름에 따라 점차 흐릿해져 판별하기 어려워졌고, 연행사들의 기록 내용도 약간의 차이를 보이고 있지만, 기본적인 윤곽이 유지되어 그 후의 집단 기억 구축을 위한 기초 소재를 제공하고 있다.

## 2.2. 제벽시 소실 후 東人 기억의 생성

시간이 흐르면서 계문란 제벽시가 점차 사라졌으나, 이에 대한 연행사들의 집단 기억 구축은 종식되지 않았다. 집단 기억 이론의 시각에서 접근할 경우, 집단 기억을 구축하기 위해서는 일정한 매개체가 필요한데, 텍스트는 기억 매개체의 중요한 존재 형식으로서 집단 기억을 저장하고 환기시키는 기능을 지니고 있다.<sup>2</sup> 계문란 이미지에 대한 집단 기억 구축 과정에서 연행사들은 전대 연행록 속의 관련 기록을 빈번히 인용하여 계문란 이미지에 대한 해석과 상상을 펼치며, 계문란 사적의 유전을 ‘韓使’, ‘東國使’, ‘東國人’의 공적으로 여겼다. 결국 연행록 텍스트를 매개체로 삼아 계문란 이미지를 東人 집단 속에서 구성된 집단 기억으로 부각시켰다.

계문란과 관련된 연행록 텍스트 중에서 가장 영향력이 있는 것은 김석주의 기록이다. 사실 계문란 제벽시가 완전히 사라지기 전부터 연행사들은 이미 김석주의 기록을 인용하기 시작했다. 예를 들어 1697 년에 연행을 나간 宋相琦(1657-1723)는 「榛子店에서 上使에 차운하여」라는 시 뒤에 “榛子店은 바로 계문란 제벽시가 있는 곳인데, 관련 사적은 『息庵集』에 있다(店即季文蘭題詩處, 事見息庵集中)”<sup>3</sup>라는 주석을 달았고, 또한 1712 년에 청나라로 사행한 金昌業(1658-1721)은 계문란의 사적을 기록하면서 “일찍이 이런 이야기를 『息庵集』에서 보았던 까닭에 이제 이곳에 오니, 나도 모르게 어렵풋하게 기억이 났다(曾見此說于息菴集中, 今來此處地, 不覺依然)”<sup>4</sup>라고 언급했다. 『息庵集』은 바로 김석주의 문집이다. 이처럼 김석주의 기록은 송상기, 김창업 등 연행사에 의해 인용되기 시작했다.

1 姜鏡, 『看羊錄』, 『연행록총간』, KRpia.

2 Astrid Erll, 呂欣 譯, 「집단 기억의 매개체로서의 문학」, 馮亞琳·Astrid Erll 主編, 앞의 책, 2012, 232 쪽.

3 宋相琦, 『玉吾齋集』, 『영인표점 한국문집총간』, 서울: 민족문화추진회, 1996, 269 쪽.

4 金昌業, 『老稼齋燕行日記』, 『연행록총간』, KRpia.

제벽시가 지워져 사라진 후, 사신들은 계문란이 진자점에 남긴 흔적을 직접 확인할 수 없으므로 김석주를 비롯한 전대 연행사들이 남긴 기록 텍스트에 더욱 의존하게 됐다. 예를 들어 1732년 사행을 나간 韓德厚(1680-?)는 “淸初 江右 여자 계문란은 士族인데… 淸城 김 상공 奉使 때 마침 그의 제벽시를 봤다(淸初江右女子季文蘭士族也… 淸城金相公奉使時, 適見壁詩)”<sup>1</sup>라고 했는데, 여기서 ‘淸城金相公’도 역시 김석주를 가리킨다. 또한 1775년에 출사한 徐命膺(1716-1787)은 김석주의 기록을 다음과 같이 인용한 바가 있다.

壬戌年 겨울, 金錫胄는 冬至上使로 榛子店을 지나 벽에서 계문란 제벽시를 보았는데… 그 說은 金錫胄 문집에 있다. 우리 동방의 시를 잘하는 분 왕왕 이를 두고 시를 짓곤 하는데, 이제 榛子店에 이르니 이에 관해 물어봤으나, 계문란을 아는 사람이 없다. 옛적부터 怨婦와 羈女가 남긴 글이 文人에 의하여 후세에 전해진다는 것은 행운이기도 하고, 불행이기도 하다.<sup>2</sup>

서명응은 김석주의 기록을 언급하면서 조선 문인들이 계문란을 두고 지은 시문이 많다고 지적했다. 계문란 사적에 대한 연행사들의 관심과 대비되는 것은 진자점 현지에서의 계문란 기억의 유실이다. 서명응이 진자점에서 계문란 사적에 관해 물어봤을 때 이를 아는 현지인들이 이미 남아있지 않았다. 이에 따라 서명응은 동국 문인의 연행 기록 및 시문 창작에서 계문란 사적의 흔적을 찾곤 했다. 또한 1778년에 연행을 나간 李德懋(1741-1793) 역시 계문란 제벽시에 대하여 “주막 벽에 강남 여자 계문란이 쓴 시가 있어서 청성 상공이 보고 전했는데 지금은 찾아볼 수 없다 (店壁, 有江南女子季文蘭題詩, 淸城相公見而傳之, 今不可尋)”라고 언급하면서 “얼마나 다행하냐 동국의 사신이 알아주어서, 그 애원한 시를 먼 곳까지 전했네(幸有知音東國使, 流傳哀怨到天涯)”<sup>3</sup>라는 시구로 계문란에 대한 동국 사신의 내적 공명 및 계문란 기억의 형성과 유지에 있어 동국 사신의 적극적 역할을 강조하고 있다.

아울러 1790년에 출사한 朴齊家(1750-1805)는 “息菴의 詩話 후로부터 사람마다 계문란을 말하네(一自息菴詩話後, 人人都說季文蘭)”라는 시구를 남겼고, 또한 “韓使가 올 때 신발을 거꾸로 신고 봤네(韓使來時倒履看)”<sup>4</sup>라는 시구로 계문란에 대한 연행사들의 깊은 관심을 돋보이게 했다. 1798년에 사행을 나간 徐有聞(1762-1822)이 연행길에서 다른 제벽시를 봤을 때 역시 계문란 제벽시에 대한 ‘淸城金相公錫胄’<sup>5</sup>의 기록을 떠올렸다.

1 韓德厚, 『承旨公燕行日錄』, 『연행록총간』, KRpia.

2 徐命膺, 『保晚齋集』, 『영인표점 한국문집총간』, 서울: 민족문화추진회, 1999, 88 쪽, “壬戌冬, 金息庵錫胄以冬至上使, 過榛子店, 見壁上有題… 其說具在集中. 吾東能詩士往往相屬為詩, 今吾輩過榛店問此事, 已無人識之者. 乃知從古怨婦羈女隻字片句, 一遇文人, 流傳于後者, 亦有幸不幸也.”

3 李德懋, 『燕行詩』, 『연행록총간』, KRpia.

4 朴齊家, 『貞麴閣集』, 『영인표점 한국문집총간』, 서울: 민족문화추진회, 2001, 523 쪽.

5 徐有聞, 『戊午燕錄』, 『연행록총간』, KRpia.

전대 연행록의 텍스트를 인용할 때 연행사들은 몇 명의 전대 연행사의 기록을 동시에 발췌하기도 했다. 예를 들어 朴趾源(1737-1805)은 계문란의 사적에 대해 이렇게 기술했다.

그 뒤 6년 만인 계해년에 淸城府院君 金公 錫胄가 사신으로 이곳을 지나다가 이 일을 기록하여 돌아왔고, 또 그 뒤 30여 년을 지나서 老稼齋 金公 昌業이 역시 이곳을 지나니 바람 벽에 쓴 글자가 여전히 남아 있었다고 하였다. 이제 나는 노가재보다도 60여 년 뒤인 이날에 또 이곳을 지나다가 이를 생각하여 배회하였으나 벽 사이의 글자는 다시 찾아볼 곳이 없었다. 내 우연히 이 시로써 奇豐額에게 이야기하였더니 그는 눈물 지우며, “진자점은 어디 있습니까.” 하고 묻기에, 나는, “산해관 밖에 있습니다.” 하였더니, 기는 곧 시 한 절을 읊었다.

紅粧朝落鑲黃旗    붉은 단장 아침 나절 되놈에게 팔렸으니  
 笳拍傷心第五詞    호가의 슬픈 박자 그 다섯째 글꼴러라  
 天下男兒無孟德    천하에 많은 사내 맹덕이 이제 없으니  
 千金誰贖蔡文姬    천금이 있다손들 채문희를 속할쏘나<sup>1</sup>

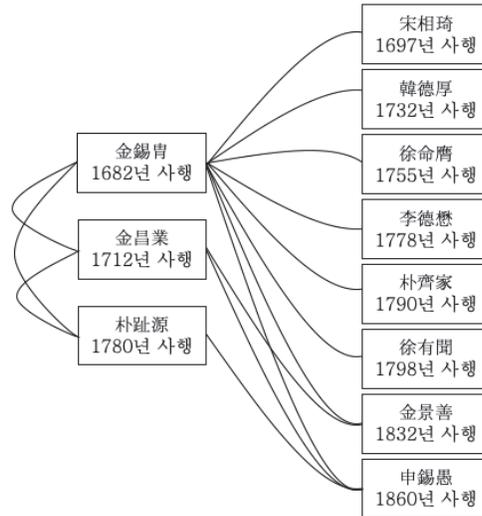
위의 글에서 알 수 있는 바와 같이, 진자점에 도착한 박지원은 김석주와 김창업의 기록을 떠올리고 있다. 비록 이때 제벽시가 이미 소실되었지만, 박지원은 전대 연행사가 남긴 텍스트를 기억의 매개체로 삼아 진자점에서 배회하며 계문란을 회상했다. 아울러 계문란의 고사를 淸人 奇豐額(1745-1806)에게 이야기했는데, 기풍액도 눈물을 흘리면서 이를 위해 시를 짓게 됐다. 또한, 1832년 출사한 金景善(1788-1853) 역시 김석주와 김창업의 기록을 동시에 언급하여 계문란 사적은 “이로부터 고사가 됐다(自此遂為故事)”<sup>2</sup>라고 지적했다. 1860년에 연행 나간 申錫愚(1805-1865)는 박지원의 기록까지 인용의 범위에 포함시켜 김석주, 김창업, 박지원 등을 비롯한 전대 연행사의 기술을 발췌하여 계문란 고사는 “모두 東國人에 의하여 闡發된 것이지, 中州 文士의 纂述은 보기 드물다(此皆東國人所闡發, 中州文士所纂述, 未嘗少見)”<sup>3</sup>라고 밝혔다. 상술한 내용을 종합하면, 계문란 이미지에 대한 기억 구축 과정에서 연행사들의 주요 텍스트 인용 관계를 다음과 같이 정리할 수 있다.

1 朴趾源, 『熱河日記』, 『연행록총간』, KRpia, “後六年癸亥, 淸城府院君金公錫胄, 使過此店, 錄而歸. 後三十餘年, 老稼齋金公昌業, 又過此店, 則壁問題墨猶有存者. 今余後稼齋六十餘年而又過此店, 徘徊詠想, 而壁上所題, 不可見矣. 餘偶舉此詩, 語之奇豐額, 奇濟然淚下, 問榛子店在於何處, 餘曰: ‘在山海關外.’ 奇即題一絕曰: ‘紅粧朝落鑲黃旗, 笳拍傷心第五詞. 天下男兒無孟德, 千金誰贖蔡文姬.’”

2 金景善, 『燕輶直指』, 『연행록총간』, KRpia.

3 申錫愚, 『入燕記』, 『연행록총간』, KRpia.

<도 1> 계문란 이미지에 대한 기억 구축 과정에서 연행사들의 주요 텍스트 인용 관계



이처럼 조선 사신들은 연행록 텍스트 체계 속에서 계문란 기억의 생성을 촉진하고 있다. 金錫胄, 金昌業, 朴趾源 등의 기록을 주축으로 하는 텍스트 체계를 매개체로 삼아 계문란 고사의 전파에 있어 ‘韓使’, ‘東國使’, ‘東國人’의 역할을 강조하고 동인 집단과 계문란 이미지 간의 관계성을 강화하며 독특한 집단 기억을 구축하고 유지하고 있다.

### 3. 기억 재구성: 계문란 이미지의 개작 및 보완

알박스의 논의에 따르면, 집단 기억은 고정불변한 것이 아니라 끊임없이 재구성되는 기억이다. 즉 ‘과거’는 그대로 보존된 것이 아니라 ‘현재’의 기반에서 재구성되는 것이다.<sup>1</sup> 이 시각에서 접근하면, 계문란에 대한 연행사들의 기억 역시 고정된 것이 아니다. 사신들은 전대 연행록 텍스트를 매개체로 삼아 기억을 구축하고 유지하는 한편, 시대와 신분의 변경 및 竝置 이미지의 추가를 통해 계문란 이미지를 재구성하고 있다.

#### 3.1. 시대와 신분 변경을 통한 이미지 개작

연행사의 시야에 처음으로 들어온 계문란은 淸初 江洲 秀才의 아내로 알려져 있었다. 그러나 계문란을 기억하는 과정에서 연행사들은 계문란의 시대와 신분을 어느 정도 재구성했다. 즉 한편으로는 계문란을 淸초 여성에서 明末 여성으로 개작했고, 다른 한편으로는 계문란을 秀才妻에서 江南 名姝으로 개작했다.

1 Maurice Halbwachs, 앞의 책, 2002, 71 쪽.

신정을 필두로 하여 계문란 제벽시에 대한 기록에는 ‘戊午’라는 시점이 많이 언급됐다. 즉, 계문란 제벽시는 무오년에 작성한 것이다. 또한 연행사들에 의해 널리 인용된 김석주의 기록에는 “5, 6년 전에 심양의 王章京이 白金 70돈을 주고 이 여자를 사서 여기를 지나갔다(五六年前, 瀋陽王章京用白金七十, 買此女過此)”<sup>1</sup>라는 내용이 있다. 중국 학자 葛兆光是 김석주가 1683년에 진자점을 경유했다는 사실을 바탕으로 하여 계문란 제벽시의 작성 시간을 1678년으로 추정하고, 계문란이 淸初 청나라 군대가 吳三桂 叛亂을 평정할 때 잡혀간 것으로 추측했다.<sup>2</sup> 서문중, 강현 등 사신들도 연행록에서 이를 밝혔다. 서문중은 “頃年에 오삼계 반란 평정 후 남방의 士女는 瀋陽 王章京에게 잡혀갔다(頃年吳三桂平後, 南中士女為瀋陽王章京者掠去)”<sup>3</sup>라고 기록했고, 강현은 “이는 오삼계가 남방에서 반란을 일으킨 바람에 江州 秀才의 아내는 북방의 군인에게 사로잡혔다(此乃吳三桂起兵南方也, 江州秀才之妻為北兵所擄)”<sup>4</sup>라고 기록했는데, 이 기록들은 모두 계문란이 청초 여성임을 표명하고 있다.

그러나 청초 여성인 계문란은 기억 재구성 과정에서 일부 연행사들에 의해 명말 여성으로 개작되기도 했다. 이는 李在學(1745-1806)의 연행록에서 처음으로 언급되었다.

天啟 연간, 동국 사신이 이곳을 경유하여 주인 여자에게 물었더니 5, 6년 전에 심양의 王章京이 白金 70돈을 주고 이 여자를 사서 여기를 지나갔다… 이제는 거의 200년이 지났고, 객점도 이미 폐허가 되어 다시 찾을 수가 없다. 다만 계문란 제벽시를 읊으면서 이를 위해 마음이 상하고 탄식이 터질 뿐이다.<sup>5</sup>

위의 글에서 이재학은 동국 사신이 진자점에서 계문란 제벽시에 대해 객점 주인에게 물어봤다는 일을 언급하고 있는데, 이는 김석주의 기록과 상당 부분이 일치한다. 그러나 이재학은 그 시점을 명나라 天啟 연간(1621-1627)으로 바꿔 쓰고 있다. 그 후로부터 계문란이 명말 여성이라는 설이 연행록에 잇따라 등장한다. 예를 들어 서유문, 李海應(1775-1825), 姜浚欽(1768-1833), 鄭元容(1783-1873)은 각각 자신의 연행록에서 계문란을 ‘大明末年江南女子’<sup>6</sup>, ‘明末江南女子’<sup>7</sup>, ‘明季江南女子’<sup>8</sup>, ‘皇明諫議尚卿之妻’<sup>9</sup>로 기록하

1 金錫胄, 『搗椒錄』, 『연행록총간』, KRpia.

2 葛兆光, 앞의 글, 140-141 쪽.

3 徐文重, 『燕行日錄』, 『연행록총간』, KRpia.

4 姜覲, 『看羊錄』, 『연행록총간』, KRpia.

5 李在學, 『芝圃遺稿』, 『연행록총간』, KRpia, “天啟年中, 東使過此, 招問主媼, 具言五六年前瀋陽王章京用白金七十兩買此女過此… 今去天啟已近二百年, 店舍亦墟, 不可復尋, 但誦其詩, 為之傷歎.”

6 徐有聞, 『戊午燕錄』, 『연행록총간』, KRpia.

7 李海應, 『蘊山紀程』, 『연행록총간』, KRpia.

8 姜浚欽, 『三溟集』, 『연행록총간』, KRpia.

9 鄭元容, 『燕槎錄』, 『연행록총간』, KRpia.

고 있는데, 청에서 명으로의 시대 변경을 통해 계문란 이미지를 개작했다. 아울러 林翰洙(1817-1886)는 계문란이 명말 여성이라는 설에 보다 전기적인 성격을 부여했다.

皇明 말년에 浙江省에 季씨 士女가 있는데, 字는 文蘭이고, 姿貌, 針線, 筆劃, 書琴은 모두 뛰어났다. 秀才 虞尚卿과 배필을 맺었으나, 얼마 되지도 않았는데 虞家가 黨禍를 당한 바람에 文蘭도 瀋陽으로 팔려가 이 객점을 지나다가 눈물 섞어 시 한 편을 지었다.<sup>1</sup>

임한수는 계문란을 ‘皇明 말년의 士女’로 일컬을 뿐만 아니라 계문란의 ‘姿貌, 針線, 筆劃, 書琴’을 극찬하고 있다. 나아가 계문란이 포로가 된 원인을 청초의 반란에서 명말의 당쟁으로 바꿔 쓰고 있다. 이는 전대 연행사들의 목격 기록에서 다소 벗어난 것으로, 계문란 기억에 전기소설의 전기성을 드러내고 있다.

이와 동시에, 연행사들은 신분의 변경을 통해 계문란의 이름을 부각하기도 했다. 선행 연구 성과를 종합해 보면, 지금까지 계문란 관련 기록이 들어 있는 중국 사적은 없는 것으로 보인다. 이를 통해 연행사들의 주목을 제외하면 계문란은 사실 현지에서 명성을 떨친 여성이 아니었을 것이라 추측할 수 있다. 그러나 일부 연행록 속에서 계문란이 강남 지역의 名姝으로 그려지기 했다. 예를 들어 李喆輔(1691-1770)는 계문란이 제벽한 내용 속에 “妾은 南京 蘇學士의 딸 文蘭이다(妾乃南京蘇學士女文蘭)”<sup>2</sup>라는 말이 있다고 주장하여 계문란의 부친을 ‘秀才’에서 ‘南京 蘇學士’로 변경했다. 또한 앞에서 인용된 바와 같이, 정원용은 계문란의 남편을 ‘江洲秀才’에서 ‘諫議尚卿’<sup>3</sup>으로 개작했다. 여성의 가문과 결혼 대상이 중요시되는 전통적인 시각에서 볼 때, 부친과 남편의 신분이 재구성되면서 계문란의 名姝 자태도 어느 정도 강조됐다고 볼 수 있다.

또한 일부 연행록에서 청나라 乾隆 황제가 계문란을 위해 碑를 세웠다는 설을 발견할 수 있다. 비록 청나라 사서 속에서는 이에 관한 기록을 전혀 찾을 수 없으나, 李基憲(1763-?)은 자신의 연행록에서 “혹자가 말하기를, ‘乾隆帝가 계문란 제벽시를 좋게 여겨 비를 세우라는 명령을 내렸는데, 그 비는 여기에서 이십 리쯤 되는 곳에 위치한다(或言, ‘乾隆帝嘉其詩, 特命立碑, 在此二十里許’雲)”<sup>4</sup>라고 적었고, 강준흠 역시 건륭 황제가 “이를 위해 비를 세우라는 명령을 내렸다(命立碑旌之)”<sup>5</sup>라고 기록했다. 또한 김경선은 건륭 황제를 직접 언급하지는 않았으나 “또 들으니, 그 뒤에 사행이 여기를 지나다가 短碑가

1 林翰洙, 『燕行錄』, 『연행록총간』, KRpia, “昔皇明末浙江省有士女姓季, 字文蘭, 姿貌, 針線, 筆劃, 書琴俱極絕美. 曾于虞秀才尚卿家適為匹婦. 未幾, 虞家黨連禍籍, 文蘭當輸婢, 有人在瀋陽者贖買拖歸. 文蘭曾過此店, 淚裁一詩.”

2 李喆輔, 『丁巳燕槎錄』, 『연행록총간』, KRpia.

3 鄭元容, 『燕槎錄』, 『연행록총간』, KRpia.

4 李基憲, 『燕行日記』, 『연행록총간』, KRpia.

5 姜浚欽, 『三溟集』, 『연행록총간』, KRpia.



길가에 있는 것을 보았는데 거기엔, ‘계문란이 지나간 곳이다’라고 써어 있더라는 것이다 (聞其後使行過此, 見有短碑在路傍, 題曰‘季文蘭所過處’)”<sup>1</sup>라고 하여, 역시 立碑說을 통해 계문란의 이름을 부각하고 있다.

이외에도 申錫愚(1805-1865)가 會稽 女子 제벽시에 대한 명말청초 문인 錢謙益(1582-1664)의 기술을 계문란 기억에 이식했다는 점도 주목할 만하다. 명나라 萬曆 말년, 新嘉驛에서 발견된 회계 여자 제벽시가 중국 문인들 사이에 회자가 됐는데, 전겸익도 이 제벽시에 차운하여 시를 지었으며, 『列朝詩集』에 제벽시의 제 1, 3 수와 詩序를 수록했다.<sup>2</sup> 신석우는 「榛子店記」에서 “문란이 심양에 들어간 후에는 戎馬와 武力の 지역에 처했으니 中州 문인들이 찾아갈 수 없어 문란의 행적도 전해지지 않았다. 다만 牧齋는 시에서 문란의 고사를 인용했는데, 그가 언급한 시는 바로 문란이 심양에 들어간 후에 지은 시이다”<sup>3</sup>라고 지적했다. 그 뒤에 첨부된 시와 서문은 會稽 女子 제벽시의 내용과 다름이 없다. 會稽 女子 제벽시와 계문란 제벽시는 시대적 차이뿐만 아니라 공간적 거리도 있으므로 같은 여성이 작성한 작품일 가능성이 거의 없다고 할 수 있다. 그러나 계문란이 제벽시를 남긴 후로부터 행적이 묘연하자 신석우는 전겸익의 기록을 빌려 계문란을 중국 문인 사이에도 널리 알려진 인물로 부각시켰다.

조선 연행사들이 공유하는 집단 기억 속에서 계문란 이미지는 지속적으로 재구성되어 왔다. 이 과정에서 연행사들은 계문란 제벽시에 대한 최초의 목격 기록에서 다소 벗어나 청초 여성인 계문란을 명말 여성으로 개작하여 계문란의 이름을 부각함으로써 전기적인 강남 미인으로 형상화하고 있다.

### 3.2. 竝置 이미지 도입을 통한 계문란 이미지의 보완

독일 학자 카시러(Ernst Cassirer, 1874-1945)는 기억이 과거 사건의 단순한 재현이 아닌 창조적인 과정이라고 보고 인간이 과거의 경험을 기억의 소재로 삼아 이를 재조직하고 재구성해야 한다고 지적한 바 있다.<sup>4</sup> 앞서 언급한 바와 같이, 계문란에 대한 문헌 기록은 연행록 텍스트를 제외하고는 거의 없다고 볼 수 있다. 이 때문에 연행사들은 계문란을 기억하는 통로를 확장하기 위해 계문란과 蔡文姬, 王昭君, 琵琶女, 楊貴妃, 息夫人, 綠珠, 申屠氏, 韓希孟, 濱氏, 黃氏 등 중국 여성과 연결시켜 竝置 이미지의 도입을 통해 계문란 이미지에 대한 집단 기억을 보완하고 있다. 관련 이미지를 표로 정리하면 다음과 같다.

1 金景善, 『燕轅直指』, 『연행록총간』, KRpia.

2 錢謙益, 『列朝詩集』, 北京: 中華書局, 2007, 6622-6623 쪽.

3 申錫愚, 『入燕記』, 『연행록총간』, KRpia, “文蘭入瀋陽後則為戎馬武力之區, 非中州文人採訪所及, 則宜其不傳矣. 獨注牧齋詩者, 引用文蘭事, 即文蘭入瀋後詩也.”

4 Ernst Cassirer, 甘丹 譯, 『人論』, 上海: 上海譯文出版社, 2003, 80 쪽.

<표 3>竝置 이미지의 도입과 관련 내용 출처

번호	竝置 이미지	관련 내용 출처
1	蔡文姬	申晷 『燕行錄』, 申琬 『綱菴集』, 金錫胄 『搗椒錄』, 洪良浩 『燕雲紀行』, 李鼎受 『游燕錄』
2	王昭君	金煜 『竹下集』, 李鼎受 『游燕錄』
3	琵琶女	申晷 『燕行錄』, 申琬 『綱菴集』, 申緯 『奏行請卷』
4	楊貴妃	李鼎受 『游燕錄』
5	息夫人	南九萬 『甲子燕行雜錄』
6	綠珠	南九萬 『甲子燕行雜錄』
7	申屠氏	姜覲 『看羊錄』
8	韓希孟	姜時永 『輜軒續錄』, 徐慶淳 『夢經堂日史』
9	濱氏	姜覲 『看羊錄』
10	黃氏	姜蘭馨 『乙亥燕行詩』

일찍이 신정, 신완, 김석주는 계문란 제벽시를 발견했을 때, 바로 匈奴로 납치된 한나라 재녀 채문희를 연상하고 각각 “천고의 원한을 지니게 되는 것이 어찌 저 채문희 한 사람뿐이었으랴(千古怨恨, 不獨蔡文姬一人)”<sup>1</sup>, “천고의 한이로다 십팔 호가여, 슬픈 사람은 蔡文姬뿐 아닐세(十八胡笳千古恨, 傷心不獨蔡文姬)”<sup>2</sup>, “뉘 다시 조공 같은 힘이 있어서, 문희를 맞아서 낙양으로 들어오리(誰能更有曹公力, 迎取文姬入洛陽)”<sup>3</sup>라는 구절을 통해 계문란을 異域으로 끌려간 재녀로 잘 알려진 채문희와 연결시켜 계문란에 대한 동정과 애련을 표출했다. 이와 유사한 시구로는 洪良浩(1724-1802)가 쓴 “채문희를 속량해 주는 사람 없어, 멀리서 한나라 초승달 바라봤으리(蔡女無人贖, 遙瞻漢月彎)”<sup>4</sup>, 그리고 李鼎受(1783-1834)가 쓴 “네 재치라면 어찌 채문희보다 못하리? 한결같은 심사인 것을 또한 알리라(爾才何減蔡文姬, 一般心事亦可知)”<sup>5</sup> 등을 들 수 있다. 이처럼 연행사들은 채문희의 고사를 빌려 계문란의 애처로운 처지와 원통한 심경을 유추해냈다.

1 申晷, 『燕行錄』, 『연행록총간』, KRpia.

2 申琬, 『綱菴集』, 『영인표집 한국문집총간』, 서울: 민족문화추진회, 1995, 210 쪽.

3 金錫胄, 『搗椒錄』, 『연행록총간』, KRpia.

4 洪良浩, 『燕雲紀行』, 『연행록총간』, KRpia.

5 李鼎受, 『遊燕錄』, 『연행록총간』, KRpia.

채문희 외에도 연행사들은 왕소군, 양귀비, 비파녀 등 널리 알려진 여성 이미지를 도입하여 계문란 이미지에 대한 묘사를 보완하기도 했다. 金燧(1723-1790), 이정수, 申緯(1769-1847)의 시구를 예로 들어 살펴보면 다음과 같다.

可惜蛾眉多苦怨    애석해라 蛾眉는 괴로운 원한 많아서  
 琵琶千古憶昭陽    비파소리는 천고토록 昭陽殿을 그리워하네<sup>1</sup>

馬上琵琶從古恨    말 위의 비파소리 예로부터 한스러운데  
 玉真何苦夢漁陽    楊玉真是 왜 고달프게 漁陽을 꿈꿨던가<sup>2</sup>

薄命較多商婦恨    운명이 가박하여 商婦의 한이 많으니  
 琵琶斜抱過潯陽    비파 비스듬히 안고 潯陽을 지나갔네<sup>3</sup>

김익은 계문란이 눈물을 머금고 제벽하는 장면을 생각하며 한나라 때 흉노의 呼韓邪單于에게 화친 간 왕소군을 떠올렸고, 계문란이 한나라의 궁전 소양전을 그리워하는 왕소군처럼 비원이 많았을 것이라고 상상하고 있다. 왕소군이라는 병치 이미지의 도입을 통해 계문란 이미지에 대한 묘사에 懷古의 무게감을 더해주고 있다. 또한 이정수는 왕소군과 양귀비의 전고를 사용하여 두 여성의 가련함을 묘사함으로써 잡혀간 후 계문란 마음속의 원망을 부각시키고 있다. 신위는 앞에서 인용된 신정, 신완의 시와 유사하게 계문란이 원래 강주에 살았다는 것에 근거하여 백거이의 「비파행」에 등장한 강주 비파녀를 시구에 도입하여 계문란의 처량한 심경을 돋보이게 함으로써 ‘佳人薄命’의 감개를 토로하고 있다.

그러나 계문란 기억의 재구성에 있어, 병치 이미지의 도입은 계문란의 가련한 운명과 비통한 심경을 부각시키기 위한 것만은 아니다. 일부 연행사들은 병치 이미지의 도입을 통해 계문란에 대한 비판을 표출하여 계문란 기억의 다른 한 면을 보여주기도 한다. 예를 들어 남구만은 “문희의 문장에 식규의 단장인데, 눈물 삼키며 시를 쓰니 피눈물 치마

1 金燧, 『竹下集』, 『영인표점 한국문집총간』, 서울: 민족문화추진회, 1999: 293 쪽.

2 李鼎受, 『遊燕錄』, 『연행록총간』, KRpia.

3 申緯, 『奏請行卷』, 『연행록총간』, KRpia.

를 물들였네. 다만 한하노니 강주 우씨의 집에 누대의 높이 옛 하양에 미치지 못하는 것  
을(文姬詞翰息嬌粧, 飲泣題詩血染裳. 只恨江州虞氏宅, 樓高不及古河陽.)”<sup>1</sup>이라는 연행시를  
남긴 바 있다. 이 시의 제 1, 2 구에서 남구만은 채문희와 식부인의 이미지를 도입하여 계  
문란의 재모를 부각했으나, 제 3, 4 구에서는 붓끝을 돌려서 죽임으로 절개를 지킨 열녀  
녹주를 언급했다. 녹주는 진나라 부호 石崇의 첩인데, 趙王 司馬倫의 부하 孫秀가 녹주를  
원했지만, 석승이 허락을 얻지 못했다. 이에 손수는 석승을 죄에 몰리게 했고, 이로 인해  
녹주가 누각에서 뛰어내려 자살을 했다. 杜牧(803-852)은 이에 “식나라가 필경 망하게  
된 연유는 무엇인가? 가련하다, 누각에서 떨어져 죽은 사람이여(至竟息亡緣底事? 可憐金  
谷墜樓人)”라는 시구를 남겼는데, 趙翼(1727-1814)은 “녹주의 ‘死’와 식부인의 ‘不死’를  
대조시켜 양자의 높고 낮음이 저절로 드러난다.(以綠珠之死形息夫人之不死, 高下自見)”<sup>2</sup>  
라는 말로 두목의 시를 평가했다. 남구만 역시 杜牧 시의 맥락에 이어 ‘死’를 선택한 녹  
주를 언급함으로써 ‘不死’를 선택한 계문란에 대한 비판을 제기했다.

강현은 계문란과 병치 이미지 간의 대조를 통해 계문란에 대한 비판을 더욱 뚜렷이 표  
현했다. 계문란 제벽시에 대해 기록한 후, 강현은 濱氏라는 여성이 쓴 시를 언급했다.

痛殺羞容理異妝    부끄러운 얼굴, 달라진 단장은 참으로 비통한데  
羅衣脫卻整裘裳    비단 옷 벗고 오랑캐 갓옷으로 바꿔 입었네  
既經兵火當應死    전란 속에 빠졌으니 죽어야 마땅할 몸  
問甚河陽與瀋陽    하양이니 심양이니 어찌 따진단 말인가<sup>3</sup>

빈씨는 오직 강현의 연행록에 기록된 여자로서 계문란 제벽시에 차운하여 시를 남긴 청  
나라 여성으로 추측된다. 강현은 빈씨가 쓴 “전란 속에 빠졌으니 죽어야 마땅할 몸, 하양  
이니 심양이니 어찌 따진단 말인가(既經兵火當應死, 問甚河陽與瀋陽)”라는 구절에 공감하  
여 계문란이 죽음으로 절개를 지키지 못했다는 것을 ‘금수만도 못하다(禽獸不若)’라고 비  
판했다. 이어서 강현은 “어찌면 계문란이 은인자중하며 살아남은 申屠氏를 본받고자 했

1 南九萬, 『甲子燕行雜錄』, 『연행록총간』, KRpia.

2 杜牧, 吳在慶 校注, 『杜牧集繫年校注』, 北京: 中華書局, 2008, 526 쪽.

3 姜錕, 『看羊錄』, 『연행록총간』, KRpia.

을 수 있다(或者效申屠氏之隱忍不死也)”<sup>1</sup>라고 추측하여 申屠氏가 남편을 위해 복수했다는 고사를 인용하며, 계문란이 구차하게 살아남은 원인을 복수를 위함이라고 합리화했다. 이처럼 강현은 빈씨와 신도씨라는 여성 이미지를 병치함으로써 계문란 기억에 또 다른 의미를 부여했다.

姜時永(1788-?)과 徐慶淳(1804-?)은 계문란을 南宋 열녀 韓希孟과 견주면서 한희맹의 ‘潔歸’<sup>2</sup>와 ‘潔身’<sup>3</sup>으로 계문란의 ‘不潔’을 비판했다. 또한 姜蘭馨(1813-?)은 연행록에서 계문란과 비슷하게 심양으로 잡혀갔지만 결국 절사한 열녀 黃氏의 사적을 소개하여 “다만 피 토하는 두견새가 되지 못하여 황씨녀만 심양에서 명성을 독차지한 것이 아쉽네(只憐未化冤鵲血, 獨許黃娘擅瀋陽)”<sup>4</sup>라는 시구를 통해 계문란 이미지에 있어 ‘失節’의 일면을 암시했다.

이를 통해 연행사들은 蔡文姬, 王昭君, 琵琶女, 楊貴妃, 息夫人, 綠珠, 申屠氏, 韓希孟, 濱氏, 黃氏 등 여성 이미지를 도입하면서 사료 기록이 다소 부족한 계문란에 대한 기억 통로를 확장시키고 있다. 이 과정에서 연행사들은 계문란을 중국 역대의 운명이 기구한 가인의 계열에 두고 계문란의 가련한 처지와 참담한 심경을 부각시키고 있으며, 또한 계문란을 열녀 이미지와 견주면서 ‘실절’의 시각에서 계문란에 대한 비판적 해석을 펼치고 있다.

#### 4. 기억의 구축과 재구성의 사회적 원인

알박스는 집단 기억의 구축과 재구성 원인을 해석하기 위하여 ‘기억의 사회적 틀’이라는 개념을 제시했다. 즉 특정 사회 내에서 선재하고 있는 사상, 관념, 전통, 풍습 등이 집단 기억을 위한 일종의 틀을 제공하며, 이 사회의 구성원인 개체들이 무엇을 어떻게 기억할 것인가를 규정하고 있다는 것이다.<sup>5</sup> 이에 집단 기억의 구축과 재구성은 특정된 사회적 틀에 기인한 것으로 당시 사회 배경하에서의 사상적 동향과 긴밀한 관련성을 지니고

1 姜錕, 『看羊錄』, 『연행록총간』, KRpia.

2 姜時永, 『輜軒續錄』, 『연행록총간』, KRpia, “夫文蘭所遇, 與希孟無異, 題詩乞憐, 未能效希孟之潔歸.”

3 徐慶淳, 『夢經堂日史』, 『연행록총간』, KRpia, “夫文蘭所遇, 與希孟無異, 而希孟之潔身, 發於吟詠, 其節可尚.”

4 姜蘭馨, 『乙亥燕行詩』, 『연행록총간』, KRpia.

5 Maurice Halbwachs, 앞의 책, 2002, 69-71 쪽.

있다. 이런 시각에서 볼 수 있는 계문란 기억의 구축 및 재구성의 원인으로서는 명칭 교체 이후 명나라에 대한 조선 사회의 추모 의식과 유교적 윤리질서 속에서 강화된 조선 사회의 貞節 관념을 들 수 있다.

#### 4.1. 명칭 교체 후 명나라에 대한 조선 사회의 추모 의식

조선은 太祖 때부터 이른바 尊明事大의 정책을 내세우고 명나라와 조공 책봉 관계를 맺었다.<sup>1</sup> 姜希孟(1424-1483)이 “우리나라는 小中華라 불리며, 禮樂 文物과 民風 土習은 모두 皇朝를 모방한 것이다(我國號稱小中華, 凡禮樂文物, 民風土習, 悉仿皇朝)”<sup>2</sup>라고 지적한 바와 같이, 조선은 명나라를 中華의 正統으로 여기고 ‘小中華’로 자처하며 명나라의 예악, 문물, 풍습, 전통을 받아들였다. 명나라로 사행을 다녀온 조선 사신이 남긴 기행록이 흔히 ‘朝天錄’으로 불린 점을 통해 명나라가 대변하는 중화 문명에 대한 조선 사회의 흠모 의식을 엿볼 수 있다.

명칭 교체 후, 조선은 명이 중화이고 청이 오랑캐라는 華夷 이분법을 고수하였고, 명에서 청으로의 왕조 교체를 ‘以夷亂華’, ‘華夷變態’로 여겨 청의 정통성을 비판했다.<sup>3</sup> 이로 인해 조선은 청나라를 알보고 배척하며, 승명반청에 경도된 경향을 나타냈다. 청나라로 사행 나간 조선 사신도 예외가 아니었다. 이는 ‘朝天錄’에서 ‘燕行錄’으로의 기행록 명칭 변경에서 다소 드러나고 있다. 또한 연행록 속에서도 관련 내용을 발견할 수 있는데, 박지원의 『熱河日記』를 예로 들어 살펴보면 다음과 같다.

승정 17년에 毅宗烈皇帝가 나라를 위하여 죽은 뒤 명이 망한 지 벌써 1백 30여 년이 경과되었거늘 어찌서 지금까지 승정의 연호를 쓰고 있을까. 청이 들어와 중국을 차지한 뒤에 선왕의 제도가 변해서 오랑캐가 되었으니 우리 동녘 수천 리는 강을 경계로 나라를 이룩하여 홀로 선왕의 제도를 지켰으니, 이는 명의 황실이 아직도 압록강 동쪽에 존재함을 말함이다. 우리의 힘이 비록 저 오랑캐를 쳐 몰아내고 中原을 속칭하여, 선왕의 옛것을 광복시키지는 못할지라도 사람마다 모두 승정의 年號라도 높여 중국을 보존하였던 것이다.<sup>4</sup>

1 全海宗, 全善姬 譯, 『中韓關係史論集』, 北京: 中國社會科學出版社, 1997, 65 쪽.

2 姜希孟, 『私淑齋集』, 『영인표점 한국문집총간』, 서울: 민족문화추진회, 1988: 112 쪽.

3 孫衛國, 「朝鮮王朝 尊明貶淸의 理論 基礎를 논하여」, 『史學月刊』 6, 2004, 44-50 쪽.

4 朴趾源, 『熱河日記』, 『연행록총간』, KRpia, “崇禎十七年, 毅宗皇帝殉社稷, 明室亡於今百四十餘年, 曷至

연행사들은 비록 외교적 사명을 짊어지고 있으나 여전히 청의 통치자를 오랑캐로 여기고 명에 대한 추모 의식을 품고 있었다. 이런 추모 의식의 영향으로 인해 청나라 군인에게 팔려간 계문란의 사적은 ‘華夷變態’가 초래한 비극의 전형적 사례로 간주되어 연행사들의 주목을 받아 연행록의 관련 기록을 통해 기억될 수 있었다.

사실 계문란이 제벽한 시의 내용만 놓고 볼 때, 계문란은 명나라에 대한 추모나 청나라에 대한 증오를 직접적으로 표출하지는 않았다. 다만 연행사들의 시각에서 볼 때 원래 중국 강남 지역에 속한 江州에 살았던 漢人 여성 계문란이 瀋陽의 淸人 군인에게 팔려갔고, 또한 명청교체기에 조선 문인들이 흔히 강남 지역을 大明의 상징으로 여겼으므로<sup>1</sup>, ‘강주’와 ‘심양’, ‘한인 여성’과 ‘청인 군인’의 이중적 대립은 明清 華夷의 대립으로 해석할 수 있다. 연행사들이 계문란을 언급하면서 채문희와 왕소군의 전고를 많이 인용한 것도 어느 정도 계문란이 ‘胡地’, 즉 오랑캐의 땅으로 끌려갔다고 여겼기 때문이라고 볼 수 있다. 한편 계문란 제벽시에는 “퇴계는 부질없이 옛 단장이 그림고, 나들이 가는 옷이 오랑캐 차림일세(堆髻空憐昔日粧, 征裙換着越羅裳)”라는 구절이 있는데, 이는 명청교체기의 ‘變服’ 문제에 대한 연행사들의 연상을 불러일으켰다. 명청 교체 후 청나라가 변발과 호복을 강요하는 剃髮易服 정책을 단행했으나, 조선은 명나라의 의관 제도를 여전히 답습했다. 이에 청나라로 사행 나간 연행사들이 자신의 의관에 대한 자긍심을 드러내며, 변복 문제에 대한 청나라 한인의 태도에 각별히 관심을 기울였다. 예를 들면 이의현은 『庚子燕行雜識』에서 이런 기록을 남겼다.

榛子店에 이르러 漢人 陳琪의 집에 들렀다. 일찍이 『息庵集』을 보았는데 이곳에 江右 여자 季文蘭이 벽 위에 쓴 시가 있다고 하나 찾아봐도 보이지 않는다. 내 생각에 秀才들이 혹 알 수도 있겠다 싶어 주인으로 하여금 수재 하나를 부르게 했다. 馬倬이라는 자였는데 물어도 모른다고 한다. 계속하여 두어 마디 주고받다가 우리의 의관이 어떤가를 물어보았더니, 무척

今稱之? 淸人入主中國, 而先王之制禮變而為胡環. 東土數千里, 畫江而為國, 獨守先王之制度, 是明室猶存于鴨水之東也. 雖力不足以攘除戎狄, 肅清中原, 以光復先王之舊, 然皆能尊崇禎、以存中國也.”

1 漆永祥, 앞의 글, 2019, 100 쪽.

부끄러워하면서 글로 써서 보이기를, “우리들도 일찍이 아름답다고 여기지 않은 것은 아니지만, 다만 우리들은 時勢를 따를 뿐입니다.”<sup>1</sup>

진자점에 도착한 후 이의현은 현지인에게 계문란 제벽시에 대해 물어봤으나, 모른다는 대답만 얻게 됐다. 이어서 이의현은 화제를 의관으로 돌렸는데 馬倬이라는 秀才가 부끄러워하는 표정으로 자신의 ‘易服’을 ‘遵時’, 즉 時勢를 따른 것이라고 변명했다. 명칭 교체 이래 한인들은 차츰 청나라의 의관으로 바꾸고, 명나라에 대한 추모 의식도 점점 퇴색해졌다. 그러나 여전히 이런 추모 의식을 가지고 있는 연행사들은 계문란 제벽시를 읽으면서 易服의 강요를 당한 원한과 분노를 느꼈다. 이에 따라 연행사들은 연행길에서 계문란을 계속 상기하면서 華夷變態에 대한 자신의 불만 및 명나라에 대한 그리움을 토로했다. 李時恒(1672-1736)은 계문란 사적을 “華女는 오랑캐에게 잡혀갔다(華女為虜所獲)”로 서술했으며, “아 슬프다! 이것뿐이 아니라, 천하 모두가 오랑캐로 전락하네(嗟嗟非獨爾, 天下盡為夷)”<sup>2</sup>라는 감개를 표출했는데, 계문란을 ‘華’와 ‘虜’의 대립 관계에 두고 계문란이 ‘포로가 된 것’을 ‘以夷亂華’의 비극으로 규명했다. 이와 유사한 시구로는 강준함의 “물가에서 漢妝을 씻을 마음 없고, 오랑캐는 옛 의상을 뺏고 던졌네(臨水無心洗漢妝, 胡兒奪擲舊衣裳)”<sup>3</sup>로 들 수 있는데, 계문란에 대한 시인의 동정 역시 ‘華夷之辯’의 관념 체계에서 생성한 것으로 보인다. 李埰(1737-1795)은 나아가 계문란 제벽시를 명에 대한 추모를 표현한 시로 해석했다.

이 店에 옛날 江南 여인 季文蘭이 壁上에 쓴 詩가 있었는데, 곧 明 나라가 망한 것을 슬프게 생각하는 慷慨한 글이었다 한다. 그러나 지금은 흔적도 없어 찾을 길이 없다. 다만 천하에 그 글을 보았다는 사람만이 그 글 구절을 외며 감회를 일으킬 뿐이라고 한다.<sup>4</sup>

1 李宜顯, 『庚子燕行雜識』, 『연행록총간』, KRpia, “到榛子店漢民陳琪家, 曾見息菴集, 此地有江右女子季文蘭壁上所題詩, 而尋覓不得, 意秀才輩或可知之. 使主胡招一秀才至, 名馬倬, 問之不知, 仍酬酢數語. 問吾輩衣冠, 顯有愧屈之色. 即書示曰: ‘我們未嘗不羨, 但我們遵時耳.’”

2 李時恒, 『和隱集』, 『영인표집 한국문집총간』, 서울: 한국고전번역원, 2008: 443 쪽.

3 姜浚欽, 『三溟集』, 『연행록총간』, KRpia.

4 李埰, 『燕行記事』, 『연행록총간』, KRpia, “季文蘭壁上所題詩, 即悼念皇明, 有慷慨語雲, 而今已泯滅無跡, 欲尋不得, 只誦天下有心人, 見此之句, 而為之興感.”



위의 글에서 이압은 계문란이 쓴 제벽시를 ‘悼念皇明’, 즉 명나라가 망한 것을 슬프게 생각하여 지은 시라고 규명하며, 이 시를 통해 명나라에 대한 사람들의 추모 의식을 불러일으킬 수 있기를 바란다는 뜻을 드러내고 있다. 앞에서 언급한 바와 같이, 이재학, 이해웅, 강준흠, 정원용, 임한수 등 연행사들은 계문란을 청초 여성에서 명말 여성으로 개작했는데, 이런 기억의 재구성 역시 명에 대한 추모 의식과 관련이 있다는 것으로 보인다.

알박스의 관점에 따르면 사회의 작용으로 인해 사회의 구성원들이 과거를 그대로 기억하는 것 대신 과거에 대한 윤색, 삭감, 보완을 통해 기억에 현실이 지닐 수 없는 매력을 부여하고 있다.<sup>1</sup> 조선 사회에 널리 퍼진 명나라에 대한 추모 의식이 조선 시대 연행사의 계문란 기억 구축 및 재구성을 위한 내재적 동력을 제공하여 연행사로 하여금 계문란의 ‘지음인’으로 자처하며, 계문란에 대한 감정적 투영을 강화하고 있다. 아울러 연행사들은 계문란을 기억하면서 계문란 이미지를 지속적으로 재구성하여 계문란의 시대와 신분을 개작하였고, 또한 계문란을 채문희, 왕소군을 비롯한 역대 가인의 계열에 올림으로써 이 집단 기억이 지닌 매력과 영향력을 더해주고 있다.

#### 4.2. 유교적 윤리질서 속에서 강화된 조선 사회의 貞節 관념

연행록 속 계문란에 대한 집단 기억은 앞에서 검토한 추모 의식 영향 아래서 이루어졌을 뿐만 아니라 조선 사회에서 고도로 강화된 貞節 관념과도 연관되어 있는 것으로 보인다. 유교적 윤리질서 속에서 ‘三綱五常’은 사회관계의 기본적 원칙으로 확립됐고, ‘夫為妻綱’, 즉 아내는 남편을 버리로 생각해야 한다고 것은 ‘三綱’ 중의 하나로 강조됐다. 그러므로 시집간 여성은 이런 윤리질서로부터 남편에 대한 절대적 순종과 충성을 요구 받았으며, ‘貞節’은 여성이 무조건 지켜야 할 도덕 지침이 됐다. 명대 女教書인 『女範捷錄』에는 “어렵고 힘들게 절개를 지킨다는 것을 貞이라고 하며, 慷慨하여 목숨을 버린다는 것을 烈이라고 한다(艱難苦節謂之貞, 慷慨捐生謂之烈)”<sup>2</sup>라고 규명된 바와 같이, 유교적 정

1 Maurice Halbwachs, 앞의 책, 2002, 91 쪽.

2 劉氏, 『女範捷錄』, 清初奎壁齋本, 中國國家圖書館所藏.

절 관념은 여성이 간난과 고통에도 불구하고 절개를 지켜야 하며, 심지어는 이를 위해 생명까지 희생해야 한다는 것을 강조했다.

조선은 성리학을 통치 이념으로 받아들여 유교적 윤리관을 바탕으로 하여 사회 질서를 설계하고 유지한 나라로서 유교적 정절 관념을 각별히 강조하고 제창했다.<sup>1</sup> 따라서 조선 시대 이런 정절 관념에 대한 여성들의 실천이 날로 보급됐다는 것이 사실이다. 李睟光(1563-1628)은 “婦女守節”을 “我國之人，有中朝所不及者”， 즉 “조선보다 중국이 못한 것”<sup>2</sup>으로 규명한 바와 같이, 조선 사회에서 정절 관념이 고도로 강화됐음을 어느 정도 짐작할 수 있다. 이런 시각에서 볼 때 남편이 목숨을 잃은 후 팔려간 계문란 사적에 있어 소위 ‘정절’ 문제 역시 연행사들의 관심을 끌 수밖에 없었을 것이다.

특히 계문란이라는 여성 이미지는 병자호란 시기의 ‘잡혀간 여자(被擄女)’와 상당한 유사성을 지니고 있다는 점에서 주목된다. 음력 1636년 병자년 12월부터 청나라가 조선을 공격하였고, 조선은 항전했으나 결국 이듬해 1637년 1월에 항복했다. 이 짧은 기간에는 수십만의 조선인이 전쟁 포로로 청나라로 끌려갔다.<sup>3</sup> 이에 대해 조선 문인 羅萬甲(1592-1642)은 『丙子錄』에서 淸軍 撤軍 시 “우리나라 사람 수백 명이 먼저 가고 오랑캐 한두 명이 따라갔는데, 하루 종일 그치지 않았다. 심양으로 끌려간 사람은 60만 명인데 蒙古로 끌려간 사람은 이 숫자 안에 포함되지 않았다.(我國人數百人先行，一二胡跟去，終日不止，瀋陽市人六十萬，而被擄於蒙古者不在此數)”<sup>4</sup>라고 기록한 바 있다. 이 중에서 기혼 여성이 적지 않았는데, 이런 ‘잡혀간 여자’에 대한 조선 사인들의 담론을 통해 유교적 정절 관념의 영향을 엿볼 수 있다. 『仁祖實錄』에는 ‘잡혀간 여자’에 대한 史臣의 논의가 이렇게 기록됐다.

1 文麗華, 「조선 시대 貞烈觀의 형성과 그 특징」, 『中央民族大學學報(哲學社會科學版)』 37(2), 2010, 140-144 쪽.

2 李睟光, 『芝峰類說』, 北京圖書館出版社, 2006, 27 쪽.

3 高麗大學校韓國史研究室, 孫科志 譯. 『新編韓國史』, 濟南: 山東大學出版社, 2010, 145 쪽.

4 羅萬甲, 『丙子錄』, 潘喆·李鴻彬·孫方明 編, 『淸入關前史料選集』, 北京: 中國人民大學出版社, 1989, 491 쪽.

충신은 두 임금을 섬기지 않고 열녀는 두 남편을 섬기지 않으니, 이는 절의가 국가에 관계되고 우주의 棟樑이 되기 때문이다. 사로잡혀 갔던 부녀들은, 비록 그녀들의 본심은 아니었다 고 하더라도 변을 만나 죽지 않았으니, 절의를 잃지 않았다고 할 수 있겠는가?<sup>1</sup>

이처럼 조선 사인들은 “충신은 두 임금을 섬기지 않고 열녀는 두 남편을 섬기지 않는다(忠臣不事二君, 烈女不更二夫)”라는 점을 강조하여 ‘忠’과 ‘烈’을 동일시함으로써 ‘婦女守節’의 중요성을 부각시키며, ‘잡혀간 여자’가 전란을 만나 죽지 않았다는 것을 ‘失節’로 규명하고 있다.

또한 조선 사인은 ‘잡혀간 여자’를 ‘몸을 더럽혀 정절을 잃은 부인(污穢失身之婦)’이라고 부르며, “우리 나라는 예의의 나라로 이백 년 동안 가법을 가장 올바르게 지켜왔으므로 전후의 변란에 목숨을 버려 더럽혀지지 않은 자 중에는 부인들이 더욱 많았으니 풍속의 아름다움이 人紀를 유지할 만합니다”<sup>2</sup>라고 하여 사절한 열녀를 칭찬하고 사절하지 못한 ‘잡혀간 여자’에 대한 비판의 뜻을 표출했다. 계문란 이미지를 두고, 조선 연행사들의 집단 기억 구축 및 재구성 역시 이런 정절 관념의 영향에서 벗어날 수 없었다. 洪萬朝(1645-1725)와 李喆輔(1691-1770)는 자신의 연행록에서 각각 이런 내용을 남겼다.

季文蘭은 秀才 虞尚卿의 아내이다... 그녀가 깊은 규방에서 독서하여 웅어의 취사를 당연히 알고 있었을 텐데, 죽음으로 절개를 지키지 못하고 치욕을 참으며 구차하게 살아나 참 아쉽다. 이에 절구 한 수를 지어 조롱하였다.

孤魂何處望南天    고훈은 어디서 남쪽 하늘을 보고 있는가  
 怨入春山哭杜鵑    원한은 봄 산으로 들어가 두견처럼 우네  
 一死人間誰得免    인간 세상에서 누가 죽음을 면하라  
 憐渠埋沒亦青年    가련케도 청년은 이렇게 매몰되고 말았네<sup>3</sup>

1 『仁祖實錄』, 仁祖 16年 3月 11日(甲戌), “忠臣不事二君, 烈女不更二夫, 此節義之所以有關於人國家, 而棟樑乎宇宙者也. 被擄之女, 雖曰非其本心, 臨變而不能死, 則其可謂不失其節哉?”

2 『仁祖實錄』, 仁祖 16年 6月 13日(甲辰), “我國, 禮讓為國, 二百年來家法最正, 前後變亂, 捨命不渝者, 婦人尤多, 風俗之美, 足以維持人紀.”

3 洪萬朝, 『燕槎錄』, 『연행록총간』, KRpia, “季文蘭秀才虞尚卿之妻也... 想其人讀書深閨, 必審熊魚取捨之分, 而偷生忍辱, 終不效墜崖墮樓之節, 惜乎. 餘故以一絕嘲之云: ‘孤魂何處望南天, 怨入春山哭杜鵑. 一死人間誰得免, 憐渠埋沒亦青年.’”

蘭은 蘇學士의 딸로 민간의 비천한 여자랑 다르다. 그녀의 시는 幽怨하여 女騷의 풍격을 띠고 있으며, 그녀의 학식으로도 자신이 지켜야 할 바를 충분히 알 수 있다… 그러나 결국 죽음으로 절개를 지키지 못하고 風塵에 오욕을 당하고 말았다. 이에 절구 한 수를 지어 뜻을 드러냈다.

零落孤蘭雨打春 외로운 난초가 봄비에 맞아 영락했으니  
 芳姿容易委沙塵 모래에 아름다운 몸을 맡기기가 쉽구나  
 君看閣裡寒梅樹 그대도 알다시피 각 속의 매화나무는  
 風雪癡狂獨葆真 눈보라 쳐도 홀로 참다움을 보전하네<sup>1</sup>

위의 글에서 홍만조는 계문란이 深閨에서 이치를 배운 재녀로서 節義의 중요성을 알고 있었을 텐데 결국 역대 열녀의 행적을 본받지 못한 것에 대해 ‘惜乎’라고 탄식하며, 이에 시를 지어 조롱하고 있다. 이철보는 계문란의 신분을 學士의 딸로 끌어올리며, 나아가 계문란이 높은 가문에서 태어난 여성으로서 목숨을 버리고 절개를 지켜야 한다는 관점을 드러내고 있다. 또한 李世華(1630-1701)는 “예로부터 事夫는 事主과 같으니, 해바라기가 태양을 향하는 것을 바꾸지 말아다오(從古事夫如事主, 莫教葵藿變傾陽)”<sup>2</sup>라는 시구를 지어 ‘事夫’와 ‘事主’를 동일시하는 유교적 논의 맥락을 통해 계문란에 대한 도덕적 비판을 제기했다. 洪仁謨(1755-1812)는 “시에서 怨恨이 저렇게 깊었는데, 어찌 당시에 절사하지 못했던가(詩中怨恨深如許, 何惜當時一死芳)”<sup>3</sup>라는 구절을 통해 계문란이 죽음으로 정절을 지켜야 했다고 주장했다. 金照(1754-1825) 역시 계문란의 사적을 기록하면서 “제벽시를 쓰고 나서 羅巾 하나만 빠졌네(書完只欠一條羅巾)”<sup>4</sup>라고 하여 羅巾에 목매어 절사하는 것을 계문란의 이상적 결말로 여겼다. 이외에도 남구만, 강현, 강시영, 서경순, 강난형을 비롯한 연행사들은 일련의 열녀 이미지의 추가를 통해 계문란에 대한 기억을 보완했는데, 이 과정에서도 정절 관념이 남긴 흔적을 발견할 수 있다.

이처럼 유교적 윤리질서 속에서 강화된 정절 관념은 명나라에 대한 추모 의식과 더불어 계문란 기억의 사회적 체계를 이루고 있다. 연행사들은 집단 기억의 구축 및 재구성

1 李喆輔, 『丁巳燕槎錄』, 『연행록총간』, KRpia, “蘭稱蘇學士之女, 則其地固異於閭卷之賤矣. 觀其詩, 娘孀幽怨, 翩翩乎女騷之風矣, 則其識又足以知所守矣… 乃不克以死自守, 卒為風塵所污辱也. 遂更一絕以見志: ‘零落孤蘭雨打春, 芳姿容易委沙塵. 君看閣裡寒梅樹, 風雪癡狂獨葆真.’”

2 李世華, 『雙柏堂集』, 『영인표점 한국문집총간』, 서울: 한국고전번역원, 2007: 379 쪽.

3 洪仁謨, 『足睡堂集』, 『영인표점 한국문집총간』, 서울: 한국고전번역원, 2010: 582 쪽.

4 金照, 『觀海錄』, 『연행록총간』, KRpia.

과정에서 계문란의 이미지를 지속적으로 운색하고 장식하면서도 계문란이라는 여성 이미지와 조선 사회에서 흔히 보상 받는 열녀 간의 차이에 관심을 기울이고 있다. 이로 인해 연행사들은 계문란의 ‘실절’에 대한 아쉬움과 비판을 표출하며, 계문란에 대한 기억 재구성을 통해 유교적 정절 관념에 대한 강조와 제창을 드러내고 있다.

## 5. 결론

본고에서는 집단 기억 이론의 관점을 활용하여 연행록 속에 담긴 계문란 이미지에 대한 기억 구축 및 재구성을 고찰했다. 1680 년을 기점으로 해서 申晷, 申琬, 金錫胄, 南九萬, 李選, 崔錫鼎, 姜鏡을 비롯한 연행사들은 잇따라 계문란 제벽시에 대한 목격 기록을 남겼다. 이 중에서 申琬의 기록은 필자가 새롭게 발견한 것인데, 이는 조선 시대의 연행록에서 申晷을 이어 계문란을 언급한 두 번째 기록으로서 계문란 제벽시의 존재를 입증하기 위한 새로운 자료라고 할 수 있다. 그 후에 제벽시가 점차 퇴색해 사라졌으나, 연행사들은 전대 연행록 속의 관련 기록을 기억의 매개체로 삼아 계문란을 지속적으로 상기시켰다. 결국 계문란에 대한 東國 사신의 내적 공명과 감정 투영을 강화시켰으며, 金錫胄, 金昌業, 朴趾源 등의 기록을 주축으로 하는 텍스트 체계를 형성하여 계문란 이미지를 東人 집단 속에서 구성된 집단 기억으로 부각시켰다.

이와 동시에, 계문란 이미지에 대한 집단 기억은 연행사들의 기록에 의해 재구성되기도 했다. 연행사들은 계문란의 시대와 신분을 바꾸어 淸初 여성에서 明末 여성으로, 秀才妻에서 江南 名姝으로 개작했고, 蔡文姬, 王昭君, 琵琶女, 楊貴妃, 息夫人, 綠珠, 申屠氏, 韓希孟, 濱氏, 黃氏 등 일련의 竝置 이미지를 추가함으로써 관련 사료 기록이 상대적으로 부족한 계문란 이미지에 대한 기억의 내용을 보완했으며, 계문란을 기억하는 통로와 각도를 다양화시켰다.

상술된 기억의 구축 및 재구성의 원인으로는 명칭 교체 이후 명나라에 대한 조선 사회의 추모 의식과 유교적 윤리질서 속에서 강화된 조선 사회의 貞節 관념을 들 수 있다. 명나라에 대한 추모 의식을 지닌 조선 연행사들은 계문란의 고난을 ‘以夷乱华’가 초래한 비극으로 해석하며, 이에 대한 감회와 탄식을 표출했다. 한편, 조선 사회에서 뿌리 깊게

자리 잡은 유교적 정절 관념 역시 계문란 기억에 분명한 영향을 미쳤다. 이런 관념의 작용으로 인해 연행사들은 계문란 고사와 여성 守節 문제의 관계성에 각별히 관심을 기울였고, 계문란에 대한 윤리적 비판을 통해 정절 관념에 대한 제창을 강조했다.

## 참고문헌

### 1.자료

姜覲, 『看羊錄』, 임기중 편, 『연행록총간』, KRpia(www.krpia.co.kr).

姜蘭馨, 『乙亥燕行詩』, 『연행록총간』, KRpia.

姜時永, 『輪軒續錄』, 『연행록총간』, KRpia.

姜浚欽, 『三溟集』, 『연행록총간』, KRpia.

姜希孟, 『私淑齋集』, 『영인표점 한국문집총간』, 서울: 민족문화추진회, 1988.

金燧, 『竹下集』, 『영인표점 한국문집총간』, 서울: 민족문화추진회, 1999.

金景善, 『燕轅直指』, 『연행록총간』, KRpia.

金錫胄, 『搗椒錄』, 『연행록총간』, KRpia.

金照, 『觀海錄』, 『연행록총간』, KRpia.

金昌業, 『老稼齋燕行日記』, 『연행록총간』, KRpia.

南九萬, 『甲子燕行雜錄』, 『연행록총간』, KRpia.

羅萬甲, 『丙子錄』, 潘喆·李鴻彬·孫方明 編, 『清入關前史料選集』, 北京: 中國人民大學出版社, 1989.

李晔光, 『芝峰類說』, 北京圖書館出版社, 2006.

李埰, 『燕行記事』, 『연행록총간』, KRpia.

李基憲, 『燕行日記』, 『연행록총간』, KRpia.

李德懋, 『燕行詩』, 『연행록총간』, KRpia.

李選, 『芝湖集』, 『영인표점 한국문집총간』, 서울: 민족문화추진회, 1995.

李世華, 『雙柏堂集』, 『영인표점 한국문집총간』, 서울: 한국고전번역원, 2007.

李時恒, 『和隱集』, 『영인표점 한국문집총간』, 서울: 한국고전번역원, 2008.

李宜顯, 『庚子燕行雜識』, 『연행록총간』, KRpia.

李在學, 『芝圃遺稿』, 『연행록총간』, KRpia.

李鼎受, 『遊燕錄』, 『연행록총간』, KRpia.

李喆輔, 『丁巳燕槎錄』, 『연행록총간』, KRpia.

李海應, 『薊山紀程』, 『연행록총간』, KRpia.

林翰洙, 『燕行錄』, 『연행록총간』, KRpia.

朴齊家, 『貞蕤閣集』, 『영인표점 한국문집총간』, 서울: 민족문화추진회, 2001.

朴趾源, 『熱河日記』, 『연행록총간』, KRpia.

徐慶淳, 『夢經堂日史』, 『연행록총간』, KRpia.

徐命膺, 『保晚齋集』, 『영인표점 한국문집총간』, 서울: 민족문화추진회, 1999.

徐文重, 『燕行日錄』, 『연행록총간』, KRpia.

徐有聞, 『戊午燕錄』, 『연행록총간』, KRpia.

宋相琦, 『玉吾齋集』, 『영인표점 한국문집총간』, 서울: 민족문화추진회, 1996.

申錫愚, 『入燕記』, 『연행록총간』, KRpia.

申琬, 『綱菴集』, 『영인표점 한국문집총간』, 서울: 민족문화추진회, 1995.

申緯, 『奏請行卷』, 『연행록총간』, KRpia.

申最, 『燕行錄』, 『연행록총간』, KRpia.

鄭元容, 『燕槎錄』, 『연행록총간』, KRpia.

崔錫鼎, 『明谷集』, 『영인표점 한국문집총간』, 서울: 민족문화추진회, 1995.

韓德厚, 『承旨公燕行日錄』, 『연행록총간』, KRpia.

洪良浩, 『燕雲紀行』, 『연행록총간』, KRpia.

洪萬朝, 『燕槎錄』, 『연행록총간』, KRpia.

洪仁謨, 『足睡堂集』, 『영인표점 한국문집총간』, 서울: 한국고전번역원, 2010.

杜牧, 吳在慶 校注, 『杜牧集繫年校注』, 北京: 中華書局, 2008.

劉氏, 『女範捷錄』, 清初奎壁齋本, 中國國家圖書館所藏.

錢謙益, 『列朝詩集』, 北京: 中華書局, 2007.

## 2. 논저, 논문

윤주필, 「전란의 상처: "잡혀간 여자"의 기억 - 연행길의 진자점 계문란 사적에 대한 조선 지식인의 추모 의식」, 『韓國漢文學研究』 61, 2016, 257-298 쪽.

이등연·이계연, 「강남 여인 계문란의 제벽시에 대한 조선 사행시의 관점 연구」, 『中國學研究』 61, 2012, 3-56 쪽.

Ernst Cassirer, 甘陽 譯, 『人論』, 上海: 上海譯文出版社, 2003.

Maurice Halbwachs, 畢然·郭金華 譯, 『집단 기억을 논하여』, 上海: 上海人民出版社, 2002.

馮亞琳·Astrid Erll 主編, 『文化記憶理論讀本』, 北京: 北京大學出版社, 2012.

高麗大學校韓國史研究室, 孫科志 譯. 『新編韓國史』, 濟南: 山東大學出版社, 2010.

葛兆光, 「異域 悲情을 상상하여——계문란 제벽시에 대한 조선 시대 사신의 상상」, 『中國文化』 1, 2006, 138-145 쪽.

漆永祥, 「조선 시대 연행사들의 江南 鏡像 및 心理 寄托」, 『中國文化』 2, 2019, 97-120 쪽.

漆永祥, 「燕行錄의 界定 및 收錄範圍에 대하여」, 『古籍整理研究學刊』 5, 2010, 60 쪽.

全海宗, 全善姬 譯, 『中韓關係史論集』, 北京: 中國社會科學出版社, 1997.

孫衛國, 「朝鮮王朝 尊明貶淸의 理論 基礎를 논하여」, 『史學月刊』 6, 2004, 44-50 쪽.

文麗華, 「조선 시대 貞烈觀의 형성과 그 특징」, 『中央民族大學學報(哲學社會科學版)』 37(2), 2010, 140-144 쪽.

楊海英, 「조선 시대 士大夫의 季文蘭 콤플렉스 및 淸初 被擄女의 命運」, 『淸史論叢』, 北京: 中國廣播出版社, 2007.



# The Role of *Gong-ga*(公家) and *Sa-sil*(私室) Discourse in the Secondary Son Problem of the Chosŏn Dynasty: A Case Study of King Yŏngjo's Admittance Actions, 1772-1774.

Sung Ha Kim, Korea University

## Abstract

This study delves into the debate on the status and rights of secondary sons (*sŏ-ŏl*, 庶孽) within the Chosŏn dynasty, focusing particularly on the transformative measures initiated during King Yŏngjo's reign. Secondary sons are yangban offspring born to secondary wives (*chŏp*, 妾). They were historically marginalized from governmental positions and were never fully accepted as members of the yangban community and families. However, secondary sons began to experience a shift in their societal standing when King Injo introduced the admittance action (*hŏtong*, 許通), permitting them to participate in civil service examinations and assume certain governmental roles. Central to this paradigm shift was the delineation between *gong-ga* 公家 ( matters of the central government or politics) and *sa-sil* 私室 ( matters of the household), advocating for their separation. However, as secondary sons endeavored to further integrate into the yangban class and to receive recognition in local yangban communities, which was considered an area outside the government, tensions with traditional yangban elites escalated. King Yŏngjo's intervention in local yangban communities and schools heightened this conflict, as it challenged established class privileges and regional hegemony. Consequently, the secondary son debate evolved into a broader discourse on the boundaries of kingship and yangban authority, underscored by ongoing social conflicts and King Yŏngjo's political objectives. This narrative represents the intricate interplay between social dynamics, political agendas, and the reconfiguration of traditional power structures within Chosŏn society.

### Introduction

Sō-ōl(庶孽), or secondary children, are yangban offspring born to secondary wives[妾]. It was a hereditary status. All descendants of secondary sons or daughters were considered sō-ōl by default. By the 15<sup>th</sup> century, sō-ōl were distinguished as a unique social class, superior to commoners but inferior to yangbans.<sup>1</sup> Compared to their yangban brothers, secondary sons faced political, economic, and social discrimination. In their extended families, secondary sons resumed an inferior position to primary sons. They were unable to become the ritual heir[奉祀孫], and had smaller share of family inheritance. They were excluded from local yangban communities and were denied entry to the local yangban roster. They could enroll themselves in schools but were not considered as equals to yangban students. However, arguably the most important form of discrimination was the systematic exclusion of secondary sons from government appointment. Secondary sons and their descendants were, by law, prohibited from entering the civil service examination and restricted to low government posts. This ban was inscribed in law books as sō-ōl-kūm-ko-bōp(庶孽禁錮法). Only in Chosŏn could one find such a strict institutionalized restriction on secondary sons.<sup>2</sup>

Previous Korean dynasties like Koryŏ and Chinese kingdoms did not deny all secondary descendants the opportunity to become bureaucrats. However, Chosŏn rulers, who built the new regime upon Confucian ideology, adopted a strict policy against secondary sons. Confucianism states that social harmony is only achieved through maintaining hierarchy and order within the family.<sup>3</sup> Hence, the differentiation between primary and secondary sons became crucial, lest the society disintegrate into chaos. Whether one was born to a primary or a secondary wife was a domestic matter, yet it inherently became a public issue. For this reason, the Chosŏn government introduced a system of discrimination to maintain the hierarchy between primary and secondary sons. Consequently, the social standing of the mother directly affected one's possibility of being a bureaucrat. This illustrates the intertwining of public and private matters, or *gong*(公) and *sa*(私) related matters. The treatment of secondary sons shows how Chosŏn Koreans visualized the concepts of *gong* and *sa*.

As the topic of secondary children provokes interesting questions on the social structure of the Chosŏn dynasty, it has been studied since the 1930s, but extensive research was carried out only after the 1980s. Early research was limited to the discriminatory practices against secondary sons. Yi Sang-baek, who was a pioneer of this topic, argued that secondary sons achieved some upward mobility in the latter half of the dynasty but still suffered from the ban on public service until the repeal of sō-ōl-kūm-ko-bōp (abbr. as *kūmkobōp* below) in the

---

<sup>1</sup> Chi, Sung-jong. (1991). "Chosŏn jŏn'gi-ūi sō-ōl shinbun" (The Social Status of the Secondary Children in the Early Chosŏn Dynasty). *Sahoe-wa yŏksa* 27.

<sup>2</sup> Yi, Jong-il. (1987). "18 · 19 segi-ūi sō-ōl t'ongch'ŏng undong-e taehayŏ" (The Movement for the Emancipation of the Sons of Secondary Wives in 18-19 Century). *Han'guksa yŏn-gu* (The Journal of Korean History) 58.

<sup>3</sup> Deuchler, Martina. (1988). Heaven Does Not Discriminate: A Study of Secondary Sons in Chosŏn Korea. *Journal of Korean Studies*, 6, p.155.

1894 Gabo Reforms.<sup>4</sup> Yet this subject was neglected by many historians in the next few decades. The topic of secondary children received academic attention again in the 1980s with the rise of social history in South Korean academia. Some scholars revisited the *kŭmkobŏp* and the secondary sons' collective efforts to remove said bureaucratic restriction. Bae Jae Hong argued that yangban bureaucrats in the 17<sup>th</sup> century were first motivated to alleviate the *kŭmkobŏp* due to political reasons. As the 17<sup>th</sup> century was the time of factional politics, yangban bureaucrats needed to 'win over' the opposing faction. The easiest way to do this was to outnumber the other faction. Consequently, they compromised to open certain government posts to secondary sons, who had been ignored in the bureaucracy, so that secondary sons would show support in return.<sup>5</sup> Yi Jong-il discovered that unlike previous research, secondary sons faced practically no legal or bureaucratic discrimination in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. He argued that the *kŭmkobŏp* was already rendered ineffective before the Gabo reforms. This was due to the numerical increase of secondary sons. He argued that secondary sons had outnumbered primary-son yangbans by the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and as they acquired upward mobility, Chosŏn's traditional social hierarchy of favoring yangbans could no longer be put in place.<sup>6</sup> These works provide important insight in the modifications to the *kŭmkobŏp*. However, as the *kŭmkobŏp* was primarily limited to legal and institutional areas, they do not explore the socio-economic aspects of secondary children in the late Chosŏn dynasty.

Other scholars, whose main scope of research focused on the general social mobility movement and the socio-economic power struggle in the local domains, touched on the role of secondary sons in the rural countryside. They found out that while secondary sons faced discrimination in everyday life until the 19<sup>th</sup> century, they experienced upward mobility. Secondary sons, along with other groups, gained some social influence in the rural countryside and came to challenge the traditional yangban privileges in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>7</sup> Although these literatures complement what was lacking in previous research by casting light on the social aspects, they do not give enough attention to the topic of secondary children. Secondary children are not the focus of these studies, but rather a backdrop to a bigger discourse. Also, they fail to mention how the social upward mobility of secondary sons influenced their anti-discrimination campaigns. It is clear that secondary sons made collective efforts to remove not only the ban on public appointment but also everyday discriminatory practices in schools, households, and so on. Especially during the King Yŏngjo's reign, secondary sons partially succeed in achieving yangban privileges, suggesting that their socio-political rise affected this accomplishment. One of the goals of this essay is to explore the mutual interaction between King Yŏngjo's anti-discrimination legislations and the socio-political changes in the status of secondary sons.

<sup>4</sup> Yi, Sang-baek. (1934). "Sŏ-ŏl ch'adae-ŭi yŏnwŏn-e taehan ilmunje" (On the Origins of Discrimination Against Secondary Children). *Jin Dan Hak Bo* (The Journal of Chindan Society) 1;

\_\_\_\_\_. (1954). "Sŏ-ŏl kŭmgo shimal" (The Beginning and the End of the Restriction on Public Appointment Against Secondary Sons). *THE DONG BANG HAK CHI* (The Journal of Korean Studies) 1.

<sup>5</sup> Bae, Jae Hong. (1987). "Chosŏn huki-ŭi sŏ-ŏl hŏ'ong" (Abrogation of the Discriminations against Sool (庶孽) in Late Choson). *Pok-hyŏn sa-lim* (THE BOKHYEON SARIM), 10

<sup>6</sup> Yi, Jong-il. (1987).

<sup>7</sup> Jung, Jin Yong. (1998). *Chosŏn shidae hyangch'on sahoesa* (조선시대 향촌사회사). Seoul: Hangilsa.

Kim, In Geol. (2017). *Chosŏn hugi hyangch'on sahoe chibae gujo-ŭi pyŏndong* (조선후기 향촌사회 지배구조의 변동). Paju: Kyungin Publishing.

Kim, Junhyeong. (2014). "Chosŏn hugi yŏngnam jiyŏg hyangjŏn-ŭi punsŏk" (Analysis of Hyangjeon(鄉戰, confrontation between local powers) in Yeongnam area of late Joseon). *Nammyŏnghang yŏn'gu* (The Nammyonghak Study) 43.

Ko, Seok-kyu. (1989). "19 segi chŏnban hyangch'on sahoe seryŏk-kan taerib-ŭi ch'ui" (The Development of Social Conflicts in the Local Communities in the Early 19 Century). *Kuksagwan nonch'ong* 8.

Secondary sons saw the ban on public office, along with other discriminatory practices, as the bane of their existence. They strove to repeal the *kŭmkobŏp* and be on par with yangbans. Their efforts started to see considerable success in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, when King Injo loosened up restrictions of the *kŭmkobŏp*. This measure is referred to as the admittance actions [hŏtong; 許通]. More policies in favor of secondary sons ensued in the following century. Among these, King Yŏngjo's decrees in the years 1772-1774 particularly stand out. Not only did he repeal the *kŭmkobŏp* and permit secondary sons into the government, but he also enforced anti-discriminatory practices outside the public office, such as local yangban communities. This was shocking and disappointing to yangbans, as previous admittance actions were limited to the political space in the government. The discourse surrounding the admittance actions had long employed a dichotomy of *gong-ga* and *sa-sil*. King Injo's admittance actions were accepted due to the common notion that different rules should apply to *gong-ga* (public office) and *sa-sil* (household). Meanwhile, King Yŏngjo's admittance actions mixed these two realms. This state interference in the local yangban communities, a supposedly *sa-sil* sphere, was supported by secondary sons and the king, but was opposed by yangbans. These mixed responses reflect the multilayered socio-political struggle in the 18<sup>th</sup> century Chosŏn, which involved centralization and local autonomy, the traditionally-privileged yangban groups, secondary sons, and the kingship.

### **The development of Admittance Actions in the 17<sup>th</sup> century**

There were calls to reform the *kŭmkobŏp* as early as the 16<sup>th</sup> century, but they resulted in limited effects. In 1583, the famous scholar-official Yi I proposed that secondary sons donate rice or volunteer for military service and in exchange earn the right to enter the civil service examination. This was approved by King Sŏnjo.<sup>8</sup> In 1593, after the outbreak of the Imjin Wars, the government allowed even more secondary sons to take the civil service examination. Those who had paid rice or contributed to combats against the Japanese were 'admitted'.<sup>9</sup> Both measures were taken at the face of grave military danger. The former was implemented after a group of Jurchens plundered the northern region of Chosŏn, and the latter was during what is considered one of the most brutal wars in Korean history. The Chosŏn government, badly in need of funds to support its military, had to encourage the wealthy to make donations. Allowing secondary sons to pay their way into the civil service examination was more of a compromise than an actual reform.

Any changes that would fundamentally affect the status of secondary sons started out in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, during King Injo's reign (1623-1649). In 1625, King Injo made two important modifications to the *kŭmkobŏp*. First, descendants of secondary sons could now take the civil service examination. "Grandsons of unions between yangban fathers and commoner secondary wives and great-grandsons of unions between yangban fathers and lowborn secondary wives were permitted to take the examinations".<sup>10</sup> Second, prestigious posts[淸職] were still denied to secondary sons, but they could be appointed to reputable posts[要職].<sup>11</sup>

<sup>8</sup> *Sŏnjo sujŏng sillok*, vol. 17, Sŏnjo 16.4.1.

<sup>9</sup> *Sŏnjo sillok*, vol. 35, Sŏnjo 26.2.16.

<sup>10</sup> "良出至孫而許, 賤出至曾孫而許" (*Injo sillok*, vol. 10, Injo 3.11.13.)

The English translation is from: Deuchler, Martina. (1987). pp. 143-144.

<sup>11</sup> Prestigious posts referred to positions in Saganwŏn, Sahŏnbu, and Hongmun'gwan. Reputable posts referred to nanggwŏn(郎官) of Ministries of Taxation, Punishment, and Public Work[戶曹·刑曹·工曹], and their counterparts.

"乙丑年 [...] 議定庶孽許通事目。良出則至孫乃許科; 賤出則至曾孫許科後, 許要、不許淸 [...] 事目內所謂許要者, 卽

Although not entirely satisfactory in the eyes of secondary sons, this marked a significant shift in the Chosŏn dynasty's centuries-long discriminatory policy, and brought forth the so-called admittance actions.

The 1625 decree is particularly important because it sparked a new discourse in the secondary son problem. This was mostly led by yangban bureaucrats like Ch'oe Myŏnggil, Kim Sangyong, and O Yun'gyŏm, who favored meritocracy. They argued that talent should be the most important criterion in public appointment. If a secondary son was talented enough, he should be eligible to serve in the government. According to Ch'oe Myŏnggil, "Heaven does not discriminate between the noble and the mean when distributing talent, and the king should be unrestricted in selecting his men." Therefore, it was only natural for King Injo to expand his pool of officials to those of secondary descent. He also argued that even the Chinese did not have such a strict ban on secondary sons. While the Chinese differentiated primary- and secondary-descents in their homes, they disregarded the social standing of the mother when appointing government officials.<sup>12</sup> As Chosŏn Koreans were avid supporters of Chinese and Confucian traditions, this was a compelling argument. Kim Sangyong and Yi Won-ik agreed that the *kŭmkobŏp* hindered the king's capacity to engage men of ability. O Yun'gyŏm supported their arguments and provided a rebuttal to the antagonists of the admittance action, writing that:

Those who believe that [the admittance actions] will be a failure argue that such a measure would disrupt social harmony and hierarchy. However, distinguishing between primary and secondary sons is merely a matter within one's household; the court should only need to select competent men.<sup>13</sup>

The proponents of the 17<sup>th</sup> century admittance actions came up with an important dichotomy. These yangban bureaucrats, especially O Yun'gyŏm, maintained that the distinction between primary and secondary sons only mattered in the domestic realm, and that the government appointment should not be influenced by such an issue. As they were constructing this rationale, they utilized the terms *gong-ga*(公家) and *sa-sil*(私室). The terms *gong-ga* and *sa-sil* referred to the government and the household respectively. These two realms were considered mutually exclusive. *Gong-ga* was used interchangeably with the royal court[朝廷] and the central government[公朝]. *Sa-sil* was used to describe one's own family[自家門戶]. The descriptors *gong* and *sa* were charged with similar undertones. *Gong* was applied to issues in the government and central politics, while *sa* meant anything unpolitical and domestic. The advocates of the admittance actions proclaimed that matters of the *gong-ga* and the *sa-sil* should be separated. A *sa-sil* issue interfering in the decision-making process in the *gong-ga* was deemed illogical. This could also mean that matters happening in the *sa-sil* should be left untouched. As long as *gong-ga* and *sa-sil* were conceived as separate, independent areas, the government had no reason to meddle with private, unpolitical, domestic issues.

The idea that *gong-ga* and *sa-sil* should be separated gained consensus over the course of the century. King Injo approved of the proposal to 'admit' secondary sons into the public office. Many yangban bureaucrats supported the concept of *gong-ga* and *sa-sil* as two discrete realms, and continued to maintain King Injo's policy in the following years. Secondary sons also accepted the *gong-ga* and *sa-sil* analogy, as it is seen in their

---

戶、刑、工三曹郎官及各司等官也。” (*Injo sillok*, vol. 28, Injo 11.10.15.)

<sup>12</sup> “同年九月十四日，副提學崔鳴吉 [...] 等聯名上疏曰：禮制之定，莫嚴於三代，而嫡庶之名，只行於私室，不行於公朝。門地之別，莫詳於六朝，用人之際，惟問其父姓，不問其母族。蓋天地之生才，無間於貴賤；王者之用人，不拘於門地[...]” (*T'ong saek ch'wal yo*, vol. 1, “Injo”.)

<sup>13</sup> “右議政吳允謙以爲：[...] 世之病難行者，皆以名分紊亂爲言，嫡庶名分只是自家門戶中事，朝廷只用賢收才而已。” (Ibid.)

mass-signed petitions. Starting in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century during King Sukchong's reign, secondary sons submitted mass-signed petitions. A few hundreds of secondary sons would sign their names on a single memorial that called for the abolition of the *kŭmkobŏp*. This was a strategic collective move to push the government and improve their social conditions. Most of these petitions quoted the memorial of 1625 by Ch'oe Myŏnggil, Yi Won-ik, and others, accepting the divide of *gong-ga* and *sa-sil* as an irrefutable agenda.<sup>14</sup> The dichotomy of *gong-ga* and *sa-sil* proposed by the 17<sup>th</sup> century bureaucrats was such an important, must-include point in the secondary son debate.

Interestingly, the idea that public appointment (*gong*) should be uninfluenced by domestic matters (*sa*) was not new by any means. Such dichotomy can be witnessed in the Chosŏn government's stance on local governance. Although the Chosŏn government adopted a policy of centralization early on and dispatched county magistrates to suppress the growth of powerful regional potentates, it was impossible for the magistrates to rule over every nook and cranny of the domain without their cooperation. Magistrates were replaced every 2 to 4 years, which was not enough time to establish effective leadership. There was a blank space between central authority and local governance. The *sajok* (士族), or local scholar-gentry yangbans, filled the void and seized power in the local rural communities[hyanggok; 鄉曲].

Local yangbans regarded themselves as elites eligible and responsible for guiding the local populace. Especially after the Imjin Wars, when many yangbans organized guerrilla bands to fight the Japanese, they could paint themselves as reputable local leaders.<sup>15</sup> Through village compacts [hyangyak; 鄉約], they enforced Confucian ethics of respecting the elders and the nobility. They dominated governance-related businesses such as collecting taxes and appointing local government clerks[鄉任]. When there were problems in the local level, local yangbans collectively raised voices to push the county magistrate to respond to their concerns. Much of local governance was in the hands of local yangbans. As a result, a yangban-led regional leadership (*sajok chibae ch'eje*) was created. Local yangban leadership developed into a full-fledged regional hegemony of yangbans in the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>16</sup>

Local yangban leadership was tolerated by the central and local governments. In fact, local yangbans were recognized to have the right to supervise tax collection and the appointment of local government clerks, just as the central government had the right to make legislations and appoint bureaucrats. 17<sup>th</sup> century central bureaucrats and local yangbans generally believed that both parties had to respect each other's authorities. The central government was expected not to encroach on local yangban authorities, and vice versa.<sup>17</sup> This expectation of mutual respect signifies that the central government and hyanggok were perceived as two separate realms. The cognitive divide between the central bureaucracy and hyanggok parallels the *gong-ga* and

<sup>14</sup> One example is a memorial submitted in 1695 by Nam Kŭkchŏng and 987 other secondary sons. They petitioned to repeal the regulation that secondary sons must make a payment in rice before taking the civil service examination. In the petition, they quoted the famous advocates of the admittance actions, such as Ch'oe Myŏnggil.

“肅廟乙亥，嶺南生員南極井等九百八十八人疏曰：至仁廟，副提學臣崔鳴吉與同僚沈之源、金南重、李省身、李景容等應旨陳章，通用庶孽。其言曰：“禮制之定，莫嚴於三代，而庶孽之名，只行於私室，不行於公朝。[...] 伏願殿下隨才收錄，以宣湮鬱之氣，以廣用人之路，則足以補世道而致人和矣。” [...] 噫！殿下以李珥、李元翼諸臣爲何如人耶？俱以國家之柱石，朝廷之著龜，其謀猷足以匡國事，其議論足以扶人極，而莫不以通用庶孽、收拾人才爲急先務，則其至公至正取人無別之意，亦可見矣[...]” (*Tong saek ch'wal yo*, vol. 1, “Sukchong”).

<sup>15</sup> Jung, Jin Yong. (1998). pp. 254-255.

<sup>16</sup> Kim, In Geol. (2017).

<sup>17</sup> Kim, In Geol. (2017). pp. 13-15.

*sa-sil* dichotomy in the admittance action discourse. Part of the reason why yangban bureaucrats endorsed the *gong-ga* and *sa-sil* dichotomy can be found in the pre-existing condition. They had already accepted the idea that different rules applied to central and local spheres. There is a great possibility that yangban bureaucrats perceived the *gong-ga* and *sa-sil* analogy in the secondary son debate as an extension of the divide between central government and local yangban governance. Yangbans accepted the admittance actions on the basis that the new policy did not affect the *sa-sil* and local yangban governance. At any rate, the *gong-ga* and *sa-sil* dichotomy became the overarching rationale of the admittance actions that would unfold in the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

### **The socio-political struggles of secondary sons and the Admittance Actions in the 18<sup>th</sup> Century**

Since the late 17th century, secondary sons had participated in the admittance actions discourse through petitions. By the 18<sup>th</sup> century, they were active more than ever. Even though they had earned the promise of public appointment in 1625, they still faced discrimination in regards to how far they could advance in the bureaucratic ranks and how much power they could exercise in local yangban communities. They called for King Yǒngjo (r. 1724-1776) to further implement admittance actions and improve their general quality of life. They were eager to earn the king's support for their cause. This is evidenced by the fact that as soon as King Yǒngjo ascended the throne more than 260 secondary sons submitted a memorial, asking for the repeal of *kǔmkobǒp*.<sup>18</sup>

At first, King Yǒngjo was hesitant to repeal *kǔmkobǒp*, probably due to his weak kingship and the lack of political capacity at the time. As the years progressed, he introduced several modifications to the law to employ more secondary sons in the government. For example, in 1739, he ordered the appointment of secondary sons to the position of *sumunjang*(守門將), which was a military position.<sup>19</sup> In 1744, he dealt with the civil branch, allowing secondary sons in the *pongsa*(奉事) position in the five districts of *Hansǒngbu*.<sup>20</sup> Compared to the decree of 1772, however, these were small changes. On August 15<sup>th</sup>, 1772, King Yǒngjo announced the complete repeal of *kǔmkobǒp*.<sup>21</sup> No longer were secondary sons confined to reputable posts or lower posts. They could be appointed to all positions, including prestigious posts. He was adamant in pushing through this reform, and threatened that “should anyone disagree, [he] would leave the palace.”<sup>22</sup>

This decree was a remarkable yet incomplete achievement for the secondary sons. Secondary sons did not wish to compromise with the repeal of *kǔmkobǒp*, as their ultimate goal was to be part of the yangban class. In fact, secondary sons already identified themselves as quasi-yangbans. This is exemplified in the memorial submitted in 1724 by Chǒng Jin'gyo and 260 other petitioners, in which they argued that it was unfair to maintain *kǔmkobǒp* while allowing commoners to serve in high offices.<sup>23</sup> Chǒng Jin'gyo criticized that in the

<sup>18</sup> In 1724, the year of King Yǒngjo's accession, Chǒng Jin'gyo and 260 other secondary sons submitted a petition to repeal the *kǔmkobǒp*. King Yǒngjo gave a tepid response: “今觀爾等之疏，所引有據，而但茲事其來已久，不可卒變，其在慎重之道，唯當徐究而處之矣[...] (There is sound logic to your memorial, but as this law [*kǔmkobǒp*] has been in place for a long time, it is inappropriate to come up with a sudden makeshift. This matter must be handled with care and cautiously deliberated.)” (*Sǔngjǒngwǒn ilgǔ*, bk. 582, Yǒngjo 0.12.7.)

<sup>19</sup> *Yǒngjo sillok*, vol. 48, Yǒngjo 15.2.10.

<sup>20</sup> *Yǒngjo sillok*, vol. 59, Yǒngjo 20.2.27.

<sup>21</sup> *Yǒngjo sillok*, vol. 119, Yǒngjo 48.8.15.

<sup>22</sup> “英宗壬辰八月十五日 [...] 又傳曰：若角勝，則當詣舊邸矣。” (*T'ong saek ch'wal yo*, vol. 2, “Yǒngjo”.)

<sup>23</sup> “進士鄭震僑 [...] 等疏曰：[...] 又況平民之有兩女者，一爲平民之妻，一爲士夫之妾，則平民之子，文踐華貴，武取臚仕，無所罣礙，而士夫之子，則稱以庶孽，一切防塞。[...] 其母一也，其父之尊卑懸絕，而朝家待士夫之子，反不如平民之子。臣等俯仰尋思，誠莫曉其故也[...] (Consider a commoner with two daughters, one of whom married another commoner and the other became a secondary wife of a yangban. The son of the commoner will face no difficulty in joining the public office and advancing to

current legal system, commoners had undeserving advantages over secondary sons when being appointed to government offices and advancing through the ranks. He argued that secondary sons were better suited for public office than commoners because they were half-yangban. Chŏng Jin'gyo's pack of secondary sons neither approved of nor wished to implement a complete meritocracy where individuals of any social class could serve in the government. They had internalized the yangban agenda, believing that yangban heritage was superior to that of the rest of the population. They urged the government to recognize that they, too, were of yangban heritage and demanded the privileges afforded to the yangban class, akin to those enjoyed by their primary-son half-brothers.

The right to serve in public office was undeniably a part of yangban class privilege but it was not integral to yangban identity. Theoretically, any male commoner could enter the civil service examination and become a bureaucrat. However, the power to influence local governance, to supervise village codes, and to provide Confucian guidance to the local population was reserved to certain individuals in the hyanggok. Yangban identity in the post-16<sup>th</sup> century Chosŏn entailed these authorities and, ultimately, regional hegemony. Local yangbans took meticulous care to sustain their power in the hyanggok. They aimed to limit the membership of local yangban communities to those verified as high-ranking yangbans, and they registered their names on local yangban rosters. Local yangban rosters came in several forms, one of which was called hyang-an(郷案). The decision on whom to include on hyang-an was carefully managed by the local yangban community. Yangban descendants who did not hold government posts or marry into good families, and thus lost yangban reputation, were excluded. Secondary sons and commoners were technically ineligible for the inclusion on hyang-an.<sup>24</sup> Despite their belief in their qualifications to exert influence within the hyanggok, these excluded groups began to challenge local yangban communities due to the exclusivity of the hyang-an. This challenge is demonstrated in the following memorial.

About four months after King Yŏngjo's decree on December 28<sup>th</sup>, 1772, over 3,000 secondary sons from the Kyŏngsang Province submitted a memorial. They requested that the king enforce local yangban communities to accept secondary sons as their worthy members. This ring of petitioners, led by Chŏn Sŏngch'ŏn, petitioned for the inclusion of secondary sons in hyang-an.<sup>25</sup> Inclusion in hyang-an would signify that secondary sons were recognized as yangbans. In addition, Chŏn Sŏngch'ŏn mentioned the implementation of the *ch'ijwa* [齒坐] seating. *Ch'ijwa*, which literally means sitting by age, was an alternative to the existing seating system in schools. Although secondary sons were allowed to study at Sŏnggyun'gwan and local schools[郷校], they could not sit with yangban students. They were designated to sit with each other, behind their yangban classmates. This seating system was inherently discriminatory. In the *ch'ijwa* system, however, students were seated from the eldest to the youngest, eliminating the distinction between primary and secondary descendants. The problem was that they were asking for state intervention in the hyanggok, which was seemingly a sphere of *sa*. The petitioners justified that this would enhance King Yŏngjo's authorities:

---

prestigious, well-paying positions. The son of the yangban is branded a secondary son and is denied everything. [...] On the one hand, their mothers are equals. On the other hand, their fathers are markedly different in their social standing. And yet the government treats us sons of yangbans more poorly than the sons of commoners. Even after long consideration we are ever perplexed to know the reason for [this mistreatment].” (*Sŏngjŏngwŏn ilgi*, bk. 582, Yŏngjo 0.12.7.)

<sup>24</sup> Jung, Jin Yong. (1998). p.241.

<sup>25</sup> *Sŏngjŏngwŏn ilgi*, bk. 1333, Yŏngjo 48.12.28.



The central government considers Saganwŏn, Sahŏnbu, and Hongmun'gwan to be prestigious, and the hyanggok considers the local yangban rosters to be prestigious. The central government has already admitted secondary sons into the prestigious posts, so for what reason is the hyang-an yet to be allowed to us? As the royal court is your majesty's court, the hyanggok is your majesty's hyanggok. There is no difference between the two. Enlightenment starts from the top and flows downwards, and your majesty leads the process. The decree on public appointment serves as the groundwork for national enlightenment, and yet the men out in the hyanggok resort to old customs and reject us from hyang-an. In what way is this honoring your sacred majesty's way of enlightenment?<sup>26</sup>

Chŏn Sŏngch'ŏn described the situation of hyanggok as a problem that should be fixed. Local yangban communities were well-acquainted with the news that the king had permitted appointing secondary sons to prestigious posts, but they believed it was irrelevant to them. They continued to deny secondary sons the access to hyang-an. Chŏn Sŏngch'ŏn portrayed their behavior as disobedience to the king. He argued that both the central government and the hyanggok belonged to the king. Seoul and the rural outskirts were identical in the sense that they were all under the king's jurisdiction. Therefore, without doubt the king's orders affected all around the country and changes in Seoul had to be automatically mirrored in the outskirts. Refusing secondary sons' entrance into hyang-an may equate to defying King Yŏngjo's admittance actions on the local level, hence the accusation of disobedience.

Furthermore, Chŏn and the secondary sons argued that the king ruled over everyone and everywhere. The king governed the center and the outskirts; the central government and the local communities. The petitioners of 1772 supported the expansion of kingship, through which they sought to achieve the local yangban status. In addition, they maintained that the central government was never irrelevant to the hyanggok. Rather, the hyanggok was to correspond to the central government. This suggested that central politics could and should influence the nonpolitical daily lives in the local yangban circles.

Hyang-an and *ch'ijwa* were managed by non-governmental groups like the local yangban communities and schools, where the rules of *sa-sil* applied. Previous admittance actions were implemented on the premise that *gong-ga* and *sa-sil* were two separate realms. It was also maintained that the central government may not intervene in hyanggok affairs. In this sense, secondary sons were asking for something that has never been requested before. But their request was not unexpected. As mentioned above, groups that were previously neglected by local yangban communities started to reject yangban hegemony. They employed a variety of actions, ranging from passive resistance like dropping out of yangban-led village compacts<sup>27</sup> to active demands to be registered on hyang-an. This caused the so-called local strife [*hyangchŏn*; 鄉戰], a power struggle between the established local yangban groups[舊鄉] and the newly organized groups[*sinhyang*; 新鄉]. The first documented local strife in the Kyŏngsang Province took place in the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century. The *sinhyang* started out as a group of less-powerful yangbans, but as they needed to outnumber the established local yangbans, they

<sup>26</sup> “噫，朝廷以三司之官爲清，鄉曲以三所之案爲清，三司之案，既通於朝廷，則三所，奚獨不通於鄉曲乎？夫朝廷，是我殿下之朝廷也，鄉曲，是我殿下之鄉曲也。朝廷·鄉曲本無二致，且風化者，自上達下，而殿下風化之主也。朝廷通籍之教，亦風化之一大機，則鄉人之因循推諉，不許通籍者，其所謂遵奉我聖上風化之道乎？” (Ibid.)

<sup>27</sup> Yangdong villagers of Kyŏngju, Kyŏngsang Province operated a village compact in the 17<sup>th</sup> – 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. The compact was put in place by the Son and Yi clans, who were the strongest yangban forces in the area. There were multiple participants coming from different clans and secondary descent in 1698. However, in 1701 and 1733, several of these participants, mostly secondary son participants, decided to drop out of the village compact. In 1739, only the yangbans of the Son and Yi clans remained in the village compact. This shows that yangbans coming from clans other than Son and Yi and secondary sons resisted against the established yangban families, albeit passively. (Jung, Jin Yong. (1998). pp. 362-364.)

attracted non-yangbans, like wealthy secondary sons and commoners, into the fight. Consequently, secondary sons were drawn into the struggle against local yangban communities. Established local yangbans, who had previously basked in power, now had to compete for regional hegemony.<sup>28</sup>

The Yōngjo regime was very much involved in the power struggles within the hyanggok. Unlike the monarchs of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, who generally respected the dichotomy between the central and hyanggok or the distinction between *gong-ga* and *sa-sil*, King Yōngjo encouraged state intervention in hyanggok affairs. He was particularly interested in expanding state involvement in local governance. He adopted policies that would enhance the governing authorities of local magistrates, who theoretically acted as proxies to the king. Enhancing the powers of the local magistrates could, in turn, expand the powers of the central government and the kingship. Powerful local yangban communities were seen as hindrances to this process. Consequently, local magistrates no longer tolerated local yangban governance and employed the help from a new group of people, who later form the *sinhyang*.<sup>29</sup> The local strife between the established local yangbans and the *sinhyang* was exacerbated by the local government's alignment with the latter.

Furthermore, King Yōngjo regarded any power struggle in the countryside as a threat to his kingship. Local strife was often entangled with factional politics. Central bureaucrats from different factions would support opposing participants in local strife, using the conflicts in the hyanggok as a political opportunity to 'win over' the other faction. The potential collusion between central bureaucrats and local yangban circles was proven to perilous during the Musin Revolt of 1728 when several local yangbans were caught conspiring treason with central political factions. Due to these events, the king was constantly suspicious of local yangban circles and their power struggles in the hyanggok. He firmly believed that tolerating local strife could ultimately endanger his kingship and insisted that the state mediate potential conflicts in the hyanggok. The *hyang-an* often served as the source of conflicts between established local yangbans and the *sinhyang*. As a result, King Yōngjo maintained that the central government could intervene in the management of *hyang-an*.<sup>30</sup>

With these political and social circumstances in mind, it could be assessed that Chōn Sōngch'ōn's petition for state intervention in *hyang-an* was submitted in a very timely manner. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Chosōn society witnessed a nationwide power struggle between the traditional, established local yangban community and a conglomerate of multiple social classes striving for upward mobility, which was bundled up in the umbrella term *sinhyang*. Hidden in this local strife was King Yōngjo's endeavor for strong kingship. King Yōngjo believed that conflicts in the hyanggok obstructed his political project of building a centralized monarchy. Local strife could get in the way of expanding the role of central government, reducing factional politics that could potentially put the kingship in danger, and, ultimately, enhancing his authorities as the king. In order to eliminate these risks, the king constantly attempted to reduce local yangban governance and dominate hyanggok affairs. Chōn Sōngch'ōn's and the secondary sons catered to his needs. They implied that by intervening in the management of *hyang-an*, the king could subjugate local yangban communities under his direct rule. King Yōngjo was manifested as the great arbitrator of all matters political or nonpolitical, central or periphery.

---

<sup>28</sup> Kim, Junhyeong. (2014).

<sup>29</sup> Kim, In Geol. (2017). pp. 144-145.

<sup>30</sup> Kim, In Geol. (2017). pp. 177-205.

### The yangbans' resistance against the Admittance Actions

Upon receiving Chŏn Sŏngch'ŏn's memorial, King Yŏngjo ordered the inclusion of secondary sons in hyang-an. He also enforced *ch'ijwa* in both Sŏnggyun'gwan and local schools.<sup>31</sup> King Yŏngjo's decision to exert power over local yangban communities and schools was met with instant opposition. This came from Minister of Taxation Ch'ae Jegong, whom the king had relied on and trusted dearly during his reign. Ch'ae Jegong warned it would be a wasted effort. He asserted that the local yangban communities of Kyŏngsang Province would dismiss state orders anyway since they took pride in the extreme exclusiveness of their hyang-an. He also argued that the inclusion in hyang-an would only create controversies in an otherwise peaceful administration.<sup>32</sup> His forecast of future conflicts reveals that local yangbans, although technically under the king's jurisdiction, expected autonomy on hyang-gok affairs. Left State Councilor Yi Ŭn clarified that these issues were connected with the nonpolitical, daily life space in the rural outskirts. He stated that the central government was different from the hyang-gok and that the former could not interfere with the activities of the latter.<sup>33</sup>

These objections convinced King Yŏngjo to withdraw the order. He sent a revised reply to the petitioners: "Upon hearing your petition I did find your situation quite pitiful; but the central government and the hyang-an are different. In my remaining years I shall focus on the big matters. Why should I invest in such a trivial thing?"<sup>34</sup> Secondary sons petitioned again on January 26<sup>th</sup>, 1773 in hopes of state involvement. They explained secondary sons were denied from attending yangban rituals, ignored in the hyang-an, and disrespected in schools as no one followed the *ch'ijwa* seating, even in Sŏnggyun'gwan. They pleaded the king to at least impose *ch'ijwa* on schools. They also insisted that the royal court and the hyang-gok were together as one, which is why the king should take note of the situations in the hyang-gok.<sup>35</sup> Again, the king refused to look into local yangban circles.<sup>36</sup> This rejection was not unusual. Previously in 1750, King Yŏngjo accepted the criticism that state intervention in the hyang-an was inappropriate.<sup>37</sup> King Yŏngjo disapproved of allowing full-scale autonomy in the local yangban communities, but he was not always inclined to step into the hyang-gok affairs.

This rejection was seemingly well received by the yangban community, but for a different reason than what King Yŏngjo had intended in his replies. Yangbans took these replies as granting them autonomy in the yangban communities. King Yŏngjo's policy of noninterference, to them, meant that the king conceded to the *gong-ga* and *sa-sil* dichotomy and decided to respect local yangban authorities. the local sphere. In this sense,

<sup>31</sup> “答曰：[...] 官既通，儒何不參？此無他，亦如爾等者，於官雖持正，通清無礙，而於儒無同然之教，故若此也。既聞之後，豈可一刻持疑？若治外方，先自乎京，分付太學，自今以後，於序齒只序其齒，切勿拘其前，而太學若此，鄉學亦然，分付八道，亦此例遵行，使數千多士，安其心而遊於京鄉學[...]” (Ibid.)

<sup>32</sup> [行戶曹判書蔡濟恭]進前曰：“此非臣所職掌之事，而竊有區區微見，敢達矣。臣昨夕見嶺儒疏批，曉頭赴闕之路，得見疏本，則自上見其疏本，則似當處分之如此矣。嶺外鄉案，與他道尤別，臣等雖以造化，位至緋玉，欲入於此案，則不當快許矣。故先正臣李滉，入於此錄，誇耀於儕流之間，其言多在其文集中矣。許此通錄，必多紛競之弊，何以無事朝廷，致此擾擾之端乎？” (Sŏngjŏngwŏn ilgi, bk. 1333, Yŏngjo 48.12.29.)

<sup>33</sup> [左議政李滉]曰：“鄉黨自鄉黨，朝廷自朝廷，鄉黨之所為，不宜朝廷有所干涉矣。” (Ibid.)

<sup>34</sup> 答曰：“[...] 爾等之章，聞而矜惻，朝廷自朝廷，鄉案自鄉案，吁嗟暮年，宜持大體，何區區於此等事？” (Ibid.)

<sup>35</sup> “慶尙道幼學黃景憲 ... 等疏曰：[...] 臣等不必區區於通錄，而第以臣等有一名之故，雖簪纓名賢之後，終見擯斥，衣儒冠，而目未睹俎豆之禮，則此臣等所以冤鬱也。且以太學言之，西北中人之居齋者，無拘於齒坐之列，而臣等則以一名之故，雖黃者鮐背，而受侮於末席，此臣等所以冤鬱也。[...] 噫，朝廷鄉曲，俱為一體，政令風教，本無內外，而能通之化，必暨於綏遠之致矣[...]” (Sŏngjŏngwŏn ilgi, bk. 1334, Yŏngjo 49.1.26.)

<sup>36</sup> “答曰：[...] 且國無差等之事，則鄉何異矣？[...] 其君則只樹制於朝廷而已。且若下行有司之事，豈區區於飭鄉[...]” (The state has already lifted [the ban] on secondary sons. How could the outskirts say otherwise? [...] A king only makes legislations in the royal court and leaves the execution in the hands of his officials – why should the king be as pathetic as to preach to the countryside?)” (Ibid.)

<sup>37</sup> Yŏngjo sillok, vol. 71, Yŏngjo 26.6.14.

kingship could not extend endlessly. Kingship was circumscribed to the political sphere of the central government. The general consensus among yangbans was that kingship was confined within the boundaries of *gong-ga* and that it could not encroach on *sa-sil*. They obviously misinterpreted King Yōngjo's intent, as he never would have agreed on constraining his authorities. Even though the king was hesitant to interfere in the *hyanggok* at the moment, he did not abandon the admittance actions nor did he wish to grant yangbans unrestricted freedom. This discrepancy between the king and yangbans proved to be a problem.

On January 27<sup>th</sup>, 1773, one day after reading the memorial submitted by secondary sons, King Yōngjo called upon the students of Sōnggyun'gwan to ask why they did not use the *ch'ijwa* seating.<sup>38</sup> King Yōngjo decreed the implementation of *ch'ijwa* in December of 1772, so he was unpleasant with this resistance. Kim Sik, then head student of Sōnggyun'gwan, answered:

Your majesty's reply to the secondary sons of Kyōngsang Province [sent on December 29<sup>th</sup>, 1772] stated that the central government and the *hyanggok* were different. Therefore, here in Sōnggyun'gwan, we do not allow *ch'ijwa*. We have secondary sons sit [behind] yangbans, even if they are older than yangban students.

This response infuriated him. Yōngjo admonished Kim Sik for having the nerve to bring up yangban privilege before the king. He degraded Kim Sik to commoner status, banished him to Hūksan Island, and ordered Sōnggyun'gwan students to sit according to *ch'ijwa* in the following month.<sup>39</sup> In 1774, he ordered local yangban communities to include secondary sons on their *hyang-an*, and announced violators would be punished like Kim Sik.<sup>40</sup> By the end of King Yōngjo's reign secondary sons were granted every request. King Yōngjo's decree of 1772, which started out as reforming the bureaucracy, was concluded in ensuring yangban class privilege for secondary sons.

King Yōngjo and Kim Sik's dialogue demonstrates the significant gap between their interpretations on *gong-ga* and *sa-sil*, and, the most importantly, the potential repercussions of neglecting such a discrepancy. Following the disastrous conversation with the head student, Yōngjo gave a lengthy speech on how ridiculous it was for the Sōnggyun'gwan students to quote his reply to the petitioning secondary sons: “[What I meant] was that a king may not intervene in the *hyang-an*. [...] How could anyone dare not to abide by the king's order [to implement *ch'ijwa* in Sōnggyun'gwan]? [The *ch'ijwa* seating dates back to the revered Xia, Shang, and Zhou dynasties.] I have already decided to restore this historic institution, and yet the so-called Confucian students imprudently attempt to make their own rules.”<sup>41</sup>

Evidently, when King Yōngjo declared noninterference in the *hyanggok*, he did not have Sōnggyun'gwan in mind. Sōnggyun'gwan was part of the central government, organized under the central bureaucracy. When he said that the *hyanggok* (*sa-sil*) was a sphere different from the central government (*gong-ga*), he implied that he still had direct jurisdiction over the central government and its counterparts. He

<sup>38</sup> *Yōngjo sillok*, vol. 120, Yōngjo 49.12.27.

<sup>39</sup> “[癸巳]二月，釋菜前三日，始齒坐于食堂，因書祭執事舉案入啓。”(*Tong saek ch'wal yo*, vol. 2, “Yōngjo”.)

<sup>40</sup> “[甲午六月十八日]，備忘記：噫！暮年君令，焉敢若此？金植後，開此章，曷勝寒心？此後若此者，當限三代，免爲鄉民，其令一體申飭諸道。若有抗章者，當施金植律，一體申飭。慢君命，若周勃令立之狀。若見渠若有君，焉敢若是角勝君命？”(Ibid.)

<sup>41</sup> “大學儒生入侍殿座時。傳曰：頃者嶺儒批答‘朝廷自朝廷，鄉黨自鄉黨’之教，堂堂千乘之君，不可干預於鄉黨之意。去夜批答‘風行草偃’之教，爲紀綱而然也。[...] 人君造命，雖予創行，孰敢不從？況此近四百年前古規復舊於昔年！侍從班持、正皆通清。噫！《禮記·世子》篇豈不云‘將爲我君而與我齒讓，何’也？雖貳極之尊，儒衣儒巾，與青衿齒于學。此三代古禮也。既若此復舊，則爲青衿者，何敢自爲法乎？”(Ibid.)

believed he had every right to supervise the management of Sŏnggyun'gwan.

This sentiment was not shared by the yangban students of Sŏnggyun'gwan. They anticipated being exempt from state orders. As previously explained, they asserted that the yangban circle as a whole belonged to the sphere of *sa-sil*, where different rules applied. Therefore, any activities happening in the yangban circle, whether in rural outskirts or in Seoul, within private organizations or public institutes, were to be managed by the members of *sa*, not by *gong-ga*. The king was to remain in the sphere of *gong-ga*. Hence, the yangban students conveniently quoted King Yŏngjo's reply "the central government and the hyanggok are different" as permission to full autonomy in Sŏnggyun'gwan. If this were to be the case, the king could not exert his powers over a considerable number of his people. His authority would be limited to the royal court and government bureaucrats. It would be a significant loss for the king.

This incident reminded King Yŏngjo that continuing with the *gong-ga* and *sa-sil* dichotomy would put his kingship at risk. The ostensible cause behind the Kim Sik incident was that Sŏnggyun'gwan students wrongly deemed themselves as a sovereign group. However, the very idea of separating *gong-ga* and *sa-sil*, or the central government and the hyanggok, lay at the root of the problem. As long as the general public presumed *gong-ga* and *sa-sil* were separated realms, it could also assume that *sa-sil* was severed from *gong-ga*. It was only a matter of time these two realms come to take on bigger concepts, like sovereignty of yangbans from kingship and such. With these outcomes in mind, King Yŏngjo found the secondary sons' argument enticing more than ever.

Nevertheless, even with the intimidation of punishment, yangbans continued to resist against King Yŏngjo's decree. A secondary son Yi Hŭikyŏm's memorial in 1773 vividly illustrates the yangban community's aversion to the admittance actions. In June of 1772, over a thousand yangbans from local schools and private academies[書員] in Kyŏngsang Province convened at the local magistrate's office. They swore to prevent secondary sons from joining the hyang-an. They wrote regulations on banning secondary sons in the local yangban communities and schools and posted these all around the province. The level of ostracization secondary sons faced in the local yangban circle was higher than ever. Local yangbans did not try to hide their hostility towards secondary sons. They publicly stated that although secondary sons had been permitted to prestigious and reputable posts, they should be discriminated against in *sa-sil*.<sup>42</sup> Their resistance against the admittance actions went unchecked after King Yŏngjo's death in 1776. In 1778, second year of his reign, King Chŏngjo was informed that secondary sons were still discriminated against in the rural outskirts in spite of his grandfather's efforts. Secondary sons from Kyŏngsang, Ch'ungh'ŏng, and Chŏlla Province complained that local yangbans disregarded King Yŏngjo's decree.<sup>43</sup> The fact that discriminatory practices continued in Sŏnggyun'gwan, local schools, and hyanggyo despite the collective efforts of King Yŏngjo and secondary sons, shows that local yangbans were extremely resistant to the increasing authorities of the central government and the king. As kingship was expanded considerably during King Yŏngjo's reign, local yangbans felt threatened that their traditional powers in the hyanggok would be compromised. They expressed this feeling of dread and repulsion

<sup>42</sup> “[甲午]六月十八日，慶尙道慶州儒生李希謙上疏曰：[...]而鄉人之言曰：‘清顯雖許於公朝，等級自在於私室，其嫡既在於其案，則其庶安敢並入於其錄？’[...] 昨年六月，鄉院千餘人集會府下，環坐發言曰：‘此中若有防塞一名者，皆起立！’於是千人齊起，咸曰‘唯唯’。仍成禁錮臣等之節目，揭于校院，輪示一鄉，賤惡擯斥，反有甚於前日。噫嘻痛矣！豈意鄒魯之善俗變作互鄉之難言也？[...].” (Ibid.)

<sup>43</sup> *Jŏngjo sillok*, vol. 6, Jŏngjo 2.8.1.

with the logic of the *gong-ga* and *sa-sil* dichotomy.

### **Conclusion**

Secondary sons of the Chosŏn dynasty had faced several discriminations, including not being able to serve in the government. This started to change in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, when King Injo allowed men of secondary descent to take the civil service examination and be appointed to certain reputable government offices. This measure, commonly called the admittance action, was implemented on the basis that matters of the central government or politics (*gong-ga*) should disregard those of the household (*sa-sil*). This premise was conceptualized into the idea that *gong-ga* and *sa-sil* should be separated. It was implied that *sa-sil* could not interfere with the management of *gong-ga* and vice versa. The *gong-ga* and *sa-sil* dichotomy continued to play a role in the admittance action discourse.

The secondary son debate entered upon a new phase in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. Now that secondary sons were admitted into the public office, they moved on to alleviating their social status as that of yangbans. Since their goal was to be fully integrated into the yangban class and manifest themselves as authority figures in the rural outskirts, they petitioned for the inclusion in the local yangban communities and equal treatment in schools. Unlike the government offices, which were political and hence *gong* in nature, local yangban communities and schools were perceived as the realm of *sa*. King Yŏngjo granted their request with the belief that his kingship would be significantly enhanced by intervening in rural, unpolitical issues. This instigated instant controversy from the yangban circle. Yangbans considered this attempt as a threat to their class privilege and regional hegemony in the hyanggok, and actively discriminated secondary sons.

The secondary son problem was fundamentally a question whether the central government, or the king, could subjugate the non-political *sa*-realm of the hyanggok. What started out as something so innocuous as giving bureaucratic opportunities to talented secondary sons evolved into redefining the boundaries of the kingship and yangban authorities. This change was provoked by the ongoing social conflict between traditional yangbans and the sinhyang, as well as King Yŏngjo's political agenda to enhance kingship.

# **Deck The Halls with Boughs of Holly? Contextualization and Localization of Christmas in Early Korean Protestant Church (1884-1910)**

Tin Nok Li, Seoul National University

## **Abstract**

The early history Christmas in Korea presents a fascinating case study of religious contextualization as well as cultural adaptation. This paper explores the Christmas traditions within Korean Protestant Church during the late 19th and early 20th centuries (1884-1910). Drawing on historical records, the paper examines how Western missionaries and Korean Christians together adapted and transformed the Christmas concept and practices to resonate with the Korean cultural context.

In particular, the paper highlights the use of the Sino-Korean term “Söngt'an” (성탄) as well as the evolving practises of Christmas celebrations in Korea to demonstrates how Western missionaries and Korean Christians reinterpreted and resignified existing cultural symbols to infuse Christmas with local meanings.

Moving beyond binary judgments, this paper challenges simplistic interpretations of Korean Christianity as solely shaped by Western missionaries. By examining the early history of Christmas in Korea, the paper sheds light on the complex negotiations between foreign religious traditions and local cultural expressions and offers insights for scholars of Korean history, missiology, and cultural studies.

## DECK THE HALLS WITH BOUGHS OF HOLLY?

### Contextualisation of Christmas in Early Korean Protestant Church (1884-1910)

LI, Tin Nok  
PhD student  
Graduate School of International Studies  
Seoul National University



26/12/1914 Maeil Sinbo 매일신보

## Introduction

### Protestant missionaries = Cultural imperialists?

More recent narrative: missionaries and Koreans **collaborated** and contributed to the development of a **unique form of Korean Christianity** (Protestant).

e.g. Saebyök kido 새벽기도 ; Ch'udo yebae 추도에배

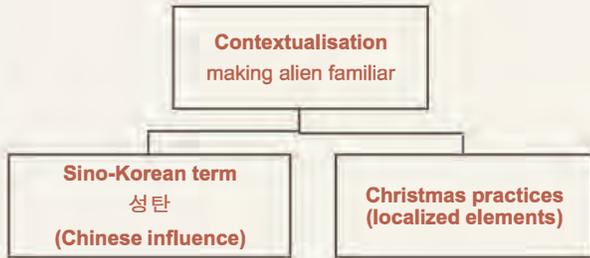
## Christmas?

## Methods

Archival research

- Dictionaries
- Government records (Qing Dynasty and Chosun Dynasty)
- Secular & religious newspaper
- Missionaries' diaries and books
- Mission periodicals





## Contextualization of Term

聖誕

wise → sagesness (성)

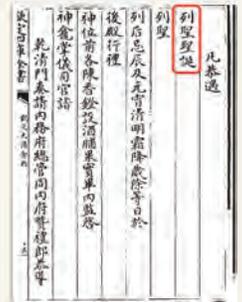
birth/ birthday (탄)



Sung-Deuk Oak, *The Making of Korean Christianity: Protestant Encounters with Korean religions, 1876-1915* (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2013), 306-10.

## 聖誕 in Qing Dynasty official document

- 45 天長節度使鄂州刺史韋公德政碑并序
- 46 太虛既張，惟天之長。所以白帝真人，當高秋八月五日，降西方之金精，採天長為名將，傳之無窮。紀聖誕之節也。我高祖創業，友宗成之，三后繼統，王猷如一。大盜開起，開元中興，力倍造化，功包天地。不然，何能遵蠶農之類波，返淨朴於太古？雖軒后至道，由聞黃尤之師；今網漏吞舟，而胡夷起於轅下。先天文武孝威皇帝，越在明南，總戎扶風。正帝車於北斗，拯橫流於鯨口。迴日曾於西山，拂蒙塵於帝顏。呼吸而收兩京，七赫而安六合。歷列辟而罕匹，顧將來而無儔。太陽重輪，合耀並出，宇宙翕張，草木增榮。



Quantangwen (全唐文) Vol. 350

Qinding daqing huidian (欽定大清會典) Vol. 88



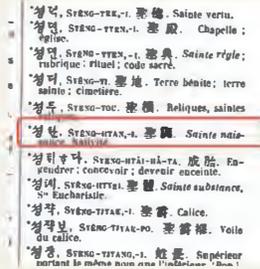
## Some Earliest Eng-Chi dictionaries

	Christmas	Nativity
1840s	耶穌生日	耶穌聖誕
1860s	耶穌生日、耶穌降誕	基督降生之日、耶穌聖誕
1870s	耶穌生日	耶穌聖誕
1880s	耶穌誕、耶穌降誕、耶穌生日	基督降生之日、耶穌聖誕
1890s	耶穌降世之日、又名外國冬至	耶穌生辰
1900s	聖誕節	耶穌聖誕
1910s	耶穌聖誕、耶穌降生日、聖誕節、基督聖誕節、聖誕瞻禮、主生日	



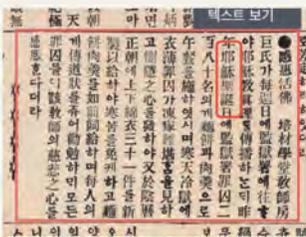
## Evolution of Term in Korea

- 1880: 성탄 appears in French-English dictionary
- 1890s: Christmas known as 예수탄일; 성탄 still used in non-biblical context
- mid 1900s-1910s 성탄 started to be used in Christian context
- 1920s: 크리스마스 (phonetic translation) emerged

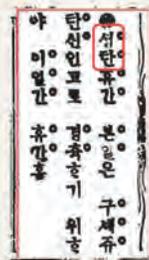


Société des missions étrangères, "성탄 (Christmas) in Dictionnaire Coréen-français (Yokohama: IMPRIMERIE DE L'Écho du Japon, 1880), 404.

## 성탄 (Christmas) on Korean Newspaper (1900s)



대한매일신보 4/2/1906



대한매일신보 25/12/1908

## Contextualisation of Practices



## 1. Expats exclusive (1884-1887)

(Records only found in missionaries' diaries)

- **Celebrated among missionaries**
- Gifts were given to mission school students but none were invited to Christmas celebrations

## 2. Christmas as a Cultural Experience (1887-early 1890s)

(Records only found in missionaries' diaries/ books)

- 1887: First record of native Koreans joining the celebration
- 1894: LH Underwood introduced Christmas to the Queen and put up Christmas tree in the Palace
- **Cultural experience for Koreans**

## 3. Koreans' Gradual Participation (late 1890s)

(Records mainly found on Christian print media)

- 1896: First introduced to the public on 독립신문
- Records were mainly on churches around Seoul and Inchoen
- **Native Koreans leading Christmas worships and sermons**

## 4. The Koreanized Christmas (1900s-1910)

(Records found on mission periodicals, local newspaper)  
Contextualised Decorations

Flags (Cross flags, Taegukki, US flags)	• National sentiment?
Christmas trees (pine trees)	• The only tree that abounds in Korea • The symbol of long and vigorous life, so symbolizes the undying love of Christ and gives a hint at the promise of immortality
Light and lanterns	• Lanterns were traditional decorations to celebrate Buddha's/Emperor's birthday
Bunting (white was absent)	• White was associated with mourning in Korean culture

## Contextualised Programmes

Performance (costumes)	American and Japanese uniforms as costumes
Christmas songs	Korean/ Japanese patriotic tunes; tunes used by Japanese soldiers
Gift-giving	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Did within church but not at home</li> <li>Korean candies</li> <li>Scriptures/ Bible</li> <li>Western calendar (remind them about Sabbath/ religious events)</li> </ul>
Charity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Visited Orphanages, hospital and gave out rice, walnuts, dates, and beans etc.</li> <li>Reported by secular newspapers</li> </ul>
Korean-led/ participated worship	Koreans delivering sermon, leading worship
Evangelism	Spend the whole day preaching the gospel

- Starting from the 1900s, Korean Christians began to play a more pivotal role in the church. This included the initiation of religious celebrations, such as Christmas

21



## Conclusion

*"It (Christmas celebration) was distinctively Korean, the missionary had little or nothing to do with it. In a number of ways originality was manifested. One could not help but guess that as the Korean church learns to stand alone, it will take on more and more Korean characteristics and rightly so. Some missionaries westernize the Korean church more than others, and all perhaps westernize it too much. It is impossible for the missionary to be an Oriental, however much he may try.*

*As the Koreans come more into control the church will take on, more and more Oriental characteristics. But this is not to be regretted so long as the church remains thoroughly Christian."*

Harry A. Rhodes (1875-1965)

Harry A. Rhodes, "An Unusual Christmas Celebration," *Korea Mission Field*, 1910, 68-69.

22



23

## Limitations/ Future Research

- Catholicism?
- Easter?
- Other Asian countries?
- Evolution of the meaning of Christmas in Korea



14/12/1952 George Sweer (Associated Press)

*"In the Chinese missions throughout the country every effort is being made to the foreigners a splendid Christmas celebration. In many cases these festivals are most elaborate and the Chinese are usually very anxious to make as big as display as possible. The above photograph shows a Chinese Christmas tree decorated in typical Chinese fashion."*



Medford Mail Tribune, 30/12/1912





**SESSION TWO <KOREA AND BEYOND>**



# Concepts of Sovereignty and Legitimacy in Chosŏn-Ming Investiture Practice and Communications

King Kwong Wong, University of British Columbia

## Abstract

From as early as the fourth century, monarchs of Korean states requested and received the patent of investiture and other imperial documents from emperors of dynastic courts based in China. This investiture lasted well into the late nineteenth century. Some scholars have suggested this practice, which portrays a hierarchical personal-cum-political relationship between the two sovereigns in historical records, as a sign of a Sinocentric world order in premodern East Asia. Yet, other scholars also find numerous examples that question the existence of such a structural model. This paper engages in this discussion and considers investiture practice as a construction of normative interstate relations that reflect conceptualizations of sovereignty and legitimacy rather than reality. In particular, this paper traces the evolution of investiture practice and relevant imperial documents between the Korean and Chinese states and scrutinizes their understudied rhetorical language and communicative practice. This paper argues that there was a monumental change in the conceptualization of sovereignty and legitimacy in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, during which the universal sovereign in Ming China (1368-1644) framed a relationship revolving around himself, his Koryŏ (918-1392) and later Chosŏn (1392-1897) vassal, and the Korean people on the principle of reciprocity. Unpacking this reciprocal relationship illustrates nuances and changes in concepts of sovereignty and legitimacy in premodern China and Korea.

## **Introduction**

Throughout the six years of his reign, the Chosŏn (1392-1897) founder Yi Sŏnggye 李成桂 (posthumous title T'aejo 太祖, r. 1392-1398) and his court kept sending diplomatic missives to the Ming (1368-1644) court in the hope of securing the patent of investiture from the Hongwu 洪武 emperor (r. 1368-1392) of the Ming dynasty (1392-1644). The Ming emperor, however, denied all these requests. What the Chosŏn king did was following the long investiture practice that began as early as the fourth century. In this practice, whenever a Korean ruler ascended the throne, he would request from a ruler of China the recognition as the rightful ruler in the form of investiture. Investiture practice would eventually last into the nineteenth century.

While the earliest records of investiture, especially those before the Koryŏ period (918-1392), are fragmentary and incomplete, by the Ming period investiture practice had developed into well-elaborated communications and rites between both rulers with specific rhetorical etiquette and ritual protocol. A newly enthroned Korean monarch would send a diplomatic mission carrying his request for investiture to the Chinese court and submit his missive of requesting investiture to the Chinese emperor. Before the recognition of the Chinese emperor, the

Korean king only referred to himself in the missive as the acting monarch with a temporary title, such as *Kwōnji kuksa* 權知國事 or *Kwōnsō kuksa* 權署國事, to the Chinese as well as other monarchs of neighboring states. In his missives to the Chinese emperor both before and after investiture, the Korean king referred to himself as a minister (*sin* 臣) of the emperor. The Chinese emperor would respond, whether to grant or to deny as in the case of the Hongwu emperor, to the investiture requests in missives that convey imperial order reserved to be used only by the emperor. If the request was granted, the emperor would also bestow a document certifying the patent of investiture and other gifts to the Korean king.

In the records documenting investiture practice between the Chinese emperor and other monarchs, these elements – the act of request and recognition, the deference of the Korean king as a subordinate of the Chinese emperor, and the prescribed forms of communication – portray a hierarchical ruler-vassal relationship between the Chinese and Korean monarchs. This relationship was part of the Chinese vision of interstate relations and world order, in which the Chinese emperor was at the center.<sup>1</sup> Hierarchical notwithstanding, Korean monarchs continuously participated in the Sinocentric investiture practice for 1500 years with only brief interludes due to tense interstate relations, short reigns, or internal conflicts.<sup>2</sup>

What prompted Korean monarchs to put themselves in a hierarchical relationship with the Chinese emperor? Returning to the case of Yi Sōnggye, scholars suggest that he sought investiture from the Hongwu emperor, among other legitimation strategies, to bolster his claim of legitimacy to reign over Korea.<sup>3</sup> As a dynastic founder, Yi Sōnggye needed to rely on multiple legitimating forces to justify the overthrow of the Koryō throne and his ascension, and he was not alone. The founder of the previous Koryō dynasty Wang Kōn 王建 (T’aejo, r. 918-943) also implemented a wide range of strategies, including accepting investiture from the Later Tang (923-937) emperor, to shore up his legitimacy vis-à-vis other competitors.<sup>4</sup> Wang Kōn and Yi

<sup>1</sup> Nishijima Sadao first proposes that the investiture system (*sakuhō taisei* 冊封体制) was the basis of interstate relations in East Asia during the sixth to eighth centuries. See Nishijima Sadao 西嶋定生, *Chūgoku kodai kokka to Higashi Ajia sekai* 中国古代国家と東アジア世界 (Tokyo: Tōkyō daig ku shuppankai, 1983), p. 463. Yi Sōngsi notes that both Nishijima’s investiture system and John K. Fairbank’s tributary system propose a similar hierarchical structure in premodern East Asian interstate relations, yet both also have differences. See Yi Sōngsi 李成市, *Higashi Ajia bunkaken no keisei* 東アジア文化圏の形成 (Tokyo: Yamakawa shuppansha, 2003), p. 30.

<sup>2</sup> Notable breaks happened during volatile interstate relations in the early eleventh century when war broke out between the Khitan-Liao empire (916-1125) and Koryō, from the 1110s to 1140s when the Jurchens replaced the Khitans in Northeast Asia and fought a series of war with the Song dynasty, and from the 1230s to 1270s when the Mongols launched several campaigns against Koryō.

<sup>3</sup> Donald N. Clark, “Sino-Korean Tributary Relations under the Ming” in *The Cambridge History of China, vol. 8: The Ming Dynasty, 1368–1644*, Part II, edited by Denis Twitchett and Frederick W. Mote (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 276; Fan Yongcong 范永聰 *Shida yu baoguo: Yuan Ming zhi ji de Zhong Han guanxi* 事大與保國: 元明之際的中韓關係 (Hong Kong: Xianggang jiaoyu tushu gongsi, 2009), p. 183. For discussions on Yi Sōnggye’s legitimation strategies, see Donald Baker, “Rhetoric, Ritual, and Political Legitimacy: Justifying Yi Seong-gye’s Ascension to the Throne” *Korea Journal* 53, no. 4 (2013): 141-167; Ch’oe chongsōk 최종석, “Chosōn kōn’guk ūi taesōjōk chōngdanghwa chagōp kwa chunghwa pop’yōn ūi ch’ugu” 조선 건국의 대외적 정당화 작업과 중화 보편의 추구 *Han’guksa yōn’gu* 韓國史研究 180 (2018): 79-112.

<sup>4</sup> Sem Vermeersch, *The Power of the Buddhas: The Politics of Buddhism During the Koryō Dynasty (918-1392)*, pp. 76-86.

Sōnggye might be exceptional cases due to their need for all possible sources of legitimacy to buttress the founding of their dynasty, but historical records suggest that their successors followed the model they set.

Although legitimation was a primary concern for a Korean monarch when he requested the patent of investiture from a ruler of China, what it entailed – a hierarchical ruler-vassal relationship that put him in a subordinate role – did not seem to bother him much. Previously, scholars have already noted the discrepancy between historical records that inform readers of a Sinocentric world order and realpolitik in diplomacy that was far from hierarchical. Not only that, they have also discovered the coexistence of egocentric worldviews among the states involved in this world order and have suggested that state actors' ideological flexibility and pragmatism provided ambiguous space for interpreting this world order.<sup>5</sup>

Yet, one question remains. If the definition of a monarch's legitimacy was his right and justification to rule a realm, how did a Korean monarch justify his rule over the Korean

---

<sup>5</sup> For discussions on the multipolar nature of East Asian interstate relations during the Tang period, see Zhenping Wang, *Ambassadors from the Islands of Immortals: China-Japan Relations in the Han-Tang Period* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005), pp. 226-8; Zhenping Wang, *Tang China in Multi-Polar Asia: A History of Diplomacy and War* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2013), pp. 1-3; Hirose Norio 廣瀬憲雄, *Kodai Higashi Ajia Chiiki no gaikō kankei to kokusai chitsujo 古代東アジア地域の外交関係と国際秩序* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kō unkan, 2011), pp. 326-33.

For discussions on the multipolarity of East Asian interstate relations during the tenth to fourteenth century, see Morris Rossabi ed., *China Among Equals: the Middle Kingdom and its Neighbors, 10th-14th Centuries* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983); Peter Yun (Yun Yōngin 윤영인), "Monggol ijōn Tong Asia ūi tawōnjōk kukche kwan'gye" 몽골 이전 동아시아의 다원적 국제관계 *Manju yōn'gu* 만주연구 3 (2005): 43-59; Yun Yōngin 윤영인, "10-13-segi Tongbuk Asia tawōnjōk kukche kwan'gye esōūi ch'aekpong kwa maengyak" 10-13 세기 동북아시아 多元的 國際秩序에서의 冊封과 盟約 *Tongyang sahak yōn'gu* 東洋史學研究 101 (2007): 119-144.

For discussions on the Koryō state's egocentric and multipolar worldviews, see No Myōnggho 盧明鎬, "Koryō sidae ūi tawōnjōk Ch'ōnha kwan kwa Haedong ch'ōnja" 高麗時代の 多元的 天下觀과 海東天子 *Han'guksa yōn'gu* 韓國史研究 105 (1999): 3-40; Remco E. Breuker, "The Emperor's Clothes? Koryō as an Independent Realm" *Korean Studies* 27 (2004): 48-84.

Although the Mongols suppressed the Koryō state's egocentric worldview from the late thirteenth century, such worldview persisted and was revived by the Chosōn court in the early period, see Chong Da-ham, "Making Chosōn's Own Tributaries: Dynamics Between the Ming-centered World Order and a Chosōn-centered Regional Order in the East Asian Periphery" *International Journal of Korean History* 15, no. 1 (2010): 29-62; Ilsoo Cho (조일수 Cho Ilsu), "Limits to Sinocentrism: Persistence of Nativist Discourses of Identity in Joseon Korea" *Seoul Journal of Korean Studies* 35, no. 2 (2022): 219-45; 조일수 Cho Ilsu, "Monggol cheguk ūi yusan ūrosōūi Cho-Myōng kwan'gye wa Chunghwa chuūi munje chaego" 몽골 제국의 유산으로서의 조명관계(朝明關係)와 중화주의 문제 재고(再考) *Yōksa hakpo* 歷史學報 256 (2022): 139-76.

The egocentric tendency became stronger after the fall of the Ming empire and Chosōn literati increasingly regarded Chosōn as the only center in their worldviews, see Chōng Okcha 정옥자, *Chosōn hugi Chosōn Chunghwa sasang yōn'gu* 조선 후기 조선 중화 사상 연구 (Seoul: Ilchisa, 1998); JaHyun Kim Haboush, "Constructing the Center: The Ritual Controversy and the Search for a New Identity in Seventeenth-Century Korea" in *Culture and the State in Late Chosōn Korea*, edited by JaHyun Kim Haboush and Martina Deuchler (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 1999), pp. 46-90. Sun Weiguo 孙卫国, *Daming qihao yu xiao Zhonghua yishi: Chaoxian wangchao zun Zhou si Ming wenti yanjiu, 1637-1800* 大明旗号与小中华意识: 朝鲜王朝尊周思明问题研究, 1637-1800 (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2007).

peninsula when there was a higher authority that theoretically ruled over him and his realm in the name of All-under-Heaven (*Tianxia* 天下)?

Scholars have already pointed out that the 1500 years of Sino-Korean investiture practice was not static but went through different phases and development in its content, titles bestowed to Korean monarchs, and the types of missives used. All these are suggestive of the changing historical contexts and relationships between the two involving monarchs and as such interstate relations.<sup>6</sup>

A re-evaluation of investiture practice offers an answer to this question. This paper reconsiders investiture practice through the concept of epistle and communicative space. As investiture practice was primarily conducted through the exchanges of missives and associated rhetorical etiquette and protocol, they created communicative space that enabled Korean and Chinese monarchs to articulate and rearticulate their ideas of sovereignty and legitimacy with the internal logic of investiture practice. I argue that Chosŏn monarchs could recast their relationships with the Ming emperor in investiture communicative space during the transitional period of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries and fundamentally changed the Sino-Korean inter-monarchal relationship thereafter. By examining the internal logic of investiture practice, this paper also unpacks the meaning of legitimacy and sovereignty in this specific context.

### Investiture Epistles and Communicative Space

Investiture practice created a paper trail of diplomatic missives between the Korean and Chinese rulers. The terminology of these missives differed during the course of 1500 years, but they were essentially epistles – letters on a tangible medium written by a person to an intended receiver and physically transmitted by a third party – and were part of communicative exchanges.<sup>7</sup> Different kinds of epistle were used, and each served different purposes. It is useful to make clear the functions and purposes of each epistle involved in investiture practice because they set the formal boundary of investiture communicative space.

When a Korean monarch requested investiture from a Chinese emperor, he delivered a memorial to the emperor to explain the situation in his state and justify why he was chosen to be the next ruler. A memorial was an epistolary genre that was specifically used by a minister in an upward communication to the emperor. There were different types of memorials, the ones used by Korean monarchs to request investiture were the *biao* (Kr. *p'yo*) 表 and the *zouben* (Kr. *chubon*) 奏本. The *biao* emerged as an epistle from a minister to the emperor as early as the Han

---

<sup>6</sup> Sim Chaesŏk 沈載錫, *Koryŏ kugwang ch'aekpong yŏn'gu* 高麗國王冊封研究 (Seoul: Hyeon, 2002); Jung Donghun (Chŏng Tonghun 정동훈), "From a Lord to a Bureaucrat: The Change of Koryŏ King's Status in the Korea-China Relations" *The Review of Korean Studies* 19, no. 2 (2016): 115-136; Chŏng Tonghun 정동훈, "Ch'aek kwa komyŏng: Koryŏ sidae kugwang ch'aekpong munsŏ" 冊과 誥命 - 고려시대 국왕 책봉문서 *Sahak yŏn'gu* 사학연구 126 (2017): 149-200.

<sup>7</sup> JaHyun Kim Haboush, ed., *Epistolary Korea: Letters in the Communicative Space of the Chosŏn, 1932-1910* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), pp. 1-2; Antje Richter, *Letters and Epistolary Culture in Early Medieval China* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2013), p. 37.

period (202 BCE-220 CE) and continued to be used in the Qing period (1636-1912).<sup>8</sup> None of the surviving texts of investiture requests predated the Koryŏ period, so the earliest example was one from the Koryŏ king Sukchong 肅宗 (r. 1095-1105) to the Khitan-Liao emperor in 1095.<sup>9</sup> Koryŏ and Chosŏn kings kept using the *biao* until the early Ming period when the *zouben* appeared as another epistolary form used by a minister to the emperor and replaced the *biao* in investiture request. The Qing court inherited the use of the *zouben* from the Ming but abolished the use of it in domestic communication in 1748. The monarchs of Chosŏn and other tributary states, however, continued to use this epistolary form.<sup>10</sup> From the early Ming period, Koryŏ and Chosŏn kings used the *zouben* to request investiture from the Ming and Qing emperors. The earliest example was from King Kongyang 恭讓王 (r. 1389-1392), who requested the patent of investiture from the Ming Hongwu emperor in 1389.<sup>11</sup>

These epistles, however, were not composed by Korean monarchs but by his officials. Yi Yŏk's 李懌 (Chosŏn Chungjong 中宗, r. 1506-1544) *zouben* requesting his investiture was an example that its text survived relatively intact and illustrates the intended sender and receiver of the memorials.<sup>12</sup> The opening of this *zouben* "Minister Yi Yŏk, the acting monarch of Chosŏn, memorialized for the matter of requesting succession" establishes that Yi Yŏk was the intended sender presenting the memorial to its intended audience, the Ming emperor. However, he did not compose the content of the memorial. In his stead, it was the officials in the office responsible for composing diplomatic correspondence. In the Koryŏ court, it was the *Munsŏ ũngbongsa* 文書應奉司, and in the Chosŏn period, it was the *Sŭngmunwŏn* 承文院.<sup>13</sup> The officials of these offices wrote on behalf of their monarchs. The *biao* and *zouben* memorials, in which a Korean monarch requested his investiture from a Chinese emperor, were a minister's epistles to the emperor. In these epistles, the Chosŏn king referred to himself as a minister and in his personal name, which implies political closeness to the Ming emperor.<sup>14</sup>

The submission of a memorial from a minister called for an answer from the emperor. After the Chinese emperor received an investiture request from a foreign monarch, he would either grant or deny such requests. His answer was dispatched in the form of an imperial edict, in which the emperor explained his decision. The imperial edict was an epistle reserved to be used by the emperor in his downward communication intended to be received by his subordinates. There were several types of imperial edicts, and the ones used in investiture practice were the

---

<sup>8</sup> Enno Giele, *Imperial Decision-Making and Communication in Early China: A Study of Cai Yong's Duduan* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006), p.149; He Xinhua 何新华, *Qingdai chaogong wenshu yanjiu* 清代朝贡文书研究 (Guangzhou: Zhongshan daxue chubanshe, 2016), p. 22.

<sup>9</sup> [http://db.history.go.kr/id/kr\\_011\\_0020\\_0010\\_0020](http://db.history.go.kr/id/kr_011_0020_0010_0020)

<sup>10</sup> He Xinhua 何新华, *Qingdai chaogong wenshu yanjiu* 清代朝贡文书研究, p. 40.

<sup>11</sup> [http://db.history.go.kr/id/kr\\_045\\_0020\\_0010\\_0140](http://db.history.go.kr/id/kr_045_0020_0010_0140)

<sup>12</sup> [https://sillok.history.go.kr/id/wka\\_10109027\\_003](https://sillok.history.go.kr/id/wka_10109027_003) In the *Veritable Records of the Chosŏn Dynasty*, it reads "朝鮮國權署國事臣李諱謹奏爲請承襲事." The compilers of the dynastic records replaced the first name of the Chosŏn king Yŏk with the word *hwi* 諱 as a form of taboo and respect to avoid directly addressing the monarch.

<sup>13</sup> Kim Kyŏngnok 金敬福, "Chosŏn sidae sadae munsŏ ũi saengsan kwa chŏndal ch'egye" 조선시대 事大文書の 생산과 전달체계 *Han'guksa yŏn'gu* 韓國史研究 134 (2006), p. 42.

<sup>14</sup> Wang, *Ambassadors from the Islands of Immortals*, p. 143.

*zhao* (Kr. *cho*) 詔 and the *chi* (Kr. *ch'ik*) 敕. None of these texts was recorded or perhaps they were not used before the Koryŏ period. Beginning from the Koryŏ period, some texts of the *zhao* and *chi* were preserved in the dynastic records. While the texts of *zhao* edicts were consistently recorded in the *Koryŏsa*, records of Koryŏ kings receiving *chi* edicts were far scarcer with only three instances. The first and only *chi* text appeared in the investiture of Wang Mu 王武 (912-945) as the Koryŏ king (Hyejong 惠宗, r. 943-945) in 945 by the Later Jin (936-947).<sup>15</sup> During the Chosŏn period, both the *zhao* and *chi* edicts were regularly documented in the *Veritable Records of the Chosŏn Dynasty*. Aside from the edicts, if the Chinese emperor granted the investiture request, he would also issue a certificate to the monarch ratifying the investiture and the establishment of a ruler-vassal relationship between the two monarchs.

The most important epistle in investiture practice was the investiture certificate. Without it, investiture remained incomplete, and a Korean monarch could not proclaim himself, at least in front of the Chinese emperor and rulers of other states, a ruler of Korea. A diplomatic move of Yi Songgye in 1395 to order the submission of a statement of explanation (Ch. *shen*, Kr. *sin* 申) by the Chosŏn ministers and people to the Ming Ministry of Rites shows the importance of the investiture certificate. The statement explained the reason why their king, Yi Songgye, still referred to himself as the acting monarch in his previous memorial – he had not yet received the investiture certificate (Ch. *gaoming*, Kr. *komyŏng* 誥命) and the official seal of the Chosŏn king from the Hongwu emperor.<sup>16</sup> The example of Yi Songgye shows that the investiture certificate signified the Chinese emperor's official recognition of its receiver as the rightful ruler of Korea. The terminology of the investiture certificate differed in different periods. From the sixth to thirteenth centuries, rulers of China used the term *ce* (Kr. *ch'aek*) 冊, referring to the bamboo slips and jade used to make this certificate.<sup>17</sup> The Mongol emperors of the Yuan dynasty (1271-1368) bestowed *xuanming* (Kr. *sŏnmyŏng* 宣命) as investiture certificates, and from the mid-fourteenth century on, the Ming and Qing emperors used *gaoming*.<sup>18</sup>

Like the memorials of Korean monarchs, Chinese emperors did not compose these edicts and other documents but delegated their composition to their ministers. During the Ming and Qing periods, the Grand Secretariat (*Neige* 內閣) was responsible for composing imperial edicts.<sup>19</sup> In these epistles, the sender referred to himself in the imperial first-person pronoun *zhen* 朕, although the officials in the Grand Secretariat drafted these epistles.

The epistles submitted by a Korean monarch to request investiture and those dispatched by a Chinese emperor in response to his requests were not a separate genre of diplomatic correspondence between two equal states or sovereigns, but pre-established forms of direct communication between a minister and his ruler used in the Chinese courts and had a set of rhetorical etiquette and protocol that manifested this hierarchical relationship. Since the primary

<sup>15</sup> [http://db.history.go.kr/id/kr\\_002\\_0180\\_0010\\_0010](http://db.history.go.kr/id/kr_002_0180_0010_0010)

<sup>16</sup> [http://sillok.history.go.kr/id/kaa\\_10411011\\_002](http://sillok.history.go.kr/id/kaa_10411011_002)

<sup>17</sup> Chŏng Tonghun, "Ch'aek kwa komyŏng," p.174, 182.

<sup>18</sup> Chŏng Tonghun, "Ch'aek kwa komyŏng," p.189-90.

<sup>19</sup> He Xinhua 何新华, *Qingdai chaogong wenshu yanjiu* 清代朝贡文书研究, p. 40.

goal of the Korean monarch in submitting his epistles was to secure the patent of investiture from the Chinese emperor, his epistles had to conform to prescribed etiquette and protocol to ensure their acceptance and the approval of the contents or requests they contained by the Chinese emperor and his court.<sup>20</sup>

In response, the Chinese emperor replied with epistles in the forms of imperial edicts and investiture certificates, all were reserved to be used by the emperor to address his subordinates. In these epistles, he addressed the Korean in the second-person pronoun *qing* 卿 (minister), which was used predominantly before the Ming period, or *er* 爾 (you), which superseded *qing* during the Ming period. Both *qing* and *er* have the connotation that the addressee was a subordinate or occupied a socially inferior position.

The forms of epistle used between the Korean king and the Chinese emperor and associated rhetorical etiquette and protocol defined investiture communicative space. They predetermined the Korean king, as the sender of the memorial and the receiver of the edict, a minister and subordinate of the Chinese emperor and prescribed the language he ought to use in his communications. At the same time, as the primary aim of the Korean king in sending his epistles was to secure the emperor's approval, he had the evermore incentive to make sure his epistles conform to the prescribed etiquette and protocol. These elements delimited the boundary within which both rulers articulated their relationship in investiture communicative space, the topic of the following section.

### Types of Epistle in Sino-Korean Investiture Practice

Types of Epistle		Period (on records)	Name
Upward communication by a minister to the emperor	Memorials	11 <sup>th</sup> century –	<i>biao</i> 表
		Late 14 <sup>th</sup> century –	<i>zouben</i> 奏本
Downward communication by the emperor to his ministers	Edicts	10 <sup>th</sup> century –	<i>zhao</i> 詔
			<i>chi</i> 敕
	Investiture certificates	6 <sup>th</sup> – 13 <sup>th</sup> centuries	<i>ce</i> 冊
		13 <sup>th</sup> – 14 <sup>th</sup> centuries	<i>xuanming</i> 宣命
	Mid-14 <sup>th</sup> centuries –	<i>gaoming</i> 誥命	

### **Ruler-Vassal Rhetorical Mode of Sino-Korean Investiture, Pre-1368**

The first recorded investiture of a Korean monarch by a ruler of China happened in 355, when King Kogugwŏn 故國原王 (r. 331-371) of Koguryŏ (37 BCE-668 CE) received military and noble titles as well as an office from the Former Yan 前燕 (337-370) emperor.<sup>21</sup> From then until the late nineteenth century, Koguryŏ, Paekche (18 BCE-660 CE), Silla (57 BCE-935 CE), Koryŏ, and Chosŏn monarchs continued to request and receive investiture from rulers of China. Over the course of a millennium, a pattern of request and receive in investiture practice can be observed

<sup>20</sup> Wang, *Ambassadors from the Islands of Immortals*, p. 143.

<sup>21</sup> [http://db.history.go.kr/id/sg\\_018\\_0020\\_0210](http://db.history.go.kr/id/sg_018_0020_0210)



and was relatively consistent throughout 1500 years. During this time, the whole investiture practice – the titles bestowed by rulers of China and the rhetoric of the epistles, such as the memorials, edicts, and investiture certificates – focused on defining the relationship between Chinese and Korean monarchs in terms of that between the ruler and his vassal.

Records of investiture during the Three Kingdom and “Unified” Silla periods were terse. It seems that none of the Korean monarchs’ memorials and the Chinese emperors’ edicts survived and just a handful of the investiture certificates remained as incomplete texts, containing only the main and important parts. What was deemed important and included in dynastic histories depended on the discretion of the historian-compilers. The same also happened in the Koryŏ and later Chosŏn courts as well as in the Chinese courts.<sup>22</sup> Texts of investiture missives during the Koryŏ period were better preserved in the dynastic records. Although a full set of investiture request memorials, imperial edicts granting investiture, and texts of investiture certificates by and to a single monarch cannot be found in the historical records, examples of these are scattered in the records of nineteen Koryŏ kings out of the thirty-one before 1368. These examples illustrate how Chinese and Korean monarchs articulated their personal-cum-political relationship.

Below is a breakdown of the rhetorical structure of the investiture *zhao* by the Khitan-Liao emperor to Wang Hyŏng’s 王亨 (Koryŏ Chŏngjong 靖宗, r. 1034-1046) in 1043. Although this example was not the inaugural investiture *zhao* for Wang Hyŏng but an investiture *zhao* for his promotion in the princely order of the Khitan-Liao empire, structurally it is the same as the other investiture *zhao* and is preserved relatively intact compared with the investiture *zhao* received by the other Koryŏ kings.

**The Investiture *Zhao* bestowed to Wang Hyŏng in 1043**

Structure	Content
A) The emperor’s philosophical position on his sovereignty over All-under-Heaven and his responsibility as the universal ruler to his vassals	朕 猥以眇德 嗣受丕圖 賴六聖之垂休 致八方之咸乂 近從群懇 祇受鴻名 凡在照臨 畢均慶賞
C) The current king’s generational merits and qualities that justify his promotion or succession	卿 世欽聲朔 地襲土茅 航深罄述職之儀 事大竭爲臣之節 屬陳鉅禮 載舉彝章 特推進秩之恩 併茂疇庸之數
D) Introduction of the envoys and their role in investiture	今遣使 左監門衛上將軍蕭慎微 使副尙書禮部侍郎韓紹文

<sup>22</sup> Sim Chaesŏk, *Koryŏ kugwang ch’aekpong yŏn’gu*, p. 49. Such incomplete nature was not restricted to investiture texts but was also common in other genres of imperial communications and personal communications; Nakamura Hiroichi 中村裕一, *Tōdai seichoku kenkyū* 唐代制勅研究, p. 7; Richter, *Letters and Epistolary Culture*, p. 8.

	持節備禮冊命 并賜車服冠劔印綬及國信物等
F) Closing	具如別錄 到可祇受

The structure of this investiture *zhao* shows two major rhetorical parts: 1) Sections A and C articulated the relationship between the Khitan-Liao emperor and the Koryŏ king, and 2) Section D was the logistical descriptions of investiture practice. The use of *zhen* and *qing* as respectively the emperor's and the Korean king's pronouns in this investiture *zhao* conformed to the rhetorical etiquette and protocol that prescribed the ruler-vassal relationship between the two monarchs. Not only that, a close reading of A and C reveals that the language was also required to align with this ruler-vassal rhetorical mode of communication space.

In Section A, the Khitan emperor stated his philosophical position on his sovereignty over All-under-Heaven. The passage starts with the imperial first-person pronoun *zhen* and states that the Khitan emperor was humbly virtuous and inherited the great enterprise from his forefathers (猥以眇德 嗣受丕圖) and that he relied on the blessing of the Six Sages to achieve universal rulership in all directions (賴六聖之垂休 致八方之咸乂). But his universal rulership was based on the support of other rulers from all these directions, as he stated that he respectfully received the position as the universal ruler by closely following the request of the crowd (近從群懇 祇受鴻名). As such, it was his responsibility to reciprocate their support with celebrations and rewards whenever they became his guests in his court (凡在照臨 畢均慶賞). The rhetoric of Section A lays out the philosophical relationship between the Khitan emperor and tributary rulers who recognized the Khitan emperor as the universal ruler and were referred to as the “crowd” in the text. It was a reciprocal relationship in which the Khitan emperor could regard himself as the universal ruler only because tributary rulers considered and supported him as such. Therefore, the Khitan emperor reciprocated the supporting crowd, among whom Wang Hyŏng, with celebrations and rewards, a topic of Section C.

Section C directly addresses the Koryŏ king by using the second-person pronoun *qing* and intends to justify the Khitan emperor's bestowal of celebrations and rewards to the Koryŏ king. It begins with the Koryŏ king's generational merits from the perspective of the Khitan emperor: the Koryŏ king and his forebears had for generations revered the civilizational transformation and the legitimate calendar from the Khitan emperor and had long inherited their humble state (世欽聲朔 地襲土茅). Then the Khitan emperor praised the Koryŏ king for doing his utmost to perform the ritual duty of reporting to the emperor and his loyalty as a vassal to the emperor (航深罄述職之儀 事大竭爲臣之節). According to the court institutions and precedents, the Khitan emperor thus bestowed the Koryŏ king a promotion in the ranking of the imperial princely order (屬陳鉅禮 載舉彝章 特推進秩之恩 併茂疇庸之數). Section C is consistent with the rhetoric of Section A, which articulates the hierarchical yet reciprocal relationship between the Khitan emperor and the Koryŏ king. While Section A focuses on the rationale of the Khitan emperor's universal rulership, Section C centers on the justification of the Koryŏ king's promotion or his succession in the case of an inaugural investiture *zhao*.

The rhetorical etiquette and language of these two sections present the rhetoric of a hierarchical ruler-vassal relationship between the Khitan emperor and the Koryŏ king, but a closer examination of the same language also reveals the nuance of a reciprocal political-cum-personal relationship between the two monarchs. Such ruler-vassal rhetorical mode of investiture was common throughout the Koryŏ period until a change in the communicative space occurred in the mid-fifteenth century.

### Expanding Communicative Space in Investiture Practice, Mid-1400

Even though the epistolary forms and associated etiquette and protocol dictated the inter-monarchical relationship between Korean and Chinese monarchs in terms of a hierarchical relationship, investiture communicative space did not remain unchanged. A subtle change in the imperial edicts used in investiture practice expanded their intended audience in the 1450s.

The imperial edicts received by Yi Hyang 李珣 (Chosŏn Munjong 文宗, r. 1450-1452) first recorded this change. The communicative space before was confined to correspondences between the Korean and Chinese monarchs. In the investiture *zhao*, the emperor now stated the deceased king's merits, aside from his position and the current king's qualities. The emperor also no longer addressed only the current and deceased Chosŏn kings but expanded his intended audience to the Chosŏn ministers and people.<sup>23</sup> Below is a comparison table of Wang Hyŏng's investiture *zhao* by the Khitan-Liao emperor and Yi Hyang's by the Ming emperors. It illustrates a clear expansion to the intended audience in mid-fifteenth century investiture *zhao* that remained until the late nineteenth century, the end of investiture practice.

#### A Comparison of Investiture *Zhao* during the Koryŏ and Chosŏn Period

Structure	King Chŏngjong of Koryŏ <sup>24</sup>	King Munjong of Chosŏn <sup>25</sup>
A) The emperor's philosophical position on his sovereignty over All-under-Heaven and his responsibility as the universal ruler to his vassals	朕 猥以眇德 嗣受丕圖 賴六聖之垂休 致八方之咸乂 近從群懇 祇受鴻名 凡在照臨 畢均慶賞	朕 祇膺天命 君主華夷 一視同仁 靡間遐邇 凡封建海外 諸國君長 俾統其衆 悉遵祖宗成憲 用圖輯寧 咸臻熙皞
B) The deceased king's merits under the rubric of the emperor's sovereignty		故朝鮮國王李諱 自受封以來 克承先志 敬天事上 罔有怠違 屬茲云亡 宜有繼承

<sup>23</sup> Similar phrases used in other *zhao* texts after this one include: 凡國中大小臣庶, 凡爾國中大小臣民, 凡爾一國臣庶, 本國大小臣民.

<sup>24</sup> [http://db.history.go.kr/id/kr\\_006\\_0110\\_0110\\_0030](http://db.history.go.kr/id/kr_006_0110_0110_0030)

<sup>25</sup> [http://sillok.history.go.kr/id/wea\\_10008003\\_002](http://sillok.history.go.kr/id/wea_10008003_002)

C) The current king's merits and qualities that justify his promotion or succession	卿 世欽聲朔 地襲土茅 航深罄述職之儀 事大竭爲臣之節 屬陳鉅禮 載舉彝章 特推進秩之恩 併茂疇庸之數	世子諱 王之嫡長 性資忠厚 國人攸歸
D) Introduction of the envoys and their role in investiture	今遣使 左監門衛上將軍蕭愼微 使副尚書禮部侍郎韓紹文 持節備禮冊命 并賜車服冠劍印綬及國信物等	今特遣 太監尹鳳 奉御鄭善 齎勅封爲朝鮮國王繼主國事
E) Address to the king's ministers and people		凡國中大小臣庶 務盡乃心 輔翼善道 各循禮分 毋或僭踰 必使國人安生樂業 永享太平之福 庶幾可副朕懷
F) Closing	具如別錄 到可祇受	故茲詔諭 咸使聞知

The rhetoric of the sections common in both investiture *zhao* (Sections A and C) were similar: both focused on the universal rulership of the ruler-emperor and the loyalty of the vassal-king. In addition, the new Section B, which addressed the deceased Chosŏn king also centered on the generational and his own past loyalty to the Son of Heaven (自受封以來 克承先志 敬天事上 罔有怠違). These similarities mean that the rhetoric of ruler-vassal relationship persisted.

Nonetheless, investiture communicative space expanded, and the other type of imperial edict *chi* aligned with this expansion. The investiture *chi* received by Yi Hyang opens with “the emperor instructed Yi Hyang, the crown prince of the Chosŏn king” and the emperor’s acknowledgment of receiving the crown prince’s memorial of his father Yi To’s 李禔 (Sejong 世宗, r. 1418-1450) obituary.<sup>26</sup> This demonstrates that this *chi* edict was the Ming emperor’s direct response to Yi Hyang’s memorial of requesting investiture. Not only that, the content of this investiture *chi* also shows the intended audience of the investiture *zhao*. As a response to Yi Hyang’s request, the emperor mentioned that he dispatched envoys who would carry imperial edicts, which would be used to offer sacrifice to the deceased king, to be proclaimed to the Chosŏn people, and to invest Yi Hyang as the king of Chosŏn. All of these correspond to the intended audience of the investiture *zhao*, and amidst this expansion, a new emphasis emerged.

### Conclusion: Triangular Reciprocal Legitimation in Sino-Korean Investiture Practice

A fundamental change in investiture communicative space between the Chosŏn and Ming monarchs in the 1450s allowed both rulers to re-articulate their relationship beyond that between ruler and vassal. As the *chi* maintained its purpose as a direct response from the Chinese emperor to the Korean king’s investiture request, the *zhao* took on a broader intended audience, now

<sup>26</sup> [http://sillok.history.go.kr/id/wea\\_10008003\\_002](http://sillok.history.go.kr/id/wea_10008003_002)

including the deceased Chosŏn king, his minister, and people. This change in the intended audience suggests a shift in how the Chinese emperor conceptualized his sovereignty over the Korean king. Before this shift, the legitimacy of a Korean monarch and a ruler of China in interstate diplomacy depended on their ruler-vassal relationship – he was a rightful ruler only after he received investiture from the emperor. This aspect of legitimation remained after the shift, but another aspect – the relationship between the Korean people and the universal ruler in China and that between the Korean people and their monarch, also became prominent. This section provides a preliminary conclusion to this shift and its implication for legitimacy and inter-monarchical sovereignty.

A new emphasis on the people emerged in the investiture *zhao* of the 1450s and thereafter. In Sections A and C, sections that are common before and after the change in investiture communicative space, sovereignty over the people and popular support were new elements in the Ming emperor's articulation of his sovereignty over the Chosŏn king and the Chosŏn people. One of the responsibilities of the universal ruler articulated in Section A is to delegate each tributary ruler to rule his people (凡封建海外 諸國君長 俾統其衆). In Section C, an important qualification of the Chosŏn king alongside his potential loyalty to the Ming emperor was the support of his people (性資忠厚 國人攸歸).

The new Section E, which appeared after the 1450s, was a specific address to the Chosŏn ministers and people. The Ming emperor laid out the responsibilities of the Chosŏn ministers and people: to assert their utmost to support the Chosŏn king and to comply with the prescribed boundaries in rites and not to infringe upon the place of their monarch (務盡乃心 輔翼善道 各循禮分 毋或僭踰). The Ming emperor continued that if the Chosŏn ministers and people could follow their responsibilities, it would match his intention: the Chosŏn people could enjoy peace and prosperity (必使國人安生樂業 永享太平之福 庶幾可副朕懷).

These new articulations encapsulate how the Ming emperor envisioned the triangular relationship among the universal ruler, the Chosŏn king, and the Chosŏn people. The legitimacy of the universal ruler rested on pacifying All-under-Heaven, and in doing so he had the responsibility of delegating a tributary vassal to rule his people. The delegation and selection of such a vassal depended on popular support. Once their ruler was chosen, the people in turn were obliged to assist him and remained loyal. This triangular relationship, like the previous ruler-vassal relationship, was reciprocal.

To be sure, the example of Yi Hyang's investiture was not the first occasion in which a Chinese emperor addressed an audience larger than just the Korean monarch in investiture practice. Wang Kŏn's investiture in 933 was such an example. In this instance, the Later Tang emperor bestowed a *zhao* edict to Wang Kŏn's three armies and their officers.<sup>27</sup> But this was the only example before the 1450s; it was an exception rather than the norm. From the 1450s on, most of the investiture *zhao* included the Chosŏn ministers and people as its intended audience,

---

<sup>27</sup> [http://db.history.go.kr/id/kr\\_002\\_0030\\_0010\\_0030](http://db.history.go.kr/id/kr_002_0030_0010_0030)

and this suggests that the Chosŏn king's subjects and people were an important aspect and needed to be considered in his legitimacy.

# **Comparative Analysis of Peripheral Diplomacy Strategies between Joseon and Modern Korea: A Constructivist Perspective**

YongJun Park, Fudan University

## **Abstract**

This study, titled "A Comparative Analysis of Peripheral Diplomacy Strategies between Joseon and Modern Korea: A Constructivist Perspective," aims to dissect and reframe the diplomatic policies of the historical Joseon dynasty and contemporary South Korea through the lens of constructivist theory within international relations. By scrutinizing the normative framework of the East Asian regional order, epitomized by the "Sinocentric world order," this research endeavors to elucidate the formation of Joseon's national identity and its diplomatic strategies within the context of being a relatively minor power in East Asia. Central to this analysis are pivotal transitional periods in East Asian international order, notably the Yuan-Ming and Ming-Qing transitions, which are examined for their profound impact on Joseon's foreign policy. From a constructivist viewpoint, these eras serve as invaluable case studies for exploring the interplay between national identity, social norms, and interstate relations within the international system, and their collective influence on diplomatic policy and regional order. Moreover, by juxtaposing Joseon's foreign policy strategies during these times with South Korea's strategies during the U.S.-China conflict, this paper aims to highlight the continuity and evolution of diplomatic policies across different epochs within the same geographical space. Ultimately, this research intends to contribute significantly to the understanding of the historical evolution of the East Asian regional order and to broaden the applicability of constructivist theory within the field of international relations.

Keywords: East Asian Regional Order, Sinocentric world order, Joseon Diplomatic Strategies, Modern South Korean Foreign Policy

## Comparative Analysis of Peripheral Diplomacy Strategies between Joseon and Modern Korea : A Constructivist Perspective

Explore the evolving diplomatic approaches of Korea, from the historical context of the Joseon dynasty to the modern era. Discover how constructivism sheds light on the nuances and transformations of peripheral diplomacy strategies over time.

Fudan University  
PARK YONGJOON



## Background:

Democracy is an essential element in building a strong foundation for global security and prosperity.

The last three summits served as an opportunity to reaffirm our unwavering commitment to this belief.

Leaders from countries sharing universal values, together with those from civil society, the private sector, international organizations, and the academia gathered from all around the world to pool their wisdom on advancing democracy.

Of course, it would be premature to say that the three summits fulfilled our aspirations for global democracy.

Authoritarianism and dis-intellectualism are springing up in many corners of the world, posing a persistent threat to the values and spirit of democracy.

Our conviction and responsibility to confront these challenges are more important than ever. The future of the younger generations and our very own children depends on what we do today.

Building on the outcome of this summit, Korea, together with all democratic nations - will reflect upon the outcomes of the summit and continue to exert our efforts to advance democracy across the globe.

作为原则，中方一贯反对以意识形态划线，将民主的单一工具化、武器化，这种做法本身就和民主的精神相悖。当今世界需要的不是以民主的名义来制造分裂，而是在联合国宪章的宗旨和原则基础上加强团结合作，推进国际关系民主化。中方愿同各国在相互尊重的基础上，就民主等问题开展交流互鉴，共同为人类民主的事业作出新的贡献。世界各国也应共同为实现和睦相处、合作共赢作出积极努力，而不是破坏国际社会的团结。

## Introduction:

Understanding the evolution of peripheral diplomacy strategies between Joseon-era Korea and modern-day South Korea is crucial for contextualizing Korea's foreign policy priorities and geopolitical positioning. Peripheral diplomacy has shaped Korea's international relations, and analyzing its historical development through a constructivist lens can yield valuable insights.



### The traditional Sinocentric order

During the Joseon dynasty (1392-1897), Korea pursued a peripheral diplomacy strategy, prioritizing tributary relationships with neighboring powers. This approach emphasized cultural and economic exchange over military confrontation, aiming to maintain stability and autonomy through careful navigation of regional power dynamics.

### Foundation and Governance of Joseon:

The establishment of Joseon by the Neo-Confucian literati and the Confucian state

- The influx of Neo-Confucianism during the early Joseon period subsequently became the ideological foundation of the Joseon dynasty.
- Key figures in the establishment of the dynasty, such as Jeong Do-jeon, accepted the Confucian worldview emphasizing lineage, legitimacy, and righteousness, which formed the basis for the establishment of the new dynasty.

- ① Ideology: A nation constructed through Confucianism
- ② Political System: Formalization of Confucian ideology into the political system
  - Ex: Establishment of the national code, recruitment of Confucian elites.
- ③ Tension between royal authority and Confucian values interpreted through Confucian values.
  - Ex: 선왕지도(선왕지법), 조종지성현(조종지법), "시왕시제"

### Mutual Perception between Joseon and the Ming Dynasty:

禮部咨高麗使臣等。洪武二十五年十月十一日，本部右侍郎張瑄等官於西角門，早朝將來辭奏聞。欽奉聖旨：“高麗前者差人來奏本國情由，今覽來辭，不違前日之事。然我中國僻處所存，列聖相傳，守而不易。高麗頂山隔海，天遠東夷，非我中國所治。爾禮部回文書，聲教自由，果能順天意合人心，以安東夷之民，不生邊釁，則使命往來，實從爾之福也。文書到日，爾更何說，星馳來報。”欽此。本部今將聖旨奉奏，備云前去。

태조실록 2권, 태조 1년 11월 27일 갑진 1번째기사 1392년 명 홍무(洪武) 25년

“然於觀高麗之于中國自漢至今其國君臣多不懷恩但廣詐交而轉禍在昔漢時高氏失爵光武復其王號旋即寇邊大為漢兵所敗廣有天下亦嘗開封疆復梓枿以故父子受俘族姓建絕迨宋之興王氏當國漢于契丹女真甘為奴隸元世祖入中原書教本國于重亡而乃妄懷疑貳詭信使屢辱屢叛是以數遭兵禍今王親被執奸臣竊命將欲為之首構豐怨于我 納之何益”

朱元璋, 明太祖集 7, 『命中書諭高麗』

### Transitional Period of Ming and Qing: Changes in the Sino-centric order and the Korean Peninsula

Rise of the Manchu (Later Jin, Qing):

- Gradual rise of the Manchu in the mid-16th century.
- In 1618, they declared war against the Ming, citing seven grievances.
- This marked the tangible starting point for the transition from the Ming to the Qing dynasty.

The map shows in yellow the cultural zones of the Manchu people. These areas did not have defined borders.

## Transitional Period of Ming and Ching: Changes in the Sino-centric order and the Korean Peninsula

...宗社之危。若觀瀛然。不他是也。我國事天朝。二百餘載。雖即君臣。恩難父子。王辰再始之意。實世不可忘也。先王臨御四十年。至咸寧大平生未嘗背西而坐。光海忘恩背德。罔畏天命。陰懷二心。(輪欵)(輪欵) 奴夷。已未狂瀆之役。密教帥臣。觀變向背。卒致全師投奔。洩騰四海。王人之末本圖。翻隸狗囚。不啻牢籠。皇勃震怒。無意海師。使我三韓禮儀之邦。不免與狄禽獸之跡。痛心疾首。胡可勝言! 夫滅天理。斲人倫。上以得罪於宗社。下以絕殺於萬姓。罪惡至此。其何以堪。君子民。居祖宗之天位。奉宗社之神靈乎。茲以廢之。量宜居住。...

인조실록 1권, 인조 1년 3월 14일



《표 1》 '명해군일기'와 '인조실록'에 보이는 후금 관련 기사, 1613~1632년

시기 구분	사건	기사 수	주요 사건	비고
① 명해군 5~9년	1613	4	7월 평주목사 발발	명해군이 없을 정도로 평온
	1614	8		
	1615	4		
	1616	8	1월 누르하치 후금 건국	
② 명해군 10~14년	1618	256	1월 후금의 요동 정복 4월 명의 조선군 정벌 요구	명, 후금, 조선 사이의 전쟁 및 술 거론 제외
	1619	204	10월 3일 사르히 전투 (하루 4번) 10월 25일 후금의 4만여 명(기마 10만) 침공	
	1620	51	5월 임진왜란의 정예부대를 명해군에게 지원	
	1621	135	1~3월 후금의 요동 정복 7월 모문부 등 요동 난민 평안도 난발	
	1622	103	5월 임진왜란의 정예부대를 명해군에게 지원 5월 이후 온 조양이 회포, 평양 치비 10월 명해군의 후호의 국서 후금 전달 11월 모문부의 기도 이후	
	1623	29	3월 재해정원(인조반란)	
③ 인조 1~4년	1624	22		평상적 상태 회복, 후금의 조선 압박감이 없음, 후금은 요서 광야에 주둔
	1625	24		
④ 인조 5~6년	1627	424	1월 후금의 조선 침공(명조보란)	침공과 강화협상으로 기사 수 폭증
	1628	93		

Structure	conceptions of self	conceptions of other	National interests	Foreign policy
Ming-centered international order -> Power Transition	small and weak states Civilized nation	Ming: Existing hegemonic powers, civilized nations Emerging hegemonic powers, non-civilized nations	Security: conflict avoidanc Value: Manifestation of Confucian values	ungmyeongbaecheon (崇明排清) vs substantive diplomacy

- In the case of Goryeo or early Joseon, initially, they acknowledged the suzerainty of the Ming Dynasty based on power dynamics.
- However, as the emphasis on these values permeated Joseon society, even the embodiment of these values in shaping national interests became a state interest.
- This, in turn, exerted influence on diplomatic policies.
- During the early Joseon period, in determining diplomatic policies during the transition from the Ming to the Qing Dynasty, Joseon faced a choice between value diplomacy and substantive diplomacy.
- In other words, the goal of national survival conflicted with the embodiment of Confucian values. Eventually, Korea implemented the prestige diplomacy policy, which prioritized Confucian values.



## The identity of Joseon and its relations with Ming China

- ① Ideological factor: A nation constructed through Confucianism.
- ② Authenticity: Confucian values as the supreme value of monarchy.
- ③ Institutional factor: Mobilization of Confucian elites.
- ④ Historical factor: Imjin War.
- ⑤ Survival strategy of a weaker state: Sense of equality, self-defense mechanism, sense of superiority





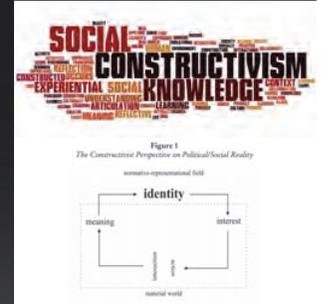
## Comparative analysis of Joseon and modern Korean strategies

- ① Exogenous Ideology: Introduction of liberal democracy exogenously.
- ② Historical Experience: Manifestation of liberal democracy through democratization movements.
- ③ Reality of Divided Nations: Continuation of Cold War thinking.
- ④ Geopolitical Position: Frontline of the Cold War structure.

## Introduction to Constructivism Theory

Constructivist theory explains how a state's identity and interests are formed and change in international relations. It presents a perspective that the international order is constructed through the roles and interactions of state actors.

Specifically, the constructivist theory emphasizes that norms, institutions, and mutual perceptions among states play an important role. It explains that the interests and identities of states are formed and changed within historical and social contexts.



## Contents

### Joseon and Korea as Case Studies in Constructivism:

Theoretical Framework  
Methodology

### Case 1: Joseon's Peripheral Diplomatic Strategy

Changes in the East Asian Regional Order and the Founding of Joseon  
Joseon's Self-Perception and Perception of Others  
Implementation of Foreign Policy: Tributary Diplomacy  
Summary

### Case 2: Modern Korea's Peripheral Diplomatic Strategy

Changes in the International Order and Korea  
Korea's Self-Perception and Perception of Others  
Implementation of Foreign Policy: Analysis of Multilateral Diplomacy  
Summary

### Conclusion and Implications: Comparative Analysis

## Conclusion and Future Research Directions

### Conclusion

This study has provided a comparative analysis of the peripheral diplomatic strategies employed by the Joseon dynasty and modern-day South Korea, using a constructivist theoretical lens. The findings highlight the evolving nature of Korea's diplomatic approaches over time.

### Implications and Applications

The insights gained from this study have potential applications in informing Korea's current and future diplomatic efforts, as well as contributing to the broader understanding of constructivism in

### Future Research Directions

Further research could explore how other theoretical frameworks, such as neoliberalism or liberalism, might yield additional insights into Korea's diplomatic history and strategies. Expanding the case studies to include North Korea or other regional powers could also deepen the comparative analysis.

## Q&A and References



# **The Developing Trend of U.S.-Japan-ROK Trilateral Security Cooperation: a Historical and Realistic Survey towards ROK**

Zhenqun Shen, Fudan University

## **Abstract**

Trilateral security cooperation among the United States, Japan, and Republic of Korea has entered a new phase of comprehensive development, marked by “Camp David Summit”. From the perspective of South Korea, “North Korea issue” and “historical conflicts between South Korea and Japan” are crucial factors affecting the progress of trilateral security cooperation throughout history. Since the beginning of the Cold War, trilateral security cooperation has exhibited a cycle of “development—obstruction”, in response to the changing dynamics of Korean peninsula, U.S. attitudes, and policy trends of South Korea and Japan. Under the leadership of President Yoon Suk-yeol, trilateral security cooperation has reached new heights. South Korea has actively sought to strengthen the South Korea-US alliance and ease tensions with Japan. Against this backdrop, trilateral cooperation has emerged with a new emphasis on both traditional economic security coordination. It seems that South Korea and Japan have moved from a “quasi-alliance” to an alliance relationship within the framework of trilateral security cooperation. Regarding the current situation of South Korea's involvement in trilateral security cooperation, the explanatory function of the quasi-alliance theory is becoming questionable, and the influence of “the patron’s promise” appears to have weakened compared to domestic politics. Perceptions of external geopolitical threats and changes in domestic policy trends constitute the underlying motives for South Korea's proactive efforts to strengthen trilateral security cooperation at current stage. However, the factors influencing trilateral security cooperation could also change in the future. Internally, the conservative-progressive dichotomy within South Korea and resistance to reconciliation between Japan and South Korea still exist. Externally, the geopolitical security demands of the three countries are not entirely aligned, and whether they can remain consistent requires further observation.

# The Developing Trend of U.S.-Japan-ROK Trilateral Security Cooperation: A Historical and Realistic Survey towards ROK

Shen, Zhenqun 申震群 신진군  
Ph. D. Student

Department of International Politics/Center for Korean Studies at Fudan University  
May 9, 2024

## Aug 18 2023: Camp David Summit

- First-ever separate meeting of the leaders of the three countries outside a large international summit
- Indicates the imminent emergence of the “US-Japan-Korea trilateral security mechanism”.
- **A significant threat to strategic security environment around China?**



Camp David Summit at 8/18 2023.  
Source: thepaper.cn



## Contents

01	Developing of Trilateral Security Cooperation from ROK's View
02	From Quasi-Alliance to Trilateral Alliance: an Updating Alliance Theory
03	From System to Unit: ROK's Motivation to Promote Trilateral Security Cooperation
04	From Unit to System: Prospects for ROK's Promotion of Trilateral Security Cooperation



## 01

### Developing of Trilateral Security Cooperation from ROK's View



# 1. Developing of Trilateral Security Cooperation (TSC) from ROK's View

1.1 The Beginning: The Key Role of North Korea and ROK-Japan Historical Conflict

1.2 The Difficulty: The Dilemma of ROK-Japan Relations and the Uncertain U.S. Influence

1.3 New Developments in U.S.-Japan-ROK Trilateral Security Cooperation under Yoon Suk-Yeol Administration



## 1. Developing of Trilateral Security Cooperation from ROK's View

### 1.1 The Beginning: The Key Role of North Korea and ROK-Japan Historical Conflict

- **Two Bilateral Military Alliances:** 1951 Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security Between the United States and Japan; 1953 Mutual Defence Treaty between the United States and the Republic of Korea
- 1965 Treaty on Basic Relations Between Japan and the Republic of Korea **한일기본조약**

• **Post-Coldwar**

First North Korean Nuclear Crisis, "Trilateral Cooperation";  
Jointly carrying out of Agreed Framework in 1994 – the beginning of institutionalization of TSC;  
Trilateral Cooperation Oversight Group (TCOG) in 1999

North Korea as the main driving factor

1998 New Japan–Republic of Korea Partnership towards the Twenty-first Century; **한일공동선언**  
2005 Japan Takeshima's Day-Territory  
2005 New History Textbook, Roh Moo-hyun *A Letter to the People of ROK on ROK-Japan Relations*

ROK-Japan History Conflict as the other driving factor

- **North Korea Problem—TSC; ROK-Japan History Conflict—Impedes TSC**



## 1. Developing of Trilateral Security Cooperation from ROK's View

### 1.2 The Difficulty: The Dilemma of ROK-Japan Relations and the Uncertain U.S. Influence

Logic of the evolution of U.S.-Japan-ROK TSC: **an cycle of "Good-Bad-Good,"** changing with 1) Korean peninsula, 2) U.S. attitudes, 3) ROK's policy orientation

1. Lee Myung-bak Administration: **Development — Obstruction**

2010 Yeonpyeong bombardment, ROKS Cheonan sinking, Three countries perceptions on North Korea's threat converged again, joint military exercise, discussion on "General Security of Military Information Agreement" (GSOMIA, 2011)

North Korea

2012 GSOMIA strong opposition in ROK, whilst U.S. only "Stance" and "Urging"

U. S. Attitude

2012 public anti-Japan & Lee's landing on Dokdo

ROK's Policy Orientation



## 1. Developing of Trilateral Security Cooperation from ROK's View

### 1.2 The Difficulty: The Dilemma of ROK-Japan Relations and the Uncertain U.S. Influence

Logic of the evolution of U.S.-Japan-ROK TSC: **an cycle of "Good-Bad-Good,"** changing with 1) Korean peninsula, 2) U.S. attitudes, 3) ROK's policy orientation

2. Park Geun-hye Administration: **Obstruction — Development**

2013 3rd nuclear test  
2016 4th and 5th nuclear test, steadily increasing

North Korea

Proactively leading TSC  
2014 Trilateral Intelligence Sharing Arrangement (TISA)  
2015 Defense Trilateral Talk (DTT)  
2016 trilateral head talk at Nuclear Security Summit

U. S. Attitude

"Dual-track" division of ROK-Japan historical conflict and contemporary relation  
Japan–South Korea Comfort Women Agreement 2015년 한 일 일본군 위안부 협상 타결  
Restart of ROK-Japan high-level security exchange, 2016 GSOMIA signing.

ROK's Policy Orientation



**1. Developing of Trilateral Security Cooperation from ROK's View**

**1.2 The Difficulty:** The Dilemma of ROK-Japan Relations and the Uncertain U.S. Influence

Logic of the evolution of U.S.-Japan-ROK TSC: **an cycle of "Good-Bad-Good,"** changing with

1) Korean peninsula, 2) U.S. attitudes, 3) ROK's policy orientation

**3. Moon Jae-in Administration: Development — Obstruction**

<p>An inclusive policy model towards North Korea, taking the initiative to seek north-south dialogue, the urgency of the North reduces</p> <p><b>North Korea</b></p>	<p>Trump "withdrawal diplomacy", reluctant to mitigate ROK-Japan dispute &amp; promote TSC</p> <p><b>U. S. Attitude</b></p>	<p>Attention on ROK-Japan historical conflict, terminated Comfort Women Agreement, 2018 final judgement of Forced Labor Case, Japan-ROK trade friction, cease of GSOMIA</p> <p><b>ROK's Policy Orientation</b></p>	<p>Calling Japan as a "country with shared value" in 2021 Diplomatic White Paper</p> <p><b>A Hidden Opportunity</b></p>
--	---	--	---



**1. Developing of Trilateral Security Cooperation from ROK's View**

**1.3 New Developments** in U.S.-Japan-ROK Trilateral Security Cooperation under **Yoon Suk-Yeol** Administration

Value Oriented Diplomacy & Global Pivotal State, Korea-U. S. Alliance priority, ROK-Japan mitigation, Traditional & Economic Security

<p>1. Strengthening U. S. Extended Deterrence towards North Korea</p> <p>2. Resumption of large-scale military exercises</p> <p>3. Embedding Korea into U.S. Indo-Pacific Strategy</p> <p><b>Global Comprehensive Strategic Alliance with U. S.</b></p>	<p>1. Korean Foundation would compensate for the loss of Korean forced laborers in WWII</p> <p>2. Yoon &amp; Kishida presidential talk in Mar 2023, restarting GSOMIA. Japan abolished technology export restrictions imposed on South Korea in 2019</p> <p><b>Resumed ROK-Japan "shuttle diplomacy" and defense cooperation</b></p>	<p>1. Raise frequency of talks, joint military exercises, coordinate policies toward North</p> <p>2. 2022 Phnom Penh Statement on US - Japan - ROK Trilateral Partnership for the Indo-Pacific, Strengthening Deterrence on North &amp; China</p> <p>3. 2023 Camp David Summit</p> <p><b>Traditional TSC</b></p>	<p>1. 2023 Trilateral United States - Japan - ROK Economic Security Dialogue, Secure and resilient supply chains, Data Free Flow with Trust, Resistance to economic coercion "from China"</p> <p>2. 2022 Chip4 &amp; Minerals Security Partnership</p> <p><b>Economic TSC</b></p>
---	--	--	---



**1. Developing of Trilateral Security Cooperation from ROK's View**

**1.3 New Developments** in U.S.-Japan-ROK Trilateral Security Cooperation under **Yoon Suk-Yeol** Administration

**From May 2022 until April 2024**

Bilateral Economic Security Interaction **5** times

Trilateral Economic Security Interaction **12** times, including

Secretaries & Director level **6** times

Minister level **3** times

Presidential level **3** times

**Economic Security Officials;**  
**Wide range of officials** involved;  
**Similar topics:** Supply chain resilience and anti-economic coercion



From Quasi-Alliance to Trilateral Alliance: an Updating Alliance Theory





## 2. From Quasi-Alliance to Trilateral Alliance: an Updating Alliance Theory

### 2.1 The Shortcoming of Quasi-Alliance Theory

### 2.2 An Analytical Framework of ROK's Alliance Policy under Neoclassical Realism



## 2. From Quasi-Alliance to Trilateral Alliance: an Updating Alliance Theory

### 2.1 The Shortcoming of Quasi-Alliance Theory

Stephen M. Walt 1990: "An alliance may refer to a formal or informal arrangement for security cooperation between two or more sovereign States".

U.S.-Japan-ROK TSC: containing the feature of an "alliance"

Victor Cha (2000), Quasi-Alliance Theory:

**Theory:** "The relationship between two states that are un-allied but share a third great power patron as a common ally."  
 American commitment perceived as weak → Japan-ROK relations less contentious & greater cooperation  
 An asymmetry in the two states' fear of being "abandoned" → Japan and the ROK normally contentious relationship

**Key determinant:** Unit level, states' perception of patron's commitments

**Problem:** Trump administration, perception of patron's commitments low → more contentious & low cooperation  
 Biden administration, perception of patron's commitments high → less contentious & greater cooperation

A theory better explaining what happened?



## 2. From Quasi-Alliance to Trilateral Alliance: an Updating Alliance Theory

### 2.2 An Analytical Framework of ROK's Alliance Policy under Neoclassical Realism

Quasi-alliance theory: only "unit" level, ignoring systematic and domestic level

How to explain contemporary TSC?

A Neoclassical Realism Framework:

**Systematic variables:** Independent variables

**Unitary variables:** Mediating variables, including "state itself and within the state"



Fig 1. A Causal Mechanism that explains ROK's Alliance Behavior



## 2. From Quasi-Alliance to Trilateral Alliance: an Updating Alliance Theory

### 2.2 An Analytical Framework of ROK's Alliance Policy under Neoclassical Realism



**Regional international system:**  
 China as the rising power, U.S. as the hegemonic power  
 Intensive "Major states competition"  
**Risk of geopolitical conflicts:**  
 Russia-Ukraine War  
 North Korea military power

**Threat Perception** from the system determines whether systemic pressures can transmit to unit level  
 Political Elites & Public Opinion  
**Strategic Preference:**  
 Autonomy-Security-Welfare Tradeoff  
 ROK giving up autonomy for security and economy (anti-coercion)

**Domestic Cohesion Level** determines whether ROK has the opportunity to continue the alliance with U.S. and Japan to counterbalance external threats (China & DPRK); thus phase II  
**Domestic Cohesion** includes Social Cohesion and Elite Cohesion (Conservative-Progressive dichotomy)

**NOW:**  
 ROK-Japan-U.S. TSC / "Alliance"  
 Hostility to DPRK & Anti-China  
**FUTURE:**  
 ROK-Japan-China Relation?  
 ROK-Japan history conflicts?  
 ROK-U.S. Alliance?

(Lin, Feng & Chen, Zhiniu, 2015)

(Schweller, Randall L., 2006)



# 03

## From System to Unit: ROK's Motivation to Promote Trilateral Security Cooperation

### 3. From System to Unit: ROK's Motivation to Promote Trilateral Security Cooperation

- 3.1 Changing of Systematic Pressure
- 3.2 Updating of Threat Perception
- 3.3 Changing of Strategic Preference



#### 3. From System to Unit: ROK's Motivation to Promote Trilateral Security Cooperation

#### 3. From System to Unit: ROK's Motivation to Promote Trilateral Security Cooperation

### 3.1 Changing of Systematic Pressure

### 3.2 Updating of Threat Perception

1) U.S.-China Strategic Competition; 2) Korean Peninsula Situation; 3) Global Geopolitical Tension

**David Singer (1958):** Threat Perception = Estimated Capability \* Estimated Intent  
**Raymond Cohen (1978):** Threat perception is the decisive intervening variable between action and reaction in international crisis; threat may be perceived, and countermeasures taken, even when the opponent possesses no malicious intent.

**Structural:** Confrontation between U.S. and China in East Asia and Indo-Pacific Region  
**Procedural:** Exclusive institutional balancing strategy  
**ROK:** Less chances for hedging strategy, have to take side  
**U.S.-China Strategic Competition**

**In 2022,** North Korea test-fired the most missiles ever  
**In 2023,** North Korea wrote "pursuit of nuclear weapon" into its constitution  
**In 2024,** Central Committee of Democratic Front for Reunification of Korea Formally Dissolved  
 South Korea and Japan are within range of North Korea's nuclear weapons—Coordination and need help from U.S.  
**Korean Peninsula Situation**

Russian-Ukraine War  
 Israel-Palestine War  
**ROK:** "Humanitarian and non-lethal military weapons assistance" to Ukraine  
**Global Geopolitical Tension**

**Elite's Threat Perception**  
 Facing North Korea's strike capability + intent, ROK has a strong threat perception, "considering building its own nuclear weapons" or requesting U.S. to relocate nuclear weapons in ROK, requiring TSC  
 Escalating U.S.-China Strategic Competition "undermines regional efforts to deter North Korean provocations"  
 China's rising is a threat to ROK and peace in Peninsula, requiring TSC  
**Worried about Russia-North Korea-China security & economy cooperation, TSC-TSC**

**Public's Threat Perception**  
**Institute of Foreign Affairs and National Security (IFANS) investigation**  
 61.32% of the population supported "strengthening TSC"; 39% said it was for the sake of peace and stability on Korean Peninsula, 27% said it was for the sake of deterring China.  
 63.86% North Korea as the most important threat, 42.69% China the second most important threat  
 When South Korean public attitudes toward North Korea and China turn negative, then attitudes toward Japan will shift positively



3. From System to Unit: ROK's Motivation to Promote Trilateral Security Cooperation

3.3 Changing of Strategic Preference

ROK strategic preference conservative change: Alliance with U.S. & reconciliation with Japan

**Sacrificing Autonomy:** Irreplaceability of ROK-U.S. Alliance  
**Security & Welfare:** for ROK, security and economy are symbiotic and intertwined, can only be reached by ROK-U.S. alliance  
**Global & Comprehensive strategic alliance:** Extended deterrence, IPEF, Minerals Security Partnership; anti-coercion improves diplomatic flexibility

Balancing of Autonomy, Security and Welfare

**Global Pivotal State:** Not only at Korean Peninsula & Rule-based International Order  
**On ROK-Japan reconciliation:** Yoon "understand the importance of ROK-Japan reconciliation" at candidate stage  
**TSC:** Kim Tae-hyo (First Chief of the Country Security Office), Kim Sung-han (Head of the National Security Office at 2022), designing reconciling policy towards Japan

Grand Strategy Change

**Politically:** Post Korean War, and anti-Communism frontline, conservative preference  
**Economically:** Vietnam War, economy rising by investments in war logistics  
**Ideologically:** Post-Cold War, ideology of democratic values and capitalism is fully consolidated  
**Security:** Relying on ROK-U.S. alliance; trilateral as a supplement of bilateral

Historical Preference on following U.S.



From Unit to System: Prospects for ROK's Promotion of Trilateral Security Cooperation



4. From Unit to System: Prospects for ROK's Promotion of Trilateral Security Cooperation

4.1 Loose Elite/Social Cohesion: Conservative-Progressive Dichotomy and Japanese-Korean Historical Conflict

4.2 Contradictions in Strategic Preference Tradeoffs and Differences in Trilateral Threat Perceptions



4. From Unit to System: Prospects for ROK's Promotion of Trilateral Security Cooperation

4.1 Loose Elite/Social Cohesion: Conservative-Progressive Dichotomy and Japanese-Korean Historical Conflict

Lack of elite cohesion, difficulty of a coherent and effective foreign strategy, and uncertainty about continuation of existing foreign policy; Lack of social cohesion, low level public support and obedience to state power, difficult for the state to implement its foreign strategy.

Elite Cohesion	<b>Conservative:</b> Pro-U.S., Con-DPRK, reinforce ROK-U.S. alliance, reconciling Japan, vigilance against China
	<b>Progressive:</b> Pro-conversation with DPRK (self-determination of Korea), Con-U.S. (for autonomy), tough on Japan, cooperation with China (on Peninsula situation)
	<b>Opposition from 민주당 이재명</b> "humiliating diplomacy on Japan" "intensifying tension with DPRK"
	<b>Polarization:</b> Lee Jae-Myung hunger protest, assassinated <b>Lame Duck Problem:</b> General elections of National Assembly, DP 175/300, PPP 108/300

Social Cohesion	<b>Public Anti-Japan:</b> Public opinion on ROK-Japan historical conflict, opposition of reconciliation influencing the last decision of government, deciding whether TSC can be maintained
	<b>Public Opposing the ROK government's Solution:</b> Japan's strategic needs for ROK not as urgent, still arrogant on historical issue; thus the public shows hesitation and opposition to ROK government's policy on solution of forced labors, etc. Bilateral unstable-trilateral unstable



#### 4. From Unit to System: Prospects for ROK's Promotion of Trilateral Security Cooperation

### 4.2 Contradictions in Strategic Preference Tradeoffs and Differences in Trilateral Threat Perceptions

Strategic preference: autonomy-security-welfare tradeoff in ROK foreign policy has a significant pain-point, that is, "welfare"  
Different threat perception within the 3 countries

**Strategic preference**  
Decoupling or "derisking" from China & only economic security cooperation with U.S., constraints exists  
China-ROK economic cooperation continues being important  
China & Hong Kong accounted for 60% of ROK semiconductor exports, 48% chip exports, possible semiconductor industry loss  
Factories of Samsung & SK Hynix in China  
China's total imports and exports of goods from Japan and South Korea declined by 10.7% and 13.5%, respectively

**Threat Perception**  
**Taiwan Defense:** U.S. asking for Japan and ROK to "pay more", but ROK "does not sensitive U.S. diplomatic and military support for Taiwan and may not adopt such a policy itself." (RAND 2023)  
**Core Concerns:** ROK regards North Korea as the core concern. Cooperation with China/Russia on peninsula exists. U.S./Japan regards China as the core concern, combating Peninsula security with deterring China. Japan's new National Security Strategy shows aggressiveness may cause distrust between bilateral relations.



## Conclusion

- 01** Puzzle: Why sudden policy shifting? From periodic difficulties to a comprehensive trilateral security cooperation, an ROK's point of view
- 02** A neoclassical realism theory framework to explain the causal effect of ROK's new TSC alliance policy: combining system and unit variables
- 03** Motivations of ROK's new TSC alliance policy: systematic pressure, threat perception, and strategic preference
- 04** Prospects of ROK's new TSC alliance policy (obstruction): elite and social cohesion, economic connections with China (strategic preference), and core concerns on China/Taiwan issues (threat perception)



#### References

1. <https://www.whoi.gov.cn/zhongguo-waiben-wenxian-wenjian-2023/08/18/16a-3a0e0e-00000000-00000000-00000000>

2. <https://www.whoi.gov.cn/zhongguo-waiben-wenxian-wenjian-2023/08/18/16a-3a0e0e-00000000-00000000-00000000>

3. <https://www.whoi.gov.cn/zhongguo-waiben-wenxian-wenjian-2023/08/18/16a-3a0e0e-00000000-00000000-00000000>

4. <https://www.whoi.gov.cn/zhongguo-waiben-wenxian-wenjian-2023/08/18/16a-3a0e0e-00000000-00000000-00000000>

5. <https://www.whoi.gov.cn/zhongguo-waiben-wenxian-wenjian-2023/08/18/16a-3a0e0e-00000000-00000000-00000000>

6. <https://www.whoi.gov.cn/zhongguo-waiben-wenxian-wenjian-2023/08/18/16a-3a0e0e-00000000-00000000-00000000>

7. <https://www.whoi.gov.cn/zhongguo-waiben-wenxian-wenjian-2023/08/18/16a-3a0e0e-00000000-00000000-00000000>

8. <https://www.whoi.gov.cn/zhongguo-waiben-wenxian-wenjian-2023/08/18/16a-3a0e0e-00000000-00000000-00000000>

9. <https://www.whoi.gov.cn/zhongguo-waiben-wenxian-wenjian-2023/08/18/16a-3a0e0e-00000000-00000000-00000000>

10. <https://www.whoi.gov.cn/zhongguo-waiben-wenxian-wenjian-2023/08/18/16a-3a0e0e-00000000-00000000-00000000>

11. <https://www.whoi.gov.cn/zhongguo-waiben-wenxian-wenjian-2023/08/18/16a-3a0e0e-00000000-00000000-00000000>

12. <https://www.whoi.gov.cn/zhongguo-waiben-wenxian-wenjian-2023/08/18/16a-3a0e0e-00000000-00000000-00000000>

13. <https://www.whoi.gov.cn/zhongguo-waiben-wenxian-wenjian-2023/08/18/16a-3a0e0e-00000000-00000000-00000000>

14. <https://www.whoi.gov.cn/zhongguo-waiben-wenxian-wenjian-2023/08/18/16a-3a0e0e-00000000-00000000-00000000>

15. <https://www.whoi.gov.cn/zhongguo-waiben-wenxian-wenjian-2023/08/18/16a-3a0e0e-00000000-00000000-00000000>

16. <https://www.whoi.gov.cn/zhongguo-waiben-wenxian-wenjian-2023/08/18/16a-3a0e0e-00000000-00000000-00000000>

17. <https://www.whoi.gov.cn/zhongguo-waiben-wenxian-wenjian-2023/08/18/16a-3a0e0e-00000000-00000000-00000000>

18. <https://www.whoi.gov.cn/zhongguo-waiben-wenxian-wenjian-2023/08/18/16a-3a0e0e-00000000-00000000-00000000>

19. <https://www.whoi.gov.cn/zhongguo-waiben-wenxian-wenjian-2023/08/18/16a-3a0e0e-00000000-00000000-00000000>

20. <https://www.whoi.gov.cn/zhongguo-waiben-wenxian-wenjian-2023/08/18/16a-3a0e0e-00000000-00000000-00000000>



#### References

1. <https://www.whoi.gov.cn/zhongguo-waiben-wenxian-wenjian-2023/08/18/16a-3a0e0e-00000000-00000000-00000000>

2. <https://www.whoi.gov.cn/zhongguo-waiben-wenxian-wenjian-2023/08/18/16a-3a0e0e-00000000-00000000-00000000>

3. <https://www.whoi.gov.cn/zhongguo-waiben-wenxian-wenjian-2023/08/18/16a-3a0e0e-00000000-00000000-00000000>

4. <https://www.whoi.gov.cn/zhongguo-waiben-wenxian-wenjian-2023/08/18/16a-3a0e0e-00000000-00000000-00000000>

5. <https://www.whoi.gov.cn/zhongguo-waiben-wenxian-wenjian-2023/08/18/16a-3a0e0e-00000000-00000000-00000000>

6. <https://www.whoi.gov.cn/zhongguo-waiben-wenxian-wenjian-2023/08/18/16a-3a0e0e-00000000-00000000-00000000>

7. <https://www.whoi.gov.cn/zhongguo-waiben-wenxian-wenjian-2023/08/18/16a-3a0e0e-00000000-00000000-00000000>

8. <https://www.whoi.gov.cn/zhongguo-waiben-wenxian-wenjian-2023/08/18/16a-3a0e0e-00000000-00000000-00000000>

9. <https://www.whoi.gov.cn/zhongguo-waiben-wenxian-wenjian-2023/08/18/16a-3a0e0e-00000000-00000000-00000000>

10. <https://www.whoi.gov.cn/zhongguo-waiben-wenxian-wenjian-2023/08/18/16a-3a0e0e-00000000-00000000-00000000>

11. <https://www.whoi.gov.cn/zhongguo-waiben-wenxian-wenjian-2023/08/18/16a-3a0e0e-00000000-00000000-00000000>

12. <https://www.whoi.gov.cn/zhongguo-waiben-wenxian-wenjian-2023/08/18/16a-3a0e0e-00000000-00000000-00000000>

13. <https://www.whoi.gov.cn/zhongguo-waiben-wenxian-wenjian-2023/08/18/16a-3a0e0e-00000000-00000000-00000000>

14. <https://www.whoi.gov.cn/zhongguo-waiben-wenxian-wenjian-2023/08/18/16a-3a0e0e-00000000-00000000-00000000>

15. <https://www.whoi.gov.cn/zhongguo-waiben-wenxian-wenjian-2023/08/18/16a-3a0e0e-00000000-00000000-00000000>

16. <https://www.whoi.gov.cn/zhongguo-waiben-wenxian-wenjian-2023/08/18/16a-3a0e0e-00000000-00000000-00000000>

17. <https://www.whoi.gov.cn/zhongguo-waiben-wenxian-wenjian-2023/08/18/16a-3a0e0e-00000000-00000000-00000000>

18. <https://www.whoi.gov.cn/zhongguo-waiben-wenxian-wenjian-2023/08/18/16a-3a0e0e-00000000-00000000-00000000>

19. <https://www.whoi.gov.cn/zhongguo-waiben-wenxian-wenjian-2023/08/18/16a-3a0e0e-00000000-00000000-00000000>

20. <https://www.whoi.gov.cn/zhongguo-waiben-wenxian-wenjian-2023/08/18/16a-3a0e0e-00000000-00000000-00000000>



**The End**

Thank you for your listening



**SESSION THREE <Language, Literature, Culture>**

# Reimagining Tradition: The Night of Jeonju & Heritage Story in *Hanok Maül*

Hae In Lee Holden, University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa

## Abstract

This paper examines the strategy and distinctive characteristics of the event “Night of Jeonju & Heritage Story,” which enriches the cultural experience of Jeonju by integrating tangible and intangible elements. This event took place at two different locations: Gyeonggijeon Shrine, erected in 1410, and Jeolla Gamyong (Joseon Dynasty Provincial Government Complex), a newly restored historical site in *Hanok Maül* (Traditional House Village), Jeonju, Korea. This event revitalizes presentational ruins into dynamic living museums, encouraging active participation from both local residents and visitors.

Initiated in 2016 by the Cultural Heritage Administration of South Korea, the "Munhwajae Yahang" (Night Time Travel on Culture) aims to promote local cultural properties and foster a unique night culture. Under this initiative, the Night of Jeonju & Heritage Story is organized by Munhwa Yesul Gongjakso (“Culture and Art Factory”), a nonprofit organization composed of young cultural producers.

Through participant observation, this study explores the development of cultural scenes where participants not only physically immerse themselves into the past by walking inside historical buildings but also emotionally engage with narratives created by surrounding cultural producers. This event provides an opportunity to delve into traditional culture by examining the following eight different themes: music, storytelling, products, strolling, drawing, nightscape, food, and overnight stay.

Thus, I argue that this innovative strategy of creating cultural place has redefined *Hanok Maül* from a commercialized tourist destination into an appealing nostalgic venue, contributing to the promotion of traditional culture as an invented tradition through a contemporary lens. Furthermore, it dovetails well with the endeavors of local artists who are developing their own identity as cultural producers while representing the traditional scene to visitors.

# Reimagining Tradition: The Night of Jeonju & Heritage Story in Hanok Maül

Hae In Lee Holden

University of Hawai'i at Mānoa  
Ethnomusicology, Department of Music  
leehi@hawaii.edu

## What do you do at night?



### Munhwajae Yahang ("Night Time Travel on Culture")

- Initiated in 2016 by Cultural Heritage Administration of South Korea
  - To promote local cultural properties
  - To foster a unique night culture





## Night of Jeonju & Heritage Story

- Held from 2016 to present
- Munhwa Yesul Gongjakso ("Culture and Art Factory")
  - Cultural Producers
  - A space for people to turn their imagination into reality
  - Various events held to promote culture
    - 왕과의 산책 "Walk with a King"
    - 호남제일성, 전라감영 역사의 울림 "Echoes of history for Jeolla Gamyeong in Jeonju"
    - 국립문화유산원나들이 "Picnic to National Intangible Heritage Center"

## Night of Jeonju & Heritage Story (cont'd)

- 2016**
- August ~ September
  - Throughout hanok maül
  - Cultural heritage + Cultural contents
  - Presentation-oriented



- 2023**
- May and October
  - Gyeonggiyeon & Jeolla Gamyeong
  - Applied programs to culture
  - Participatory

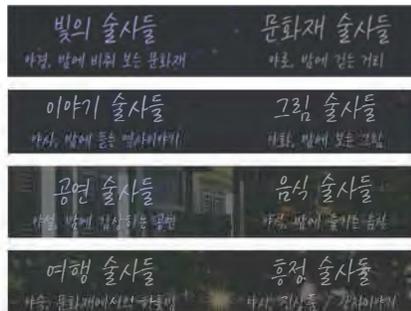


## 8 Night Narratives in Jeonju 2023

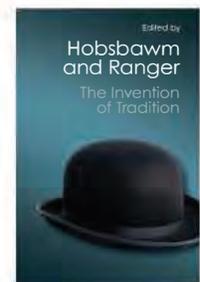
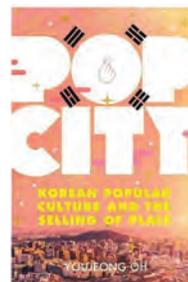
- Night Scene
- **Night Road**
- **Night History**
- Night Painting
- **Night Story**
- Night Food
- Night Market



"CULTURAL PLACE"



## Place selling & Invented tradition



## Jeonju Hanok Maül

- Representative landmark
  - 1910s: Established
  - 1938: Japanese urban planning
  - 1977: Hanok Conservation Area
  - 2002: Jeonju Hanok Maül



## Jeolla Gamyeong

- Provincial Government Complex
  - Existed during Joseon dynasty (1392-1910) until 1895
- Restored in October 2020
  - Seonhwadang and Gwanpunggak



## Jeolla Gamyeong Has Returned - Night History

### Live Characters

- An Kyong Gong
  - Jeolla Gamyeong, General Yi Sun-sin, Kasök & P'yesök
- Seo Yoo Gu
  - Gwanchalsa, Seonhwadang, Wanyöngillok
- Choi Yoo Kyong
  - Restoration of gamyeong, Gwanpunggak, Jipgangso
- Kim Seong Keun
  - Yeonsindang, Meals for Gwanchalsa, Food culture



## Gyeongjeon

- Historical Site
- Erected in 1410
  - As Gyeonggijeon in 1442
- Chöngjöön
  - Main hall
  - Portrait of King Taejo



## Zombies in Gyeonggijeon - Night Road

- Joseon Wangjo Sillok
    - "Annals of the Joseon Dynasty"
  - Shillokkak
  - Imjin Waeran (1592)
- 
- "Zombie Sillok"
    - "Save the Joseon History"



## Catch the Cultural Heritage Robbers - Night Road

- Portraits of King Taejo (r. 1392 - 1398)
- Integration of portraits into the theme of the game
- Encouragement of audience participation
- Compensation for achievements



## Musicians at Gyeonggijeon - Night Story

- Gayageum
- Geomungo
- Ajaeng
- Haegeum
- Sanghwang
- Piri
- Sogeum
- Daegeum
- P'ansori



## Takeaways from Interviews with Performers

- To promote *gugak*
- Communication with the audience
  - Lively feedback
    - Only clapping vs. facial expressions
    - Performers respond to audience inquiries
- Enjoying together
- Opportunities to grow as performers
- “Ch’uȫk”
  - Reminiscence, nostalgia



## Audience response

- Educational experience
- Pure appreciation
  - Bursting into tears
- Active participation
- Immersion
  - Surrounded by music



## Conclusion



# **Ternary Wave: Colonial Korean Literature Set in China**

Minseung Kim, University of California, Los Angeles

## **Abstract**

This paper introduces a methodology for analyzing colonial Korean literature set in China. Unlike the traditional focus on the dyadic relationship between Japan and Korea in disseminating modern literature, this methodology draws upon the concept of a ternary relationship which is broader in scope and depth than beyond the duality of the imperial center and peripheral colony. It explores Korean literature set in China, which vividly portrays the Koreans' dislocation in Manchuria, Beijing, and Shanghai, to reveal the trans-regional connections between different languages and cultures embedded in colonial Korean literature. In a textual analysis, this paper investigates how the author represents a relational third space in Shanghai, where characters call into question the boundaries between legitimate and illegitimate as set by the Japanese empire authorities. As this paper argues in the conclusion, Sim's narrative provides an interpretation of the post-colonial future, which is depicted through the imagination of the revolutionary East as an alternative space for colonial Korean socialists.

In Spring 2024, the Department of Comparative Literature at UCLA is offering a seminar on experimental critical thinking titled “Ternary Positionality: Relationality, Decoloniality, and Interpretation.” This seminar aims to “undo binary thinking through ternary positionality,” by exploring “an autonomous and relational third space.” Selected articles on the reading list examine the concept of epistemological decolonization, which seeks to negate and transcend a model of Western knowledge that has spread the myth of modernity around the world. By recognizing the knowledge emerging from different historical locations of the world that have “endured the effects and consequences of Western imperial and capitalist expansion,” the seminar hopes to break the illusion that “all knowledge must originate from the imperial form of consciousness.”<sup>1</sup>

I came across the concept of a ternary relationship which made me question whether Korean literature and studies on it could also reveal a ternary relationship. This led me to further inquiries, such as the origin of Korean literature and its embodiment of a ternary relationship, as well as how studies on Korean literature suggest ternary relationality. In line with the seminar's aim to critique the Western model of knowledge, I propose to uncover a notion of ternary relationality from the physical movements, such as migration, exile, travel, and displacement, that accompany ideological border crossing. I suggest that colonial Korean literature set in China can serve as an example to provide answers to these questions.

Colonial Korean literature set in China is a unique genre of literary works created during the 1920s and 1930s. These works, written in the Korean language by ethnic Korean authors, depict the peripatetic lives of migrants, including day laborers, political exiles, and their families within China, as they traveled from Northeast China to the Yellow Sea. The stories cover a broad range of topics, from Korean migrant workers living in enclaves in China to the underground activities of Korean wanderers who were involved in anti-colonial resistance. Among relevant works, I primarily focus on narratives that represent border-crossing to and within China, outside the imperial center, and represent the relational space of East Asia that refuses an imperialist regime. The potential impact of this study is significant, as it can provide a fresh perspective on the understanding of East Asian literature and its historical context.

As noted in the three-way connections between Korea, Japan, and China, this topic reveals that Korean literature is anchored on ternary relationships. China, as another important location where Korean writers and migrants arrived, brought about language and literature exchanges beyond the empire. In this context, I argue that Korean texts do not aim to be commensurate with the scheme of modernity but continuously imagine other aspects of modernity by embracing encounters with different languages and texts. I view these exchanges of language and texts as expanding and nonlinear, involving continuous meetings with other intersections.

---

<sup>1</sup> Walter Mignolo, “The Rhetoric of Modernity, the Logic of Coloniality and the Grammar of De-coloniality,” *Cultural Studies* Vol.21, Nos.2-3 (March/May 2007): 462

In a similar vein, studies on this literature aim to reveal ternary relationships in the history of Korean literature. This research challenges the usual academic discussion that has primarily discussed the relationship between Japan, the colonizer, and Korea, the colony. While it is true that modern literature from Japan has influenced Korean literature, Korean literature is often evaluated and classified based on Japanese and Western literary models. However, this tendency limits the scope of analysis, overlooking other transnational flows that have occurred. This model replicates the one-sided flow of modern culture from the empire's center to the peripheral colony, ignoring other aspects. Thus, the aim of this research is not to deny Japanese influence on Korean literature but to critique the traditional academic approach that treats Japan and the West as abstract subjects.

The narrative about people's mobility in this context shows the ternary relationality by relativizing the superiority of the subject. The concept of wandering or "pangnang (방랑, 放浪)" is used to describe the constant movement of colonized Koreans under Japanese surveillance. This movement begins when they cross borders and continues between cities in China or within Korean enclaves. The colonizer's surveillance disrupts their movements, but they do not stop their journey. Literature depicts these divergent forms and conditions of movements, calling into question borders that restricted the colonized Koreans' mobility and placement. In doing so, this literature not only expands the third space where colonial Korean literature emerged outside the empire but also shows the literary space that critiques imperialistic divisions between mobile versus immobile, legitimate versus illegitimate, and subject versus object.

The concept of ternary relationality, therefore, envisions a world where historical and cultural contexts are not subsumed into the realm of the subject's rationality. Thus, this world does not aim to take sides between assimilation and resistance in a dialectic relationship, with the ultimate aim of being like a subject. As Glissant's concept of the poetics of relationality notes, the world that forms "a relational network wandering around"<sup>2</sup> is not necessarily commensurable with a subject-centric perspective but implies "spiraling and transformative mode of relation."<sup>3</sup> Literary texts can be a world where the poetics of Relation can work out, and I expect that Korean literature set in China represents a world that moves forward latent, open, and multilingual, engendering a new dimension that is not simply transcended into a subject. I propose expanding the cultural discourse on the theme of migratory wandering for colonial Koreans, not merely in terms of physical border-crossing but also of imaginative crossing lines to decolonial East Asia.

In the rest of this presentation, I would like to introduce an example of a novella called "The Lover of the East" by Sim Hun. I will focus on how the story implies the possibility of having ternary movements by depicting the geography of East Asia, which is imagined through the banned travels of Korean socialists. This novella tells the story of Korean socialists' journey to Shanghai and Moscow, their romantic relationships, and how they escape the all-pervasive Japanese surveillance. The novella was published in 1930, around the same time when the Japanese authorities were surveilling Korean rebels who crossed the borders into China and censoring Korean texts set in China by redacting any parts referencing anti-Japanese

---

<sup>2</sup> Édouard Glissant, *The Poetics of Relation* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1990), 29.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, xvi.

resistance overseas. Due to its representation of socialist reforms in the Soviet Union, this novella ended up being prohibited from being serialized in Chosŏn Ilbo.

In the novella, the main characters are constantly on the run, by smuggling themselves across the Chinese/Korean borders and wandering around Shanghai. The Korean socialists are considered rebellious by the colonizers and are expected to stay hidden from surveillance. However, the characters reveal a way to challenge this division between legitimate mobile subjects and illegitimate immobile rebels. For instance, there is a scene where a member of the Korean socialist party encounters a Japanese detective on the train. The Japanese surveillance teams monitor the borders to China closely for any visual evidence of terrorist activities, such as guns and explosives. Chin, a Korean socialist character who is on board, looks back at the Japanese detective's eyes fixed on the Korean passengers. His silent gaze challenges the notion of objective observance, which is unstable without visual evidence. Chin's silent stare pierces through the web of surveillance by questioning the system that seeks out illegitimate travelers, rather than successfully passing or being captured by it.

The novella follows the journey of Korean rebels, exploring the spatial imagination of the East and the world. The characters travel from Korea, arrive in Shanghai, stay in the hideouts, and then onward to Moscow, encountering new territories and knowledge along the way. The socialist world the characters envision does not only refer to the establishment of a nation-state that succeeds in the socialist revolution. This passage describes a journey that covers various regions of the East, but interestingly, the areas covered do not include Japan's vast empire that stretches from Japan to Korea, Taiwan, and Manchuria. As implied in the train that passes through Manchuria, the empire sought to exert borderless control over a supposedly united East Asia, concealing hierarchical divisions in ethnicity and language. In contrast, the Korean socialists took a different route through the Gobi Desert, Mongolia, and finally to Moscow, Russia, seeking the future of the East. Their journey revealed that the East is not a seamless unity but consists of diverse localities with unique historical contexts, as reflected in the illustration of different environments. This represented space shows that the characters' journey from Korea to the Soviet Union not only circumvents border controls but also questions the colonial power's ability to define East Asia, which excludes people and places that disrupt the empire's rule.

Unfortunately, the representation of their journey is cut short by censorship in the denouement. In a scene where the protagonists visit Lenin's grave near the Kremlin Palace, the novella is blocked by censors who do not want Korean readers to access that part. As a result, the intended message for open and relational world was not clearly illustrated. However, the world map that the characters drew in hideouts in Shanghai provides a glimpse into the future world. The characters expand the geography connecting Korea, Mongolia, and Russia, and also look into other colonies that not located in East Asia. In a scene where the characters are stuck in tiny hideouts in Shanghai, their room becomes full of maps and charts that report the situation of other colonies, including India and Ireland. With admiration for the socialist revolution accompanying the liberation of colonies, they imagine the East not as a geographically fixed entity but as the world struggling for political and epistemological decolonization.<sup>4</sup> For all colonies and people in there, the future of the East is expected to

---

<sup>4</sup> Gavin Walker and Naoki Sakai have noted that neither the West nor the Rest is a geographical entity. It is not a substance that is cartographically identifiable. The West has attempted to identify itself as the knower while taking the other world as the known,



challenge the opposite positionality of the West and the East.

This presentation explores the idea of ternary relationality in Korean literature and how Korean literary studies can engage with this concept. I suggest that studies on colonial Korean literature set in China can raise a question for academics of Korean literature, which has repeated the tendency to see Japan as another abstract subject within Western epistemology. Korean literature set in China, particularly those that narrate the experiences of colonized Koreans crossing borders to China, can critique the idea that there is an all-powerful force that divides legitimate and illegitimate subjects. Through these representations of physical and ideological border crossings to China, we can see the perspective that critiques imperialist borders imposed by Japanese regulations of language, ideology, and human bodies. Ultimately, these efforts may offer a pathway toward imagining a more open and relational world for decolonization.

---

postulating the opposite positionality. Gavin Walker and Naoki Sakai, "The End of Area," *Positions* 27, no.1 (2019): 7-8.



# Poetry Translation of Yun Dong-Ju's "Sky, Wind, Stars, and Poetry" – Translation Criticism and New Translation with Commentary

Dalila Hadzic, Free University of Berlin

## Abstract

Yun Dong-Ju (1917-1945), one of South Korea's most celebrated poets, continues to captivate audiences across generations. Despite his untimely demise, his collection "Sky, Wind, Stars, and Poetry," published posthumously in 1948, remains among South Korea's best-selling poetry collections. Yun's poignant verses reflect the turmoil of a modern individual amidst the Japanese colonial era, earning him a spot among a handful of South Korea's revered resistance poets. Yun's poetry, characterized by its evocative ambiguity, transcends temporal and cultural boundaries, captivating both Korean and global audiences to this day. In 2022, German translator Matthias Adler-Drews published a translation of Yun's work, utilizing the biggest European self-publishing platform, Books on Demand (BoD). His endeavour is proof of a burgeoning interest in Korean literature in the German-speaking world and is the only translations of Yun's work into German. At the same time it remains one of the only translations of a poetry collection in the Germanophone world up to date. However, the lack of training of Korean-German translators and capable experts as well as a lack of oversight in self-publishing platforms raises concerns about quality control, necessitating critical examination.

While interest in Korean literature and poetry facilitated research on translation of Korean poetry in the Anglophone world, translations of Korean poetry into German and research of this topic remains scarce. This paper aims to address this gap, providing theoretical and practical insights into the translation of Korean poetry into German. Drawing upon functionalist translation theory, notably the works of Reis and Vermeer (1984), and Christiane Nord's development of a practical translation-relevant text analysis model, it aims to provide a comprehensive framework for translators' cognitive decision-making processes.

Given the intricate stylistic, formal, and semantic complexities of poetry, which are often deemed "untranslatable," this paper delves into the challenges of poetry translation by conducting a comparative analysis between Adler-Drews' translation and the original text. It examines concepts such as fidelity, linguistic precision, and poetic resonance, proposing alternative translations where necessary to address potential shortcomings in Adler-Drews' rendition.

In doing so, this research hopes to contribute to the nascent field of Korean-German literary translation, offering valuable insights for translators, scholars, and enthusiasts alike. Ultimately, it underscores the importance of meticulous translation practices in preserving the essence and integrity of Korean poetry in the German-speaking world, where a rise in Korean-German translation is expected in the next years.



**POETRY TRANSLATION OF YUN DONG-JU'S *SKY, WIND, STARS AND POETRY* – TRANSLATION CRITICISM AND NEW TRANSLATION WITH COMMENTARY**

Dalila Hadzic  
MA Korean Studies

## OUTLINE

- 0 Introduction to the topic
- 1 Theory and Method
  - 1.1 Functional translation theory after Reib/ Vermeer (1984)
  - 1.2 Translation-oriented text analysis after Christiane Nord (1991)
- 2 Yun Dong-Ju: Life and Work
  - 2.1 Biography
  - 2.2 Work and Reception
- 3 Practical Part
  - 3.1 Text analysis of *Swipke Saüyöjin Si* (1942)
  - 3.2 Translation Criticism *Swipke Saüyöjin Si* (1942)
- 4 Conclusion/Objective of the Thesis
- 5 Bibliography

## 0 INTRODUCTION TO THE TOPIC

- Yun Dong-Ju (1917-1945) is one of the most famous Korean poets in South Korea today and "Hanülgwa paramgwa pyölgwa si" (1948) is one of the best-selling poetry collections in South Korea
- Yun Dong-Ju is considered a poet of resistance and has cemented his place as a modern Korean poet
- his poems reflect the desolation and despair of a modern individual in a highly turbulent time in Korean history in an intellectual and reflective manner
- German translation was published in late 2022 by Matthias Adler-Drews (Translator Korean/Japanese) through Books on Demand (BoD), a leading self-publishing platform in Europe

## 1.1 FUNCTIONAL TRANSLATION THEORY AFTER REIB/ VERMEER (1984)

- also called *Skopos* theory
- Translation as an act of enabling communication
- Every translation has a *Skopos* (target or purpose)
- The target text is a part of the target culture
- The recipients are conceptualized by the translator, and the target text is produced for them (situation-bound)
- “Untranslatability” at word and sentence levels is addressed through the replacement of rhetorical phenomena

## 1.2 TRANSLATION-ORIENTED TEXT ANALYSIS AFTER CHRISTIANE NORD (1991)

-complements the Skopos theory by emphasizing importance of fidelity/ loyalty to the intended purpose and effect of the original text (instead of the target text)

-Integrated in-depth model of text analysis:

\*analysis of the text incorporating biographical, historical, and cultural elements

\*highlighting stylistic-linguistic features such as alliteration, rhythm, metaphors, syntactical structures etc.

## 1.2 TRANSLATION-ORIENTED TEXT ANALYSIS AFTER CHRISTIANE NORD (1991)

External Factors of the Text:

WHO (Sender) transmits FOR WHAT PURPOSE (Intention) TO WHOM (Receiver) through WHICH MEDIUM (Medium or channel of transmission) WHERE (Location) WHEN (Time) WHY (Occasion) a text with WHAT FUNCTION?

Internal Factors of the Text:

ABOUT WHAT (Theme) does it say WHAT (Content) (WHAT NOT) (Presuppositions) in WHAT ORDER (Structure) using WHICH NONVERBAL MEANS (non- or paralinguistic signs) in WHICH WORDS (Lexicon) in WHAT KIND OF SENTENCES (Syntax) in WHICH TONE (suprasegmental elements) with WHAT EFFECT? (Nord 1989:106)

## 1.2 TRANSLATION-ORIENTED TEXT ANALYSIS AFTER CHRISTIANE NORD (1991)

- criticism:

\*literary texts have no purpose of translation

\*translation as interpretation

\*what is the intention of the author? → New Criticism and deconstructivist approaches go beyond the naive belief that there is one meaning/intention

\*but Nord's model is a good starting point for text analysis and translation criticism

## 2.1 BIOGRAPY

-Born on December 30, 1917, in the village of Myong-dong, Jilin (northern Manchuria), China

-Studied language and literature at Yan-hee College (now: Yonsei University) in Seoul starting from 1938

-Influence of his professors on his own identity formation as a Korean through the study of Korean language, literature, and history

-Association with the resistance movement through interaction with intellectual circles in Seoul and surveillance by Japanese authorities

-Enrolled at Rikkyo University, Tokyo, in 1942 to study English language

-Arrested on July 14, 1943, for disrupting public order and participating in the resistance movement and sentenced in March 1944 to a 2-year prison term

-February 16, 1945, death in a prison in Fukuoka

## 2.2 WORK AND RECEPTION

-Yun Dong-Ju's poetry reflects on the precarious situation of the oppressed, the reality of his turbulent times, and the emotions of a sensitive individual in times of despair

-Themes of displacement, identity search, and the role of the poet in unstable societies are prevalent in his work

-Yun Dong-Ju's resurgence in popularity, marked by numerous republications of his work, a successful film adaptation, and a musical, reflects the enduring relevance and appeal of his poetry

-criticism in research about interpretation as "resistance poet", one-sided characterization based in historicism, but nowadays poems remain popular not just for expressing national grief but also for their ambiguity that allows contemporary readers to relate the themes to their own lives and realities.

## 3.1 TEXT ANALYSIS OF *SWIPKE SSŬ YŎJIN SI*

-Last known poem written during his stay at Rikkyo University in Tokyo (June 1942)

-Published on February 13, 1947 in *Kyunghyang Shinmun*

-Interpretation:

Poem of resistance

vs. self-reflection as a poet/

-chosen for analysis due to its popularity and thematic richness



## 3.1 TEXT ANALYSIS OF *SWIPKE SSŬ YŎJIN SI*

-The poem, written during a time of oppression, explores themes of loneliness, alienation, self-reflection, and hope

-The use of Korean signifies resistance against Japanese occupation, with intended readers being Koreans of the same era

-Cultural specifics like "yukch'ŏppang" pose translation challenges, requiring careful consideration of domestication or foreignization strategies

-The poem's structure, tone, and lexical choices contribute to its thematic depth, with shifts in perspective and imagery throughout

-Challenges in translation include handling onomatopoeic words, invisibles such as politeness marker *-si*, and shifts in subject prominence

-The flexibility of Korean syntax and agglutinative nature present challenges in maintaining the poetic structure and tone in translation to German

## 3.2 TRANSLATION CRITICISM *SWIPKE SSŬ YŎJIN SI* (1942)

Based on the translation-oriented text analysis:

\*Great similarity to English translation by Kyungnyun K. Richards (plagiarism in translation is not uncommon, but hard to prove)

\*Use of foreignization strategy, archaic lexicon and unorthodox syntactical structures as a way to stay loyal to poem?

\*Often however, unorthodox translations seem to stem from lack of linguistic and translational skills

\*Invisibles such as *-si* or alliterations were not translated, loss of meaning and quality of poetic language

\*Use of foreignization strategies leaves reader grappling for meaning

## 3.2 TRANSLATION CRITICISM *SWIPKE SSŬ YŎ JIN SI* (1942)- EXAMPLE FOREIGNIZATION VS. DOMESTICATION

(kor) 창밖에 밤비가 삼사거며  
온침바(窓)침(窓)은 남의 나라,  
기침(기침)기침(기침)기침(기침)

(germ.) Abendregen flüstert vor dem Fenster, mein sechs Tatami großes Zimmer- ein fremdes Land.

(engl.) Night rain whispers from outside the window of this tatami room. It is someone else's country.

(engl.) The night rain whispers outside the window of my six-mat room, in an alien country.

(sp.) La lluvia nocturna murmuró, má allá de la ventana, ajena al universo de la habitación.

## 4 CONCLUSION/OBJECTIVE OF THE THESIS

-challenge lies in finding a translation approach that conveys the message of the poem without overwhelming the reader with too much contextual information. This is particularly important to avoid when a one-sided characterization and focus of interpretation might deter potential readers or steer interpretation in a certain direction.

-despite the cultural and historical context of Yun Dong-Ju's poems in a specific time, his themes are of timeless relevance. Themes such as the search for identity and belonging, as well as existential questions, are universal and can resonate with both international and national readers.

-Yun Dong-Ju would be a good candidate for the international audience, as his poems also address universal aspects such as the question of one's own existence, moral orientation, and self-reflection

-Considering the success of Korean literature and its translations in the anglophone world, there is a possibility that the interest in Korean literature will spill over into the German book market (no. of translations already increasing) → need for committed translators and publishers who can contribute to making the works of Korean authors accessible to a broader audience, but also research

## 5 BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Yun, Dong-ju. 2016. *Yundongju juyongnam* (1942-1945) (Yun Dong-ju's Selected Works). Seoul: Yonsei Univ.

Yun, Dong-ju. 2012. *Yundong, Yundong and Poems: Judo-Dojo, Yundong (Yundongju's Selected Works)*. Seoul: Yonsei Univ.

Secondary Sources

Abelard, Eric. 1988. *Yundongju's Translation Criticism: Towards a Cultural History*. Seoul: Yonsei Univ. Press.

Abelard, Eric. 2010. "Yundong's Poetry in Korea: An Introduction". In *Yundong*, Vol. 17 (2), 10-14. Seoul: Yonsei Univ. Press.

Abelard, Eric. 2011. *Yundong's Poetry: A Reader, Poet, and Poetic Tradition* (Yun Dong-ju's Selected Works). London: Continuum.

Abelard, Eric and Jon Whitford. 2012. "Yundong's Poetry: A Reader, Poet, and Poetic Tradition" (Yun Dong-ju's Selected Works). In *Journal of Korean Literature and Culture*, Vol. 11, 1-12.

Abelard, Eric. 2012. "Yundong's Poetry: A Reader, Poet, and Poetic Tradition".

Abelard, Eric. 2012. "Yundong's Poetry: A Reader, Poet, and Poetic Tradition".

Abelard, Eric. 2012. "Yundong's Poetry: A Reader, Poet, and Poetic Tradition".

Abelard, Eric. 2012. "Yundong's Poetry: A Reader, Poet, and Poetic Tradition".

Abelard, Eric. 2012. "Yundong's Poetry: A Reader, Poet, and Poetic Tradition".

Abelard, Eric. 2012. "Yundong's Poetry: A Reader, Poet, and Poetic Tradition".

Abelard, Eric. 2012. "Yundong's Poetry: A Reader, Poet, and Poetic Tradition".

Abelard, Eric. 2012. "Yundong's Poetry: A Reader, Poet, and Poetic Tradition".

Abelard, Eric. 2012. "Yundong's Poetry: A Reader, Poet, and Poetic Tradition".

Abelard, Eric. 2012. "Yundong's Poetry: A Reader, Poet, and Poetic Tradition".

Abelard, Eric. 2012. "Yundong's Poetry: A Reader, Poet, and Poetic Tradition".

Abelard, Eric. 2012. "Yundong's Poetry: A Reader, Poet, and Poetic Tradition".

Abelard, Eric. 2012. "Yundong's Poetry: A Reader, Poet, and Poetic Tradition".

Abelard, Eric. 2012. "Yundong's Poetry: A Reader, Poet, and Poetic Tradition".

Abelard, Eric. 2012. "Yundong's Poetry: A Reader, Poet, and Poetic Tradition".

Abelard, Eric. 2012. "Yundong's Poetry: A Reader, Poet, and Poetic Tradition".

Abelard, Eric. 2012. "Yundong's Poetry: A Reader, Poet, and Poetic Tradition".

Abelard, Eric. 2012. "Yundong's Poetry: A Reader, Poet, and Poetic Tradition".

Abelard, Eric. 2012. "Yundong's Poetry: A Reader, Poet, and Poetic Tradition".

Abelard, Eric. 2012. "Yundong's Poetry: A Reader, Poet, and Poetic Tradition".

Abelard, Eric. 2012. "Yundong's Poetry: A Reader, Poet, and Poetic Tradition".

Abelard, Eric. 2012. "Yundong's Poetry: A Reader, Poet, and Poetic Tradition".

Abelard, Eric. 2012. "Yundong's Poetry: A Reader, Poet, and Poetic Tradition".

Abelard, Eric. 2012. "Yundong's Poetry: A Reader, Poet, and Poetic Tradition".

Abelard, Eric. 2012. "Yundong's Poetry: A Reader, Poet, and Poetic Tradition".

Abelard, Eric. 2012. "Yundong's Poetry: A Reader, Poet, and Poetic Tradition".

Abelard, Eric. 2012. "Yundong's Poetry: A Reader, Poet, and Poetic Tradition".

Abelard, Eric. 2012. "Yundong's Poetry: A Reader, Poet, and Poetic Tradition".

Abelard, Eric. 2012. "Yundong's Poetry: A Reader, Poet, and Poetic Tradition".

Abelard, Eric. 2012. "Yundong's Poetry: A Reader, Poet, and Poetic Tradition".

Abelard, Eric. 2012. "Yundong's Poetry: A Reader, Poet, and Poetic Tradition".

Abelard, Eric. 2012. "Yundong's Poetry: A Reader, Poet, and Poetic Tradition".

Abelard, Eric. 2012. "Yundong's Poetry: A Reader, Poet, and Poetic Tradition".

Abelard, Eric. 2012. "Yundong's Poetry: A Reader, Poet, and Poetic Tradition".

Abelard, Eric. 2012. "Yundong's Poetry: A Reader, Poet, and Poetic Tradition".

Abelard, Eric. 2012. "Yundong's Poetry: A Reader, Poet, and Poetic Tradition".

## 5 BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abelard, Eric. 2012. "Introduction". In *Kiseo, Jeon, Anna Yoon-ju and Martha Mandersloot (Hrsg.) On Translating Modern Korean Poetry*. New York, Abingdon: Routledge, 1-7.

Kiseo, Jeon. 2020. "Kim Sowol - Spring". In *Kiseo, Jeon, Anna Yoon-ju and Martha Mandersloot (Hrsg.) On Translating Modern Korean Poetry*. New York, Abingdon: Routledge, 94-104.

Kim Ung-Gyo. 2017. "Yundong's Poetry: A Reader, Poet, and Poetic Tradition". In *Hyundai Munhak*, Vol. 62, 219-239.

Kim, Hyemin. 2011. "Yundong: 500 Years of Korean Poetry". In *The Korean Poetics Studies*, Vol. 31, 119-140. Kim, Song-Bong. 2007. *Sonju's Poetry: A Study of the Poet's Life and Works*. Seoul: KIL.

Kim, Seong-Kim. 2018. "Raising the Profile of Korean Literature Overseas". In *Asiatic Journal of Korean Literature and Culture*, Vol. 11, 271-288.

Kolbe, Werner. 2011. *Einführung in die Übersetzungswissenschaft*. Tübingen: A. Francke. 3rd Edition. Leipzig, Dieter. 2010. "Theorien der Lyrik". In *Rüdiger Zymner (Hrsg.) Translationswissenschaft: Grundlagen*, 1-3. Würzburg: 124-137.

Lee, Peter H. 2009. "Early Twentieth-Century Poetry". In *Peter H. Lee (Hrsg.) A History of Korean Literature*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 336-389.

McCann, David R. (Hrsg.). 2004. *The Columbia Anthology of Modern Korean Poetry*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Mandersloot, Martha. 2022. "Choi Jeongrye - Zebra Lines". In *Kiseo, Jeon, Anna Yoon-ju and Martha Mandersloot (Hrsg.) On Translating Modern Korean Poetry*. New York, Abingdon: Routledge, 35-42.

Munday, Jeremy. 2016. *Introducing Translation Studies: Theories and Applications*. London: Routledge. 4. Auflage.

Nord, Christiane. 1995. *Typenanalyse und Übersetzen: Theoretische Grundlagen, Methode und didaktische Anwendung einer Übersetzungsrelevanten Textanalyse*. Heidelberg: Jufer-Greif, 3. Auflage.



## 5 BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Nord, Christiane. 1997. *Translating as a Purposeful Activity: Functionalist Approaches Explained*. Manchester: St. Jerome.
- O'Rourke, Kevin. 2015. „50 Chŏngju and Modern Korean Poetry“. In: *Azalea: Journal of Korean Literature and Culture*, Vol. 8, 105-143.
- Reiß, Katharina. 1971. *Möglichkeiten und Grenzen der Übersetzungskritik: Kategorien und Kriterien für eine Sachgerechte Beurteilung von Übersetzungen*. Deutschland: Hueber.
- Reiß, Katharina und Hans J. Vermeer. 1984. *Grundlegung einer Allgemeinen Translationslehre*. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag. 2. Auflage.
- Schenk-Haupt, Stefan. 2007. „Die Einteilung der literarischen Gattungen und die Problematik der Lyrik“. In: *Gymnich, Marion; Birgit Neumann und Ansgar Nünning (Hrsg.), Gattungstheorie und Gattungsgeschichte*. Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Trier, 117-136.
- Song, U-Hye. 2022. *Yundongjup'yŏngjŏm*. Seoul: Sŏjŏngshak. [E-Book]
- Venuti, Lawrence (Hrsg.). 2013. *Translation Changes Everything: Theory and Practice*. London, New York: Routledge.
- Venuti, Lawrence. 2008. *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation*. London u.a.: Routledge. 2. Auflage.
- Yates-Lu, Anna. 2022. „Choe Yongsook – Bulletproof Delivery Box“. In: *Klaer, Jilvin; Anna Yates-Lu und Matthä Mandersloot (Hrsg.), On Translating Modern Korean Poetry*. New York, Abingdon: Routledge, 25-34.

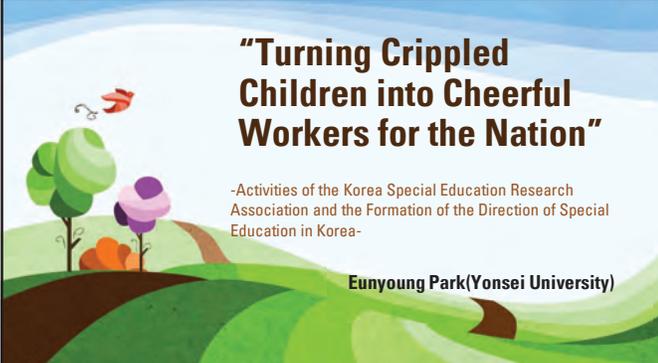
**SESSION FOUR <Modern Korea >**

# **“Turning Crippled Children into Cheerful Workers for the Nation” -Activities of the Korea Special Education Research Association in the 1960s and the Formation of the Direction of Special Education in Korea-**

Eunyoung Park, Yonsei University

## **Abstract**

The purpose of this study is to reveal the process which the Korea Special Education Association, organized by the teachers at schools of the blind and deaf, urged the Korean government to establish special education policies in 1960s. It also aims to reveal the influence they have had on Korean society's perspective on special education since then. Korea Special Education Research Association, organized by special schools' teachers, sought to attract society's interest and government support for the education of children with disabilities. This association shared special education-related research results and urged the government to enact special education-related policies and provide financial support for special schools. The research done by teachers at the Korea Special Education Research Association influenced the direction and methodology of special education curricula developed since the mid-1960s. Meanwhile, their views on the relationship between special teachers and children with disabilities were later reflected in the culture of special schools. In accordance with the goal of making disabled children cheerful citizens and useful members of society, training and education programs were emphasized to help children with disabilities develop 'normal' physical movements. The tendency to emphasize the 'abnormal' physical and personality characteristics of disabled children and the self-sacrifice of special education teachers served as a factor strengthening the benevolent perspective on disabled students.



# "Turning Crippled Children into Cheerful Workers for the Nation"

-Activities of the Korea Special Education Research Association and the Formation of the Direction of Special Education in Korea-

Eunyoung Park(Yonsei University)

## Special Education in Korea




Photo by Kyunghyang Shinmun

Photo by Yonhap News Agency

### 1. Publisizing Special Education







## 2. Activities of the Korea Special Education Research Association

### 1) The establishment and activi

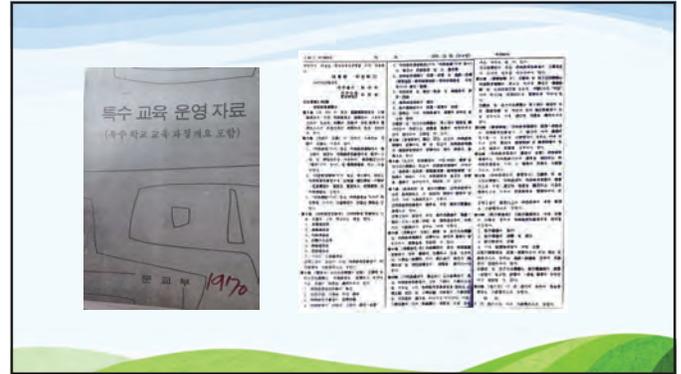


특수교육 운영 원리 지침

1. 특수 아동에게도 특수교육을 실시하라
2. 당시에 '난'이었던 어린이, 특히 중증의 특수아동아이를 실시하라
3. 특수 아동의 발달을 촉진하라
4. 장애유형 특수교육을 실시하라 특수교육 전문가로 성장할 수 있도록 도와주라
5. 장애유형 특수교육의 특수교육 운영을 실시하라
6. 특수아동에게도 교육받을 수 있는 법의 취지를 이해하라
7. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
8. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
9. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
10. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
11. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
12. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
13. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
14. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
15. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
16. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
17. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
18. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
19. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
20. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
21. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
22. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
23. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
24. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
25. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
26. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
27. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
28. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
29. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
30. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
31. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
32. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
33. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
34. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
35. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
36. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
37. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
38. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
39. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
40. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
41. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
42. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
43. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
44. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
45. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
46. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
47. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
48. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
49. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
50. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
51. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
52. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
53. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
54. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
55. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
56. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
57. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
58. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
59. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
60. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
61. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
62. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
63. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
64. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
65. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
66. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
67. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
68. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
69. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
70. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
71. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
72. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
73. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
74. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
75. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
76. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
77. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
78. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
79. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
80. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
81. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
82. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
83. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
84. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
85. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
86. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
87. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
88. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
89. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
90. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
91. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
92. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
93. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
94. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
95. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
96. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
97. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
98. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
99. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다
100. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다

특수교육 운영 원리 지침

1. 특수아동 교육에 있어 결실은 때때로 얻는다



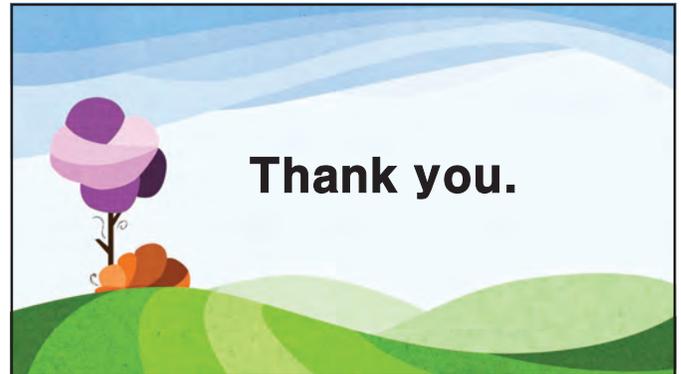
## 2. Activities of the Korea Special Education Research Association



- Not becoming "the burden to the society"
- Cheerful & natural personality / pronunciation / walking
- Not causing inconvenience
- 'abnormal beings' and 'sacrificing teachers'

### **3. Conclusion: Special education as reducing the burden of society**

- **KSERA conducting research together**
- **Sacrificing teachers vs. Dependent children**
- **Silencing & invisibilizing**



# Redux and Revolution: American Pharmaceuticals in US-Occupied Korea, 1945–1948

Sujin Elisa Han, Harvard University

## Abstract

This paper tracks the movement of American pharmaceuticals into and throughout Korea in the wake of Liberation on August 15, 1945. Medicine during the American military occupation has been a well-studied area of Korean history. This paper departs from existing works, which center on medical personnel (*ũisa*), knowledge (*ũihak*), and expertise (*ũisul*), to focus on medicine as “commodities” in the form of pharmaceuticals (*ũiyakp’um*). Drawing on anthropology’s discussions about the “social lives of things,” I seek to elucidate how taking medicine’s materiality seriously can open up a new pathway to understanding how the politics of occupation intersected with the cultural economy of therapy in the more micro-scale of the everyday. Using a wide range of primary materials, including statistics, newspapers, advertisements, translated encyclopedias, and United States Army Military Government in Korea (USAMGIK) documents, this paper traces how specific policies for pharmaceutical administration enacted by USAMGIK shaped the circulation of American pharmaceutical products that were arriving in Korea primarily as medical aid. The decisions and actions taken by the Bureau of Public regarding medical aid’s distribution and pharmaceutical regulations resulted in the redux of colonial administrative structures and laws after 1945. But, the fact that medical aid contained American pharmaceutical products that were radically new, such as penicillin and sulfadiazine, meant powerful substances hitherto unknown in Korea were traveling into people’s hands and bodies for everyday consumption, resulting in the beginning of a therapeutic revolution at the biological level. In this milieu of redux and revolution, American pharmaceuticals were integrated into existing regimes of meaning and practices surrounding medicine that accented their novel potency in familiar ways. This process, in turn, re-shaped the everyday cultural economy of therapy in profound ways that reflected a coalescence of changes and continuities during the post-Liberation period in southern Korea.

## Redux and Revolution

American Pharmaceuticals in US-Occupied Korea, 1945-1948

WWC 2024  
Suju Elisa Han  
Harvard University

## Medicine in Korea after 1945

- Narrative of rupture and transition



## Intervention

- Re-visiting master narrative
- Addressing topic of pharmaceuticals





## Approach

- Focus on pharmaceutical agents
  - Materiality and mobility
- Distribution, circulation, and consumption
- Therapeutics

## Roadmap

- Distribution and circulation
- Pharmaceutical agents
- Consumption and therapeutic practices

## Distribution

- Medical aid
  - \$7.6 million between 1945-48
- Repurposing of wartime distribution system
  - Chōsen Pharmaceutical Controls Association (朝鮮藥品統制組合, est. 1940) → Koryō Pharmaceutical Corporation (高麗藥品株式會社)



## Circulation

- Price controls
- Diverse, yet familiar people and places selling medical supplies
  - USAMGIK ordinance → translated revision of 1913 law
- Supply shortage
- Lack of centralized coordination and control



## Pharmaceutical Agents

- Products of World War II
- Antibiotics
  - New sulfa drugs - sulfadiazine (다이아징, 다이아진)
  - Penicillin
- Revolutionary therapeutic efficacy
  - Korea's status as colony



## Reputation

- Panacea (만병통치약)
- High value commodity
  - Price inflation
  - Black market
  - Profiteering (謀利)



## Consumption

- Acute shortages, but continued circulation of (mis)information about effects and efficacy
- Limited state regulation and physician intervention

## Therapeutic Practices

- Misuse and overuse
- Self-medication
  
- Doctors' efforts to correct

## Occupation's Legacies

- Heightened risk and danger
- Korea's experience of therapeutic revolution mediated by colonial pharmaceutical administration redux
- Politics of occupation intersecting with cultural economy of therapeutics

Thank you!



# Memories of Repatriates from Japan to North Korea: Stories of Separated Families and Narratives of Reunification

Joowhee Lee, Australian National University

## Abstract

This presentation examines the lives and family histories of Zainichi Koreans who boarded repatriation ships from Japan to North Korea about 60 years ago in the context of the postcolonial reshaping of East Asia and the Cold War. The vast majority of the first generation originated from the southern part of Korea, but nonetheless decided to move to North Korea with their families. The first repatriation ship departed from Japan to North Korea on 14 December 1959. In total, 93,340 people—including 6,839 Japanese people (about 1,800 Japanese spouses married to Korean men and their children)—were repatriated from Japan to North Korea between 1959 and 1984. This presentation focuses on the experiences of people who moved to North Korea as teenagers (referred to here as the ‘1.5 generation’ of returnees – as distinct from the first generation, who chose to move as adults, and the second generation, who were born in North Korea). Drawing on interviews conducted with members of the ‘1.5 generation’ who have escaped from North Korea and are now living in Japan and South Korea, this presentation approaches returnees’ life histories and family histories as historical (re)constructions that are shaped by their interactions with the evolving structures of inclusion and exclusion in Japan, South Korea and North Korea. Returnee memories are testimonies about repatriation and life in North Korea, but the ways in which the returnees create meaning within those memories are also configured by the political and social contexts in which they were (and are) living. By creating space to listen attentively to the contradictions within the lives and family histories of individuals – rather than framing these individuals and their stories through national, ethnic, or ideological lenses – it is possible to shed new light on the structures that suppress crucial aspects of these memories.

MEMORIES OF REPATRIATES FROM JAPAN TO NORTH KOREA  
: STORIES OF SEPARATED FAMILIES AND NARRATIVES OF REUNIFICATION

LEE JOOWHAE  
PhD Candidate  
Pacific and Asian History  
Australian National University  
Email: jjoowhee.lee@gmail.com

CONTENTS

1. Research Theme
2. Research Purpose
3. Research Gaps and Aim
4. Research Approach
5. Research Participants and Research Site
6. Research Findings
7. Episode
8. Conclusion

1. RESEARCH  
THEME

- ❖ This presentation focuses on the family histories of repatriated Zainichi Koreans (returnees) who moved from Japan to North Korea between 1959 and 1984.
- ❖ **Repatriation** = Over 93,340 Zainichi Koreans, including 6,730 Japanese spouses (1,831 Japanese wives) and children, moved from Japan to North Korea between 1959 and 1984.

IN THE PRESENTATION, I USE THE TERMS:

Map of the Korean peninsula



1.5 generation of returnees = who were born in Japan and accompanied their parents on the move to North Korea in their teens

2<sup>nd</sup> generation of returnee = who were born in North Korea

Returnees = repatriated Zainichi Koreans

Escaped returnees = repatriated Zainichi Koreans those who escaped North Korea and reside in South Korea and Japan

## NIIGATA PORT IN 1959

## 60 YEARS LATER, NIIGATA PORT IN 2019



Photo copyright © ICRC Archives. All Rights Reserved.



Photo by Joowhee Lee.

## COMMEMORATION CEREMONIES IN 2019 (NIIGATA PORT IN JAPAN)



- ❖ What does it mean that their memories are unspeakable or that they are forgotten or selectively remembered in state memories?
- ❖ What does this mean that returnees' family memories of North Korea were reconstructed with narratives such as "tragic experiences," "experiences of human rights discrimination," "experiences of exclusion," and ended up being connected to narratives of "victims of forced abduction" or "separated families"?

## 2. RESEARCH PURPOSE

- ❖ This research aims to comprehend the lives of returnees within the context of a family history continuum, interacting with the logics of exclusion and inclusion in postcolonial states.
- ❖ Walking through these Zainichi Korean returnee family histories that span generations and have been excluded from the dominant narratives of the postcolonial states demonstrates how the Cold War and Hot War divided and shaped political and cultural structures, which have affected the personal memories of returnee families.

## PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON REPATRIATION



- ❖ The topic of repatriation was not conducted immediately after the repatriation, rather, this research occurred after more than 50 years of silence.

## PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON ESCAPED RETURNEES

- ❖ tend to share similarities with perspectives on studies of North Korean refugees. (South Korea)
- ❖ tend to be influenced by the perspectives and ideologies of postcolonial nation-states (South Korea or Japan), and some of the research tends to be state-centred or be in the frame of the Cold War competition.

## 3. RESEARCH GAPS AND AIM

❖ to approach life histories and family histories of returnees as historical (re)constructions that are shaped by their interactions with the structures of inclusion and exclusion in the three different societies.

❖ aims to reveal the oppressive structures of the memory problem by analysing the meaning of their (re)construction of life memories and family memories.

## 4. RESEARCH APPROACH

"The Memory Oppression Problem"

At the level of national memory (dominant memory)

At the collective-level memories

At the individual (personal, family) level

## 5. RESEARCH PARTICIPANT AND SITES

From July 2018 to January 2019, I conducted fieldwork for this thesis in South Korea and Japan.

From November 2019 to February 2020, I completed additional interviews in South Korea and Japan.

I conducted interviews with 1.5-generation returnees who have been living in South Korea and Japan for over 10 years.



## 6. RESEARCH FINDINGS (1)

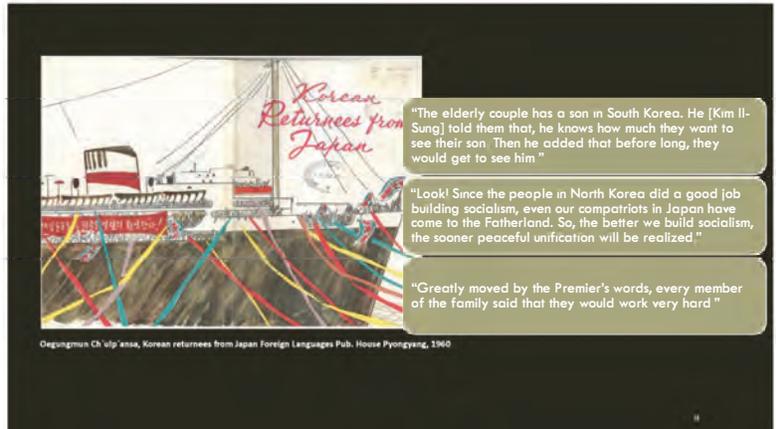
Memory oppression become institutionalised and function simultaneously as an exclusionary and an inclusive force for returnee families in North Korea. Amidst this contradiction, the memories of returnee families were repressed by a control system and entirely overshadowed by a pervasive national identity and memory.

## SŎGBUN [NK: 성분] SYSTEM

'If my sŏgbun were good, my son would have been able to go to college,' 'He did serve in the army because his sŏgbun was good, but his friend was not allowed to enlist because he is from South Korea.'

Sŏgbun system as a system of state-assigned social class the logic of sorting out enemies from allies reorganized North Korean society on a macro level

An anthropologist, Chung Byung-Ho also explains in his book that sŏgbun system combined the concepts of "purity and impurity" with the principles of classification and exclusion under socialist ideology to create a more intense form of discrimination in North Korean society.



150,000 Pyongyang citizens came out to greet the returnees



Ŏgungmun Ch'ulp'ansa, Korean returnees from Japan House Pyongyang, 1960

## 7. EPISODE

Sŏng jŏng-il (성정일) was born in 1950, and Pok Sŏnhŭi (복순희) was born in 1954 in Japan.

In 1961, Sŏng jŏng-il arrived in Hamgyŏngbuk-do Province with his parents and four brothers when he was eleven years old. Sŏng jŏng-il got married to Pok Sŏnhŭi when he was 24 years old.

In North Korea, joining the Worker's Party of Korea (hereafter, 'the Party') is the most significant goal for a student leaving school and becoming part of society.

## EPISODE

"A returnee battalion (roughly 500 soldiers) of young returnees was then assembled from all over the nation. I'm not sure why, but I wasn't selected. So, I attended college. Then, our seniors started to join the Three Revolutions Teams activities. I also joined it and spent about three years engaging in the Three Revolutions Team [3대 혁명소조] activities. It was nothing more than manual labour, though, really. It wasn't until the Three Revolutions Teams activities were over that I was able to graduate from college."

[Field note 2019]

## EPISODE

His wife, Pok Sŏnhŭi, also did her best to achieve this goal [joining the party]. She bribed the spouses of anyone who could vouch for Sŏng jŏng-il and personally attended and assisted with events that Sŏng jŏng-il's boss held in his home.

Most *inmin-ban* (literally, people's groups) representatives were, as a result, connected to influential individuals across the region.

## EPISODE

When the North Korean system failed during the 1990s, returnees became even more politically vulnerable.

Pok Sönhüi said that her family was always careful while living in North Korea, like walking on thin ice on the river.

## 8. CONCLUSION

❖ In conclusion, this research attempted to expose the problem of memory repression through the narratives of Zainichi Korean returnee family histories (encompassing both remembering and forgetting), looking especially at how they have constructed these stories through their interactions with institutionalised control systems in the societies in which they live.

❖ Returnees' memories of their experiences in North Korea are strongly influenced by the context of the escape process and the society in which they now live (South Korea or Japan). However, when listening to their memories, we often hear narratives that describe their experiences in North Korea in a negative light, such as stories of discrimination and exclusion, tragedy and loss, but also narratives that express pride in their efforts and successful lives as members of society.

❖ Consequently, this research is to demonstrate that the Cold War/Hot War is not a historical event in the past, but rather a structural force that influences the microlevel and private spheres of individuals and families in Northeast Asia today.

## DISCUSSION

### Q & A

[japanhwa.lee@gmail.com](mailto:japanhwa.lee@gmail.com)

The 17th Worldwide Consortium of Korean Studies Centers (WKCQ) Conference  
Center for Korean Studies, University of Hawaii at Manoa (May 9-10, 2024)



# Center for Korean Studies

---

하와이 대학교 한국학 연구소



The Center for Korean Studies events are free and open to all. For further information, including information regarding disability access, telephone the Center for Korean Studies at 808-956-7041.

This conference is supported by the Korean Studies Grant Program of the Academy of Korean Studies (AKS-2024-C037).  
This event is also in part supported by the Academy of Korean Studies Strategic Research Institute Program (AKS-2020-SRI-2200001).  
The University of Hawai'i is an equal opportunity/affirmative action institution.