

THE EMPLANTATION OF RELIGION,
THE DEVELOPMENT OF BUDDHISM AND
CHRISTIANITY IN KOREA

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Abstract of Thesis

The general problem of the emplantation of missionary religions is considered from the aspect of the anthropological concept of culture change. Unit One outlines the problem, and a tentative model of the emplantation of religion is proposed based on a survey of the history of the introduction of Buddhism into China. The development of Buddhism and Christianity in Korea is then considered in relation to the model. Unit Two establishes the nature of pre-Buddhist Korean religion; Unit Three examines the growth of Buddhism in Ancient Korea; Unit Four reviews the development of Both Catholic and Protestant Christianity in Korea; and Unit Five contrasts the development of Buddhism, Catholicism and Protestantism with the model outlined in Unit One. The emplantation of missionary religions is considered as a social process which consists of three related phases and various subphases. The nature of these phases is defined and five factors which may influence the growth of a newly emplanted religion are distinguished. The general model is seen also to consist of two sub-models which are characterized by the speed of the process of emplantation and the presence or absence of a key phase, the phase of Contact and Explication. Emplantation which occurs between two cultural spheres and emplantation which occurs within a single cultural sphere are also discussed. The thesis concludes by suggesting the usefulness of models of this type in understanding the social dynamics of the history of religion.

I, James Huntley Grayson, affirm that the research involved in the preparation of this thesis and the composition of the text are solely the work of my hand.

To my parents and my aunt

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PREFACE

This thesis has grown out of a series of personal experiences.

Six years ago, I received a sudden invitation to organize a course in comparative religion for the Department of Anthropology of Yŏng-nam University in Tae-ku, Korea where I was working as a missionary and university lecturer. The preparation for that course provided an opportunity for me to delve more deeply into a subject in which I have held an interest for a long time. The questions which were raised by this preparation, and the problems which arose in the conduct of the course made me realize that it would be fruitful to pursue at least one of these issues at the level of doctoral research. Of particular interest to me was the question of the development of the Christian Church. Why was it that the Church in Korea had been more successful than the Church in Japan or in China? The broader question of the means by which religions are transferred from one cultural setting to another was also raised in my mind. Modern Korea possesses two of the great world religions, Buddhism and Christianity. Although neither of them is indigenous to Korea, they both exercise considerable influence on the culture of the nation. How did this situation arise? This problem is not strictly speaking an historical question, but an anthropological problem. It is a question of the transfer of cultural traits from one culture to another, a question of culture change. Because of these broader considerations, in this thesis I have used the question of the acceptance of Buddhism and Christianity in Korea to illustrate the general problem of the acceptance of any missionary religion within any cultural tradition. The model which is presented here is

offered as a tentative explanation of this question, and is offered in the hope that further research will refine it or alter it in such ways as will enable us to come to a clearer idea of the nature of the emplantation of religion.

During the past three years, many people have given generously of their time to help me with the many questions and difficulties which have arisen in the course of this research. It is not possible to thank everyone, but I would like to single out a few people whose assistance has been invaluable. First of all, my chief supervisor, Frank Whaling, has been at all times more than just a supervisor but a good friend who has willingly given much time to the consideration of the numerous knotty questions which I was unable to answer satisfactorily. William Dolby has likewise read every chapter of the thesis and at many points offered useful suggestions and constant encouragement. John McIntyre, John Chinnery, John Scott, Anthony Jackson, Stuart Piggott and Paul Dundas have all given generously of their time to help me think through the various problems of this thesis, to suggest relevant sources or research material, and to steer me away from obvious errors of fact. John Brough of Cambridge University was kind enough to help me with one or two questions concerning Sino-Indian terminology. Likewise, William Skillend of the School of Oriental and African Studies guided me to new sources of information and opened up several new lines of enquiry. Finally, a special word of thanks is due to my good friend Robert Provine of the University of Durham for his constant encouragement of my research. Anyone who has done this type of research will know only too well how important the help and encouragement of such people is. I only

hope that this work will meet with their expectations. Any errors of fact or reasoning are, of course, not to be attributed to them but are the sole responsibility of the author.

J. H. G.
Edinburgh
Easter, 1979

ABBREVIATIONS OF FREQUENTLY CITED WORKS

- B G T K S Kim Taijin, Bibliographical Guide to Traditional Korean Sources
- C B D Giles, A Chinese Biographical Dictionary
- C R C Wada, Chūgoku Rekishi Chizu (Maps of Chinese History)
in Japanese
- E R E Hastings, Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics
- F E A The Far East and Australasia, 1976 - 1977
- H C S Son, Han-kuk Chi-myŏng Sa-chŏn (Korean Geographical Dictionary), in Korean
- H I T Yi Hŭi-sŭng, Han-kuk In-myŏng Tae Sa-chŏn (Korean Biographical Dictionary), in Korean
- H S S Yu, Han-kuk-sa Sa-chŏn (A Dictionary of Korean History),
in Korean
- I B J Akamma, Indo Bukkyō Koyūmeishi Jiten (A Dictionary of Indian Buddhism), in Japanese
- K T Yi Hong-jik, Kuk-sa Tae Sa-chŏn (Encyclopedia of Korean History), in Korean
- P S Yi Un-hŏ, Pul-kyo Sa-chŏn (Dictionary of Buddhism), in Korean
- S K S K Kim Pu-shik, Sam-kuk Sa-ki, in Korean
- S K Y S Ir-yŏn, Sam-kuk Yu-sa, in Korean
- Y P Yi Sang-nyŏl, P'yo-chun Yŏk-sa Pu-to (Maps of (Korean) History), in Korean

A NOTE ON TRANSCRIPTIONS AND TRANSLITERATIONS

A word must be said about the method of writing in roman letters the terms used in this thesis which derive from several different non-Western languages. In transcribing non-literate languages, such as those of Siberia, we have followed the spelling of a particular term as it occurs in the major or standard work for a particular tribe. In transliterating terms from languages with a long literary tradition, such as Japanese and Chinese, we have followed the system which is most widely used, i.e. the Hepburn system for Japanese and the Wade-Giles system for Chinese. All syllables in Chinese words, however, have been separated by a hyphen to indicate the construction of the word.

In transliterating Korean, we have followed generally the McCune-Reischauer system, which is the standard system for transliterating the Korean language. We have altered this system in four respects. In an attempt to preserve the principal or pure sound of each syllable, we have not indicated the 'darkening' of consonants which occurs in the medial position. The letters which are normally used for the dark consonants, b, d, g, and j, are used here for the guttural consonants. We have also indicated the distinctiveness of each syllable within a single word by placing a hyphen between each syllable which composes a word. Thus one of the ancient Korean states is written as Ko-ku-ry^o and not as Koguryo as is often the case. In cases where the letter 's' is followed by the letter 'i', we have inserted an 'h' to make the pronunciation of such words conform to the usage of speech. Thus Silla is written as Shil-la. Sound change is indicated only within

words and not between words in a series. An exception to this rule are two word terms composed of three characters which may be treated as a single unit, thus Hwa-rang Do. Final words in a title of a work, such as chŏn or ki, are always treated as a separate unit, even if the title consists of only three characters.

In order to follow these systems of romanization consistently, we have written certain familiar terms in conformity with the systems used. Thus, Seoul is written as Sŏ-ul and Peking as Pei-ching. We have underlined titles of books and other writings, names of deities, and general classes of things, but not the names of particular people, mountains, temples, or buildings.

UNIT I

THE PROPAGATION OF RELIGIONS

CHAPTER 1 HOW ARE RELIGIONS PROPAGATED?

A. The Development and Diffusion of Religion

The science of anthropology has made contemporary man aware of a depth of human history which was almost totally unknown to his ancestors of two centuries ago. The history of human culture which has been revealed through this science is a record of the development and change of man's way of life and of his relationship to his environment. One could say easily that the principal characteristic of the history of man's culture is change. Culture is never static but is in process of continuous development. The realisation of this prime characteristic of culture led many anthropological theorists in the nineteenth century to conceive of the process of culture change as a form of evolution, which was composed of three stages, Savagery, Barbarism and Civilisation. The first scholars to formulate a theory of cultural evolution were Lewis Henry Morgan, Sir Edward Burnett Tylor and John Lubbock, but they were followed quickly by others. The theory which these men elaborated was a concept of the general evolution of the culture of mankind which, consequently, did not attempt to trace the development of a particular culture or society. Beginning in the early decades of this century, theories of cultural evolution fell out of academic favour, although recently, interest in such ideas has been revived by scholars such as Leslie White, Marshall Sahlins and Elman Service.¹

If man's culture in general could be shown to have evolved, it was equally obvious that the institutions which compose culture also must have evolved. Nineteenth century anthropologists were passionately concerned with the origins and causes of various

cultural institutions, and in particular, the origin and cause of man's religion. Tylor in his classic work Primitive Culture set forth one of the great concepts of the scientific study of religion. He saw the origin of religion deriving from a belief in spirits or anima which lived in, or were made manifest in, the objects and forces of nature. From this simple beginning man's religion developed through stages of polytheism and totemism to a final stage of monotheism. Other scholars who concurred in the general outline of the process of the evolution of religion found other starting points or origins for religion. Robert Marret thought that religion stemmed from a sense of the numinous, whilst Herbert Spencer felt that religion derived from a cult of the ancestors. Andrew Lang on the other hand stood Tylor's theory on its head, and claimed that monotheism was prior to polytheism, and that there were different sources for these two forms of religious belief. The work of Lang was taken up and expanded by the Austrian priest and anthropologist, Father Wilhelm Schmidt. It will be obvious to the reader that these theories of religious evolution like the theories of the general evolution of human culture deal with religion only in the abstract.²

Another scientific approach to the study of religion is sociology. The classic work in this area is Emile Durheim's The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life. Durkheim found the origin or cause of religion in a reification of society itself, and from this point derived a theory of the role and function of religion in society.³ This theory unfortunately conceives of human culture in a static sense and is unable to tell us anything either about the process of the development of religion in general or about the process of the development of a religion in a particular society. As the

title of this chapter will have led the reader to suspect, we want to concern ourselves in this essay with the question of the growth and development of particular religions within particular societies, something with which neither the evolutionists nor the functionalists have dealt.

If the origin of religion in general is forever hidden from us, the origin of particular religions is not. We must distinguish here between two uses of the word origin. When we speak of the origin of Buddhism, we refer to the initiation of a particular religious tradition. The origin of Buddhism in China, on the other hand, refers to the development of an already established but foreign religious tradition through missionary activity. This latter process we shall term the emplantation of religion, and religions which are emplanted we shall term missionary religions. Historians have not neglected the study of the emplantation of religion, but they have not given us a theory of how this process takes place. Kenneth Latourette's A History of the Expansion of Christianity is a detailed study of the growth and development of a particular religious tradition, whilst Kenneth Ch'en's Buddhism in China traces the growth of a particular tradition in a single society.⁴ Studies of this type tell us what happened in history, but they do not tell us how it happened. Like any social component of human culture, the emplantation of religion is a process. To understand how a religion becomes emplanted in a particular culture, we must know the stages through which it passed in the course of its emplantation, and what types of factors influenced its growth.

B. Culture Change and the Spread of Religious Traditions

In recent years, missionaries, students of religion, and archaeologists have all approached the question of how a religion spreads from the culture in which it originated. Amongst evangelical church circles, much excitement has been aroused by the ideas of the Church Growth School, the founder and chief proponent of which is Donald McGavran. During McGavran's long stay in India as a missionary, he came to observe that mission churches in different areas grew at different rates which often bore no relationship to the numbers of missionary personnel. It seemed in fact as if those areas which had a large concentration of missionaries experienced little growth, whilst in those areas in which missionaries were few, growth was often spectacular. From these observations, he drew two principal conclusions:

1. Growth was fastest in those areas where a certain, undefined level of readiness to accept new religious beliefs existed, and

2. Church growth was most rapid in those areas in which certain social bridges to whole communities existed. In this last instance, whole communities tended to go over en masse, a phenomenon McGavran termed 'People Movements'.⁵

The idea of 'People Movements' is of considerable interest, as it is based on the idea that individual people are more willing to alter their religious beliefs if they know of relatives, close friends, or persons of a similar social class or group who have done so. The Church Growth School utilizes this point as the basis of its concept of mission. Missionary endeavour ought to be concerned with the conversion of the group, not the individual.⁶

Unfortunately, the Church Growth analysis of mission does not tell us anything about the process of emplantation, but only of particular conditions which provide for a favourable reception of new religious beliefs. One is left with the feeling that once the conditions are satisfied, conversion will automatically result. What is missing is a formulation of the stages by which a religion becomes emplanted in another culture. In addition, this school seems to be ignorant of any other condition which may affect either the state of readiness for the acceptance of a missionary religion, or the ability to utilize social bridges for missionary work. McGavran in particular ignores questions of the importance of the prestige of individual converts, the congruity of the values of the old and new religions, and the preparation of the missionary for his work. We shall look at the last two points more closely.

Congruity of old and new values would seem to be a key problem for any missionary. In his book The Chinese Transformation of Buddhism, Kenneth Ch'en draws our attention to the fact that Buddhism was unacceptable to the majority of Chinese so long as it was understood to be a rejection of family ties. It was not until Buddhism had come to grips with the questions of filial piety and the ancestral cult that the new faith experienced a period of significant growth.⁷ Surely, the question of a clash between traditional and new values is not confined to Buddhism alone.

McGavran would appear to take a very naive view of the preparation which a missionary must have for his work. He merely states that large numbers of missionaries arriving at a critical period will be sufficient to tip the balance in favour of large scale conversion. He cites as an example Japan after the conclusion of the Second World

War, and asks why large numbers of missionaries could not have been switched from a missionary pool to Japan.⁸ This would imply that a deep knowledge of the culture, history, and language of a people is of less importance than the physical presence of the missionary. The author's own experience would tend to negate this view. In fact, we would argue that it is the lack of knowledge of those other factors which influence the emplantation of religions which must account for the low rate of church growth which McGavran observed.

E. M. Pye has also considered the question of the transplantation of religion, which term for him has a broader meaning than emplantation as we have used it here. He defines the transplantation of religion in two ways; firstly as emplantation or missionary endeavour, and as revival, reformation, or reaffirmation of traditional religious beliefs. These transplantations may take place against conditions which are specifically religious, socio-political, or some mixture of the two. Either of these two forms of religious transplantation may undergo three stages in its process of development. These are the communication of the transplanted idea or belief (contact), adjustment of the new concept to the pre-existent culture (ambiguity), and the reassertion or reclarification of the transplanted item (recoupment). These stages of development may occur in a certain chronological order, or they may be bound together in a single stage. They are called aspects by the author to indicate that they are characteristics of the process of transplantation and are not sequential phases. Lastly, Pye draws our attention to the fact that people may be aware to a greater or lesser extent of their role in the process of religious transplantation.⁹

Although Pye has not described the aspects of religious transplantation in a sequential manner, it is interesting to note that the order in which he has described these aspects is suggestive for a model of religious emplantation. The three aspects may be said to be three stages of emplantation beginning with an initial stage in which knowledge of the new religious tradition is made known, followed by a stage of accommodation to the receptor culture, which if successful, culminates in a stage in which certain characteristics of the new faith are reaffirmed or reasserted. As for those factors which might influence the operation of the process of emplantation, the brevity of his article prevents Pye from saying more than that there are religious, social, and political factors which might affect the transplantation of a religion. The nature and type of these conditions would have to be specified in greater detail if we are to have a clearer idea of the way in which they interact with the transplanted religion.

The noted Meso-American archaeologist Gordon Willey was stimulated by a perusal of various papers on the spread of transcendent concepts to consider the possibility of these movements having been present in the culture history of Meso-America. From these papers, which had appeared in a recent issue of the American scholarly journal Daedulus, he discerned four basic characteristics of transcendent movements. The first was the need for civilisational depth. For transcendent concepts to spread there had to be a long history of urban living, accompanied by the development of complex social institutions. This implied the presence of an ecumenical cultural system, a cultural sphere encompassing several 'national' areas. The second characteristic of transcendent movements was that

they occur at certain critical moments in the history of the ecumenical culture. They are in effect reactions to changed historical circumstances. Thirdly, transcendent movements always draw upon certain 'prototypical' or core elements of the civilisation, such as its basic values, or some common motif, or religious expression. In the fourth place, transcendent movements arise characteristically from the margins of the civilisation and not from its centre.¹⁰

Willey demonstrates through an examination of the myth of Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl that all of the characteristics of the spread of transcendent concepts are present in the development of Meso-American culture history. In southern Meso-America, which had been one of two cradles of agricultural and urban civilisation in the Americas, the ecumenical civilisation there reached a critical point some time in the tenth century A.D. when it seemed as if the political system would breakdown. At this critical juncture the younger ruler of Tollan, one of the marginal cities of the ecumene, elaborated a new and gentler philosophy which challenged the received values of Meso-American civilisation. He in turn was challenged by a supporter of the old order, Tezcatlipoca, and was forced to flee his city. The memory of this brave young ruler was not forgotten as his story and his beliefs were carried to the farthest edges of Meso-America by travelling merchants. To the four characteristics mentioned by the writers in Daedulus, Willey adds the fact that initial contact with new transcendent ideas often takes place as a byproduct of the travels of the mercantile class.¹¹

Like the Church Growth School, these authors do not give us any idea of the process of emplantation, but only of the conditions under which it has taken place. Moreover, it would seem that the type of

transfer of religious beliefs which these men have considered is more properly speaking the reformation or reformulation of a particular tradition within a single cultural sphere. Some of their ideas suggest parallels with the emplantation of religion, but the focus is different. It is curious that none of these authors, with the possible exception of Pye, has thought to consider anthropological concepts of culture change.

The American anthropologist Ralph Linton states that, "all cultures, even the simplest seem to be in a continuous state of change", and that "the processes of culture change fall into a definite sequence". These processes are defined as the presentation to the society of a new element of culture, its acceptance or rejection, the adjustment which is made between the new element and the culture itself, and the elimination of older cultural elements the social functions of which have been taken over by the newer elements. The smooth development of culture change is influenced by at least three types of factors. The most important factor in Linton's view is the congruity between the new culture element and the value system of the society. Another factor which would influence the acceptance or rejection of a new element of culture is the social prestige of the person who first brings the innovation to the attention of the society. A third element in the acceptance of new cultural traits is the fact that the receptor culture tends to take up the new element in terms of its form rather than its content. That is, the new element is understood in terms of the context of the receptor culture and not of the context of the sending culture.¹²

Unlike the previous authors, Linton provides us with a tentative model for the emplantation of religion. He discusses the two

concepts which we said earlier would be necessary for an adequate discussion of this social process. Recognizing that culture change is a process, he suggests some phases through which a new element of culture gains a place in a particular cultural system. He also suggests three factors which may influence the process of acceptance. From this model of culture change we may derive a model of the emplantation of religion. Like Linton's model it must include a series of sequential phases and state specific types of factors which might affect the acceptance or rejection of the new form of religious belief. In this sense, the model which we wish to develop will be anthropological. It must also be historic. The model must be derived from an analysis of a significant period of history, from which will be extracted the principal patterns of the development of a particular religious tradition. The derivation of the model must also be scientific in that a test case must be provided for its acceptance or rejection. The remainder of this essay will attempt to derive a model for the emplantation of religions based on the principles outlined above. In the final section of this chapter we shall derive a tentative model of emplantation from an analysis of the first five-hundred years of Buddhist history in China. This tentative model then will be tested against an extended analysis of the development of three religious traditions in Korea. These traditions are Buddhism during the Ancient Period (the fourth to the tenth centuries), Catholic Christianity (the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries), and Protestant Christianity (the nineteenth and twentieth centuries). We now turn to a survey of the history of Early Chinese Buddhism and the derivation of a tentative model of the emplantation of religion.

C. Early Chinese Buddhism

1. Buddhism in the Han Dynasty

The emergence of the Han Dynasty (206 B.C. to A.D. 221) at the end of the third century before the Christian Era meant that for the first time since the collapse of the Chou state China was unified under a single central government and could look forward to a long period of political, economic and cultural expansion. The Han Empire extended Chinese power into parts of Asia where the rule of the Celestial Empire had never been felt before. In addition to the acquisition of the northern parts of modern Korea and Vietnam, large parts of Central Asia were added to the empire. The expansion of Chinese influence into Central Asia was paralleled by the extension of Indian cultural and economic influence in those same regions under the Scythian Kushan Empire. These commercial and cultural ties and the conversion of the Kushan king Kanishka to Buddhism permitted the rapid penetration of the Indian faith into the desert regions north of the Kushan Empire. Missionaries who went to the great oasis cities of Khotan, Kucha, Turfan, and Tun-huang helped to convert the inner region of Asia to Buddhism by the first century Before Christ. The encounter between Indo-Buddhist civilisation and Chinese political power in Central Asia created the conditions by which Buddhism was able to seep back into the heartland of the empire itself.¹³

Although the exact date is unknown, Buddhism must have entered Han China sometime between the years 50 B.C. and A.D. 50, being brought in the train of the merchants, envoys, and refugees from the Central Asian states, and by returning officials of the Han Empire who had been employed in the states of Central Asia. The earliest known mention of a Buddhist community in China refers to the

monastery in P'êng-ch'êng in the Shan-tung peninsula, in the year A.D. 65. At about the same time, there was also a community in the Han capital, Lo-yang. Somewhat later there were known to be Buddhist communities in the southern part of the empire, in what is now Tonkin and Canton. Presumably these establishments had been created by sea-faring merchants probably by the end of the first century.¹⁴ Although this would seem to suggest several sources for the origin of Buddhism in China, we must assume that the greatest number of Buddhist contacts with the Han Empire would have been with Central Asia. This belief is founded on the fact that there were greater trading contacts between the Chinese heartland and Central Asia than with the sea-faring merchants from the southern regions, and on the fact that the earliest known Buddhist community is in northern and not southern China. The presence of the community in P'êng-ch'êng in A.D. 65 confirms our belief that Buddhism had become established in China no later than the middle of the first century. This is an opinion with which both Erik Zürcher and Kenneth Ch'en concur.¹⁵

The first mention of Buddhist missionaries however does not occur until the second century when we hear of the great missionary and translator, An Shih-kao, a Parthian of noble descent. He arrived in the Han capital sometime around A.D. 148. Between the years 140 and 210 a number of foreign monks came to join in the work of translating the Buddhist scriptures and propagating the faith. Only three of these men are known to have been Indians. The identity of the first Chinese monk is not known but one of the first would have been Yen Fou-t'iao, a convert of An Shih-kao, who assisted his master in the work of translation. The arrival in Lo-yang of

of the Indo-Scythian Lokakṣema in 168 further strengthened Buddhist efforts in the empire and is one indication that Buddhist contact with the Chinese state was becoming a permanent missionary enterprise. The work of these men indicates that at this stage the principal means for the diffusion of Buddhist concepts into Chinese society was through the medium of the scriptures. According to Zürcher, the fact that there were no proper translations of the sūtras was due to an inadequate understanding of the different languages by the translators. Neither the foreign Buddhists nor their Chinese assistants knew their counterpart's language well. As a result, these early translations of the sūtras contained many obscure and inappropriate references which only made a murky subject murkier. The presence of both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna texts only further beclouded the difficulties.¹⁶

The social structure of the Han Empire consisted of two levels, an upper layer of élite families who supported the imperial family and who in return received grants of land for their loyalty, and a lower layer, the peasantry, who worked the land. The upper stratum provided the labour force for the running of the empire. The form of Confucianism which developed under these conditions tended to emphasize the orderly, stable and hierarchical nature of society. Han Confucianism was "an all encompassing system of relationships, in which man, human institutions, events and natural phenomena all interacted in an orderly predictable way". Drawing on various sources, Han Confucianism rationalized man-in-nature, emphasized the evil aspects of human nature, sanctioned legal restraints on behaviour, and rationalized imperial power. So long as the social and political structures of the Han Empire remained intact, the

political and social philosophy which supported it found wide acceptance. However, with the beginning of the disintegration of the Han state, this form of philosophy began to be widely questioned.¹⁷ Arthur Wright says that "Clearly the final breakup of the Han system and the failure to find an acceptable basis for a new order provided conditions in which an alien religion might be expected to find a following."¹⁸ By the end of the second century, the development of Chinese civilisation had entered into a critical phase.

2. Post-Han Dynasty Buddhism

The sacking of the capital Lo-yang in A.D. 190 inflicted a shock on the Han state which began the rapid and total disintegration of the empire. By 220, the collapse of the state was completed with the creation of the three kingdoms of Wu, Wei, and Minor Han within the boundaries of the old empire. This political collapse only intensified various social trends, namely, the struggle amongst the élite class for control of the central government, the alienation and social dislocation of the peasantry, and the search by the intellectual class to come to terms with the social disintegration of the Han Empire and to do something about it. This latter trend is especially important for our discussion. The intelligentsia rejected Han Confucianism because it lacked a system of metaphysics which would provide a system of meaning in a disorderly world. By the second quarter of the third century, we may note the beginning of that form of Neo-Taoism known as Hsüan-hsüeh, or Dark Learning, which ran counter to the received orthodoxy of the Han Confucian School. The acceptance of Hsüan-hsüeh as an alternative to Confucianism paved the way for the acceptance of other non-orthodox

ideas, in particular Mahāyāna Buddhism. Certain parallels were drawn between Buddhist and Neo-Taoist thought. The Tao as the source and motive power of existence was compared to the Buddhist doctrine of karma, the idea that the present condition of a man is the result of his behaviour in a previous existence. This introduced into Chinese philosophy three concepts; the moral implication of behaviour (which had a parallel in traditional thinking), emptiness, and the immortality of the soul.¹⁹

Large scale translation projects continued throughout the latter part of the third century and helped to disseminate Buddhist thought during this critical period. These translation projects were still under the control of foreign monks among whom were K'ang Sêng-hui, Fa-hu, and Fa-ch'êng. The appeal of Buddhism did not rest solely on the pleasure of making comparisons between Indian and Chinese philosophical concepts. Chinese scholars who had come latterly to accept the Taoist ideal of retiring from the world found the Buddhist monastic community a suitable place in which to put into practice this belief. As centres of learning, the monasteries came to appeal to members of the lesser gentry and poorer classes as one means of social advancement. Buddhism's ability to appeal intellectually and socially to the needs of the gentry class leads Zürcher to believe that the Indian faith had attained a genuine penetration of that class sometime between the years 290 and 320. The penetration of the gentry class in turn prepared the way for what he terms 'The Buddhist Conquest of China'.

Gentry Buddhism, the reconciliation of Buddhism with the literati class of China, was especially characteristic of southern China. By the beginning of the fourth century, under the influence

of members of the gentry who had converted to Buddhism and joined the monastic life, three trends were working towards the acceptance of Buddhism on a wide scale within Chinese society. In the first place, cultivated members of the clergy were compared with the Confucian literati, and were seen to be the religious equivalent of that group. In the second place, for the first time, it became socially acceptable for the Chinese to become patrons and benefactors of the Buddhist saṃgha. Lastly, Buddhism became known widely enough, and had enough social acceptability so that Buddhist themes began to be used commonly in the creation of works of art.²⁰ Clearly, Buddhism had reached a critical period for its importance and influence in society.

3. Post-Penetration Buddhism in South China

The peace which had been established throughout China with the creation of a unified government under the Western Chin Dynasty was again shattered when the capital Lo-yang was sacked by barbarian tribes in the year 311. By 320, Chin, now calling itself Eastern Chin, had retreated south of the Yang-tze River, leaving the north to be fought over by a series of ephemeral states created by the various barbarian peoples. For another 250 years, Chinese history was to be a record of the rise and fall of various states in north and south China. Until the founding of the Sui Dynasty, China was not to know a unified government. The political dichotomy of this period is mirrored by a cultural dichotomy, a split between the upstart barbarian groups in the north, and the governments in the south which claimed to continue the traditions of Chinese civilisation.²¹

The next hundred years of Buddhist history in south China is divided by Zürcher into three phases, phase one from 310 to 346, phase two from 346 to 403, and phase three from 403 to 479. During the first phase, Zürcher points to the connection between the growth of Buddhism and the influence of the Wang family at the imperial court. Not only was this the most politically influential family at court, the fact that several of its members had taken Buddhist vows helped to spread Buddhist concepts amongst the literati class. It is believed that the Emperor Ming became the first ruler to practise Buddhism. Concurrent with this dissemination of Buddhist practice and belief was an increase in the level of sophistication in the work of translating the Buddhist scriptures. Perhaps for the first time, the texts and their variants were compared with one another before translation commenced.²²

The second phase is a period of increasing political fragmentation, one effect of which was the creation of new Buddhist centres away from the court, and in the home areas of the gentry. This trend was assisted by the arrival in the south of monks who had fled from the northern capital, Ch'ang-an, after it had been sacked in the year 416. Large numbers of monks living in areas remote from the centre of political activity provided conditions which were conducive for the development of an a-political, speculative philosophy. During this second phase the international character of Chinese Buddhism became apparent. The king of Ceylon (Shih-tzu Kuo) sent gifts to the Emperor Fu-ch'ien in recognition of the emperor's Buddhist piety. This same emperor sent a Buddhist missionary to the king of the Korean state of Ko-ku-ryō praising its spiritual power against other doctrines.²³

Following the coup d'etat against the Eastern Chin state, there were outcries against the perverse influence of Buddhism at the court which led to attempts to control and to select the clergy. This anti-clerical attack went along four lines:

- a. Buddhist activities as such are detrimental to the state
- b. Monasticism yields no concrete results, serves no useful purpose, and therefore ought not to be supported
- c. Monasticism is anti-social and consequently immoral
- d. Buddhism is a barbarian creed, unknown to the sages of Chinese antiquity.²⁴

The final point is well illustrated by the changing meaning of the Hua-hu Theory. The earliest use of this theory during the latter part of the Han Dynasty (c. 166) would indicate it to be nothing more than a curious blending of Buddhism and Taoism. By 300, it had become a polemic against the Indian religion. The gist of this theory is that the Taoist sage Lao-tze went to the Western Regions to convert the barbarians. Buddhism, the debased form of the Taoist sage's teaching, is as a result inferior to Chinese teaching. The initial reaction of the Buddhists was to turn this theory on its head by saying that it was the Buddha who had sent out his disciples (Lao-tze and Confucius!) to teach an inferior doctrine in the East. Answered in this way, the Buddhists made the sages of Chinese history into manifestations of the Buddha.²⁵

The Buddhist scholar Hui-yuan of this period, who had a greater interest in Confucianism than Taoism, developed a theory that the Bodhisattvas come into this world to inspire great men, whose work by its nature must be fitted to the cultural context in which they, the rulers, live. Although there may be initial divergences in practice

due to the particular situation, there is final convergence when the highest truth is attained. Hui-yuan working from his monastic retreat on Lu Shan acted as a missionary to the cultivated gentry. He followed the example of his teacher Tao-an, the founder of the cult of Māitrēya, when he in his turn founded a cult of Amitābha for the laity in A.D. 402.

By the beginning of the fifth century, Buddhism had become deeply entrenched in Chinese society. Emperors became devoted followers of the cult; other religious traditions felt that it was necessary to combat the spread of Buddhist ideas; the laity were given devotional cults to develop their piety.

From the collapse of the Eastern Chin state in 420 to the unification of China under a single central government under the Sui Dynasty in 589, there were three important periods of growth. Ch'en defines these as the Yüan-chia period (424 to 453), the period of Prince Ching-ling (484 to 495), and the era of the reign of the Emperor Wu of Liang (502 to 549). During the Yüan-chia period, there was a notable increase in the numbers of monastic establishments and in the numbers of members of the élite families who became Buddhist. This trend increased throughout the period when Prince Ching-ling was influencing young members of the nobility. Often, when he attended Buddhist feasts, he would give himself up to the monasteries. As he was a prince of the blood imperial, Ching-ling in this manner forced courtiers and ministers of state to ransom him. The money so offered was then applied to the further extension of Buddhism. Prince Ching-ling was also known to assist in the copying out of sūtras. The Emperor Wu, founder of the Liang Dynasty, was one of the noble youths who had come under Prince Ching-ling's

influence. Although nominally a Taoist, upon ascension to the throne he did all in his power to extend the Buddhist faith. He urged young men to become monks; he gave up the use of meat and wine; he took for himself the model of the Indian Buddhist monarch Asoka; he constructed great temples; he gave himself up for ransom; he allowed himself to be corrected by Buddhist monks. Later Confucian scholars credited these activities as being the principal cause for the decline of the state during his reign. Failing to harmonize his virtue with the need for punishment, his ideals with the nature of the actual situation, and the Buddhist way with the way of the just ruler, the people suffered. For a Confucian, nothing could have been a more stinging denunciation.²⁷

During the period between the Eastern Chin and Sui Dynasties, Ch'en draws our attention to the growth of various schools in the south. Three important schools were the Nirvāṇasūtra School, the Satyasiddha School, and the San-lun School. Interestingly enough, the latter school owed its growth to a Korean monk and scholar, Sūng-nang (Sêng-lang). Vast works of translation continued under the Indian monk Paramārtha.²⁸ It also seems probable that during the sixth century Buddhism really took hold of the peasantry. Just how this happened is not clear, nonetheless, Wright can say, that, "there is evidence of a sharp clash in the countryside - often cast as a contest of charismatic and magical powers - between the Buddhist clergy and the Taoist adepts".²⁹

It was through the use of magic, a promise of salvation, and some dramatic story telling that the Buddhist monks were able to gain converts amongst the peasantry. To sum up, it is apparent that before the unification of China under the Sui Dynasty, Buddhism had

attained in the south a position of significant, if not supreme, influence which fully justifies Zürcher's use of the term 'The Buddhist Conquest of China'.

4. Buddhism in North China after A.D. 300

Conquered northern China, the heartland of Chinese civilisation, presents us with a more complex cultural and political picture than does the south. Besides the animosity which separated the Chinese from their barbarian rulers, there were divisions amongst the barbarian tribes themselves, a situation not altogether different from conditions in Western Europe following the collapse of Roman imperial authority. Because of the differences in the social and political patterns, the Buddhist penetration of north China had to proceed along an entirely different path from the one used in south China.

The first great pioneer missionary was a Central Asian from Kucha, Fo-tu-t'eng. He gained fame neither as an expositor of Buddhist doctrine nor as a translator, but as a missionary evangelist whose main aim was the mass conversion of a people. Toward this end, he used magic to win over the barbarian rulers. By such methods he was able to convince these simple rulers of Buddhism's superior power to win battles, to bring rain, or to cure disease. It was, in sum, a better shamanism. The barbarian rulers must have had other reasons for their ready acceptance of Buddhism. Among them would have been

- a. the usefulness of Buddhism in counteracting Confucian influence at court, and
- b. its suitability as a state religion with a universal

ethic which could unite all men regardless of their ethnic background.

Thus the fate of Buddhism in the north, unlike the south, became linked with the requirements of the state, which created a Buddhist form of Caesaro-papism, to use Wright's term.³⁰

During the late fourth and the early fifth centuries, Buddhism flourished under the royal patronage of the Northern Wei Dynasty (386 to 534). A part of the brilliance of the Northern Wei in the annals of Buddhist history is due in no small measure to the translation work done by Kumārajīva, undoubtedly the greatest and most knowledgeable of all the translators of the Buddhist canon. Born in Kucha in 344 of mixed Indo-Kuchean ancestry, he became a Buddhist monk through the influence of the piety of his mother. By 379 he had attained such fame in Buddhist circles that the Emperor Fu-ch'ien called him to Ch'ang-an. On the way there, he was taken captive by a barbarian chieftain, who kept him in captivity for 17 years because of Kumārajīva's usefulness as a translator and interpreter. Upon his release, Kumārajīva continued his journey to Ch'ang-an, arriving there in the year 401. Kumārajīva organized a large team of translators who systematically went over the different Buddhist sūtras. In terms of the quality of the translations which Kumārajīva's team produced, and the sheer volume of work accomplished, he has not been surpassed by a later generation.³¹

Following the ascension of the Emperor Wu to the throne of Northern Wei in 424, Buddhism experienced a severe persecution due to the influence of the Taoists and Confucianists at the court. It was restored to favour in 454 upon the death of the emperor, and continued to grow. Much of the restoration of Buddhism to imperial

favour was due to the efforts of an influential monk, T'an-yao. The removal of the imperial capital back to the ancient capital city, Lo-yang, in 494 was followed by the erection of numerous temples and the creation of the great cave sculptures at Lung-men. The art which was created in this period influenced greatly the art of the three Korean states, and later the art of early Buddhist Japan.³²

By the end of the Northern Wei in 534, Buddhism in north China might be said to be characterized by the following aspects:

- a. The popularity of the cult of Māitrēya, the Buddha of the future,
- b. The dominance of Mahāyāna Buddhism, emphasizing compassion and charity,
- c. The role of Buddhism as the 'state religion' of Northern Wei,
- d. The mixture of Buddhist concepts with filial piety, as seen in Buddhist prayers for the welfare of the ancestors and departed relatives,
- e. The mass adherency of members of the non-élite classes, as seen in the syncretism of Buddhism and folk cults, and the conversion of groups en masse,
- f. The near universal influence of Buddhism on Chinese society, and its implied threat to the central government. This is indicated by the attempts of the central government to impose a single clerical hierarchy, and by the drastic restrictions on Buddhist organizations and activities.

The success of Buddhism at this point could be summed up in three ways. Buddhism by the end of the Northern Wei had great social and political influence, had become a religion popular amongst the masses,

and had attempted to accommodate some of its values to the prevailing values of Chinese society. On the eve of north-south unification, this Indian doctrine had established itself as a significant component of both northern and southern society. Buddhism, having passed through a period of domestication, as Wright terms it, stood as the pre-dominant religion of China, second to none.

5. The Patterns of the Development of Chinese Buddhism

A glance at Chart 1-1 will be sufficient to indicate that there were nearly 300 years of Buddhist contact with and presence in China before a significant penetration of the gentry was achieved. In fact, the growth of the new doctrine would seem to have been linked to a mixture of social and political factors. It was the collapse of the Han social and political order, and the discrediting of its system of philosophy, along with the rise of Dark Learning which provided the conditions in which Buddhism was enabled to make significant headway in Chinese culture. Following the year 300, and the subsequent collapse of a unified political order, we may discern two patterns of penetration and spread. In the south, the appeal was made to the literati class on the basis of the development of a speculative philosophy. Emphasis was also placed on accurate translation of the Buddhist scriptures. This method we might term the Slow Penetration Method. There is another pattern which is characteristic of the north, the emphasis on quick penetration and mass conversion. Using this method, rulers and chieftains were approached and won over by a combination of magic and pithy teachings. Rulers who accepted Buddhism and converted their people also had political reasons for their act. In the north, because the growth

P O L I T I C A L	PHASE	FLORESCENT EMPIRE	SOCIAL DISORDER	POLITICAL DISUNION	NORTH - SOUTH SPLIT	UNIFI- CATION
	ERA	BARBARIAN STATES				
E V E N T S	PHASE	HAN DYNASTY			SUNG CHI LIANG	
	EVENTS	100	200	300	400	500
R E L I G I O U S	EVENTS	150 FIRST COMMUNITIES HAN CONFUCIANISM	190 SACK OF LO-YANG MISSIONARIES TRANSLATORS	200 END OF HAN TRANSLATION CONTINUES DARK LEARNING	311 320 SACK OF LO-YANG SOUTH SPLIT CONTACT WITH IMPERIAL HOUSE 372 MISSIONARIES SENT GIFTS FROM KING OF CEYLON 395 ATTACKED BY TAOISTS AND CONFUCIANISTS TEXTUAL SOPHISTICATION	416 SACK OF CH'ANG-AN 484 PRINCE CHING-LING 502 EMPEROR WU DEVOTIONAL CULTS POPULAR BUDDHISM
	PHASE	CONTACT EMPLANTATION			FLORESCENCE AND CONTENTION SUPREMACY	
P H A S E	EVENTS			320 CONVERSION OF BARBARIAN RULERS (FO-TU-T'ENG)	402 424 454 KUMĀ - RAJIVA ARRIVES	574 REPRESSION
	PHASE	ACCEPTANCE & REJECTION SYNDROME				

The Growth of Buddhism in China

of Buddhism was more closely linked to favour of the ruler, the history of Buddhism there is composed of a cycle of repression and return to favour. This method of missionary endeavour I term the Rapid Conversion Method. One must add that this approach to missionary work would appear to have been the means by which the non-élite sections of southern society were converted to Buddhism.

The process of the emplanting and growth of Buddhism in China might be conceived of as a three stage process. Stage one is the Period of Contact, Emplantation and Initial Explication. In this stage, two important tasks had to be achieved. The first would be the resolution of conflict between differing systems of values, Confucian and Buddhist, and the second would be the translation of Indian language Buddhist texts into the Chinese language. Both of these tasks are part of the greater task of transforming the Indian cultural aspects of Buddhism into a form which was acceptable and intelligible to the Chinese.

The second stage is the Period of Penetration, to borrow Zürcher's term. Once this stage was achieved, Buddhism had attained a firm position in Chinese society. Zürcher indicates this period to have been of short duration in south China. We may think of it as the critical phase in the development of Chinese Buddhism.

The third phase is the Period of Initial Expansion. In this phase, we see the first important evidence of Buddhist influence on Chinese society. Buddhist art is created; emperors take Buddhist philosophy as a guide for the governance of their lives and the affairs of state; missionaries are sent out to other lands. It is also at this time, when Buddhism had become a significant factor in Chinese society, that we see the first concerted attempts to show

that the new religion was contrary to Chinese traditions and the best interests of the state. Thus in the north, we note several attempts to control or suppress Buddhism, and in the south, Taoist attempts to controvert it through such means as the Hua-hu Theory.

One further point should be made here with regard to the slow and rapid methods of missionary endeavour. Under the Slow Method, the first phase of explication was absolutely necessary if the second stage of acceptance was to be achieved. The Rapid Method, on the other hand, eliminates this stage entirely, placing emphasis as it does on immediate acceptance. However, it should be stated that this can only be true if the missionary and his audience share a common language, and, perhaps, common cultural presuppositions. Thus, Fo-tu-t'eng could apply this technique because the barbarian rulers already belonged to the Chinese cultural sphere, for which long preparation for Buddhist missionary work had already taken place. An Indian missionary who came directly from India with no prior knowledge of Chinese and who possessed untranslated Indian scriptures could not be expected to utilize this technique. The Rapid Method is only applicable within a single cultural sphere, not between two spheres.

The above discussion would indicate that at a minimum there are five types of inter-related factors which had to be dealt with by Buddhist missionaries before their new teaching could exercise significant influence on Chinese society. These are:

a. The contradictions between the new doctrine and the basic values of the society. Before a position of significant influence could be attained, Buddhism had to resolve the contradictions between monasticism and filial piety.

b. The achievement of acceptance or toleration of the new doctrine by the ruling élite. Certainly, the continued presence of Buddhism throughout the late Han Dynasty must be attributed to the tolerance of this doctrine by the élite sector of society.

c. Linguistic or conceptual barriers which might impede the growth of the new doctrine. Before genuine missionary work could begin, Buddhists had to translate their scriptures into Chinese, and to find suitable terms to convey Indian concepts in Chinese thought patterns.

d. Resolution of conflict between the new doctrine and other religions or philosophies present in the culture.

Although Neo-Taoism was a factor in the acceptance of Buddhism during the initial phase of missionary endeavour, at a later stage Buddhism had to contend with Taoist hostility.

e. Political conditions predisposing the acceptance of the new doctrine throughout the culture.

Clearly, it was the breakdown of the Han order which provided Buddhism with a unique situation for rapid growth. In northern China, at a later date, the political uses to which Buddhism might be put predisposed barbarian rulers to accept the new doctrine.

D. A Tentative Model of the Process of the Growth of Missionary Religions

From an examination of the facts of the history of the rise of Buddhism, we have been able to discern a pattern of development which lends itself to reduction into a three stage process. Analysis would also indicate that there were at least five types of factors which might affect the emplantation, acceptance, and expansion of

Buddhism. We submit that the process outlined above might be used as a model for the growth of any missionary religion in any society. The three phase model of emplantation, acceptance, expansion would be the general model, containing within it two further patterns, the Slow Penetration and Rapid Conversion Methods. The latter, it should be noted, applies only to contacts within a single cultural sphere. We would further submit that the five factors, 1) resolution of conflict of values, 2) acceptance or tolerance by élite groups, 3) resolution of linguistic or conceptual problems, 4) successful confrontation with other religious systems present in the culture, and 5) political conditions predisposing the acceptance of the new doctrine, are likewise general factors in the growth of any missionary religion in any society.

The model described here does not represent the whole course of the development of a missionary religion but only the initial phase of its growth within a new cultural setting. It offers no prediction as to what might happen after a missionary religion becomes an integral component of the culture in which it has been emplanted.

That is another historical problem entirely. By the time that such a stage has been reached, the fate of the former missionary religion has become linked with the development of the culture in which it has been emplanted.

Chart 1-2 illustrates the two sets of patterns of the emplantation of missionary religions, the general pattern of growth, and the specific patterns. It will be noted that we have indicated that the course of development termed the Slow Penetration Method is one of continuous, if unspectacular, growth, until a position of unquestioned influence is attained. The Rapid Conversion model,

Schematic Diagram of The Development of Missionary Religions

The General Pattern	Phase 1 CONTACT & EXPLICATION		Phase 2 PENETRA- TION & ACCEP- TANCE	Phase 3 EXPANSION	
	Subphase A CONTACT	Subphase B EMPLANTATION		Subphase A GROWTH & CONTENTION	Subphase B SUPREMACY
	Phase 1		Phase 2	Phase 3	
			Phase 2	Phase 3	

The Specific
Patterns

1 The Slow
Penetration
Pattern

2 The Rapid
Conversion
Pattern

being more closely tied to political factors, shows not only an elimination of Phase One, but also a cyclical pattern of acceptance and rejection, a cyclical movement between Phases Two and Three, an indication that this pattern is inherently less stable than the Slow Penetration Pattern.

The course of the development of a missionary religion might be summed up as follows. A new religion makes initial contact with the receptor culture, establishing a beach-head for further work. Once established, it proceeds to the task of more securely emplanting itself in the culture by explicating its doctrines, translating, if necessary, its texts into the language of the society, and resolving contradictions between itself and the core values of the society. Achievement of a state of penetration within the culture then becomes the foundation for the propagation of its teachings at all levels of the society. In this third phase, the missionary movement while continuing to work at some of the tasks from the first phase of its emplantation, will now encounter significant resistance to its teachings from the indigenous religious traditions of the society. The attack might be along the lines of 'these new ideas were unknown to our ancestors', as in China. If the missionary movement is able to contend with these attacks successfully, and to grow in influence, we may expect that it will achieve a position of primacy within the society. If this latter subphase is attained, the missionary movement will have ceased to be such at all, as it will have become an indigenous cultural element of the society.

As in any science, concepts put forward to explain bodies of facts must be put to a test for validation. In the chapters which follow, we shall examine the growth of Buddhism, and Catholic and

Protestant Christianity in Korea. Having established the patterns of the emplantation of these religions, we shall then compare them with the model outlined above to test it for general validity.

UNIT II

THE BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

CHAPTER 2 THE ETHNIC ORIGINS AND EARLY HISTORY OF
THE KOREAN PEOPLE

A. The Palaeolithic Era in Korea

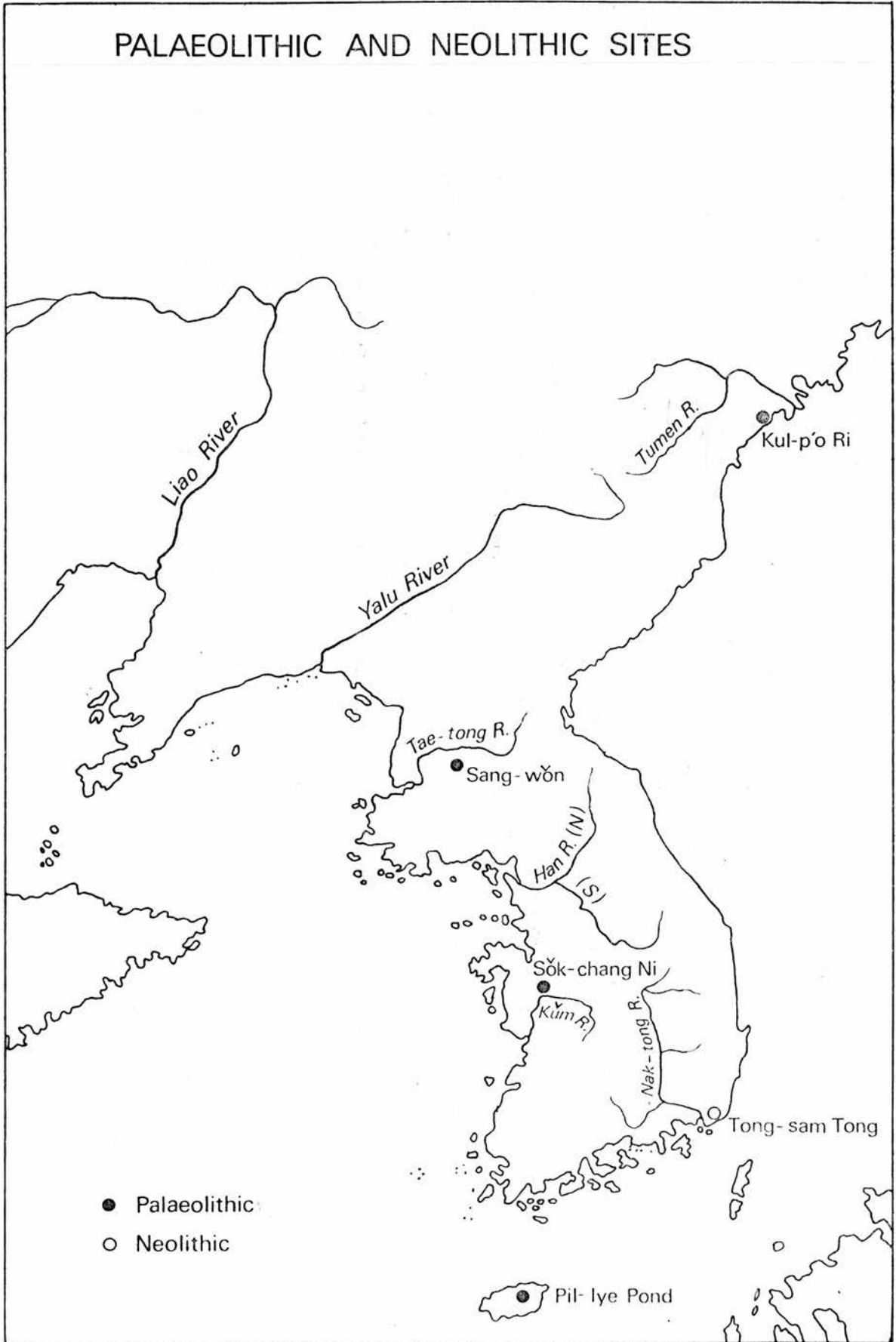
Before we may turn to a consideration of the emplantation of Buddhism and Christianity in Korea, we must first examine the religion and culture of the Korean people during the pre-Buddhist period. In this chapter, we shall consider the following topics:

1. The place and date of the origin of the Korean race,
2. The social and cultural characteristics of the people immediately prior to the introduction of Buddhism, and
3. The history of the Korean people prior to the advent of Sino-Buddhist culture in the peninsula.

To answer these questions, we shall consider in turn the Palaeolithic Period, the Neolithic Period, the Bronze Age, the Period of Tribal States and the Period of the Three Kingdoms.

The most exciting Korean archaeological discoveries of the past fifteen years are the excavations which have proved conclusively the existence of a Palaeolithic Period in the peninsula. There are four principal sites to which we will draw the reader's attention. These are, in order of their date of excavation, the site at Kul-p'o Ri, the County of Ung-gi, in North Ham-kyōng Province, North Korea, which was first excavated in 1963, the site at the village of Sōk-chang Ni, in South Ch'ung-ch'ōng Province, in South Korea, first excavated in 1964, the cave site in the County of Sang-wōn, in South P'yōng-an Province, in North Korea, first excavated in 1966, and lastly, the cave site at Pil-lye Pond, Ō-ūm Ri, the County of Puk Che-chu in the island Province of Che-chu, first excavated in 1973.¹

PALAEOLITHIC AND NEOLITHIC SITES



From the cave site in Sang-wŏn County, several intriguing remains have been excavated, among which are a variety of stone tools, and the bones of a brown bear and large horned ox, which presumably had been hunted by the inhabitants of the cave site. Material remains retrieved from the fourth layer of this site have been dated to between four hundred and five hundred thousand years B.P. (Before Present) which corresponds to the dates for the site at Chou-k'ou-tien in China from which Peking Man was unearthed. The Pil-lye Pond site is no less exciting. The first level of this site produced animal fossils and carbons, presumably from a hearth site, which have been assigned a date of between thirty to forty thousand years B.P., whilst the second level artefacts have been given a date of between seventy to eighty thousand years B.P. The sixth level of the site at Sŏk-chang Ni has produced material which has been dated to around thirty thousand years B.P. On the basis of a north Korean report of the excavations at Kul-p'o Ri, Sohn Pow-key (Son Po-ki) dates the site to twenty thousand years B.P., and demonstrates the similarity of the tool typology there to artefacts which have been excavated in the Soviet Maritime Province.² The similarity between Palaeolithic artefacts excavated in Korea and in north China has been observed by Chang Kwang-chih, who draws our attention to three points:

'First of all, the occurrence of pebble tools (choppers and chopping tools), flakes, and blades places Korea within the same technological sphere as Paleolithic China, and the rest of Paleolithic East Asia. Secondly, the new discoveries of Paleolithic cultures in Korea have bridged a gap in continent-Japan inter-relationships during the Pleistocene period, and the similarities and differences between the Japanese and the Northern Chinese Paleolithic cultures can now begin to be

discussed with confidence. Finally, Paleolithic cultures have long been known from areas all around Manchuria - the Maritime Province, Trans-Baikal, Altai, and North China. The discoveries of Paleolithic cultures in Korea just completed the encirclement'.³

These excavations and their analysis demonstrate the following points: 1) there is conclusive evidence for the existence of a Palaeolithic Period in Korea, 2) the Korean Palaeolithic Age dates to a very ancient period, comparable to some of the most ancient discoveries in China, 3) the Palaeolithic Period in Korea conforms to a particular pattern of culture and life which was already known from other areas of East Asia, 4) society of this period consisted of small bands of hunters and gatherers which most probably had not lived in permanent settlements. Although archaeology can tell us nothing about the social customs, practices and beliefs of the people who lived in that distant age, the artefacts they left behind would imply that their life patterns conformed with what is known about the livelihood of contemporary bands of hunters and gatherers. Lastly, while Korean archaeological discoveries from this period have consisted entirely of material artefacts, their great antiquity gives rise to the hope that fossils of Homo neanderthalensis and Homo erectus may also be uncovered to take their place alongside the famous discoveries in China.

B. The Neolithic Period in Korea

There is an enormous unfilled gap in time between the sites discussed above, which are mostly Lower Palaeolithic in type, and the Neolithic Age, which Korean archaeologists date to the first occurrence of the use of pottery. Chōng Yong-guk even says that pottery is

the diagnostic artefact for the establishment of the existence of a Neolithic Period, a point with which Kim Wŏn-Yong of Seoul National University would seem to agree.⁴ Contrary to received opinion, Kim states that the Korean Neolithic may be dated concurrently with the first occurrence of unmarked pottery, referred to by Chŏng as Primitive Unmarked Pottery. The diagnostic site for this pottery is the lowest level of the Tong-sam Tong site near Pu-san, which has been dated to between three and four thousand years, B.C. The site at Kul-p'o Ri in north Korea is also said to have produced artefacts of a similar nature. It is Kim's contention that the groups which used this type of pottery and its associated artefacts migrated into the Korean peninsula from eastern Siberia via the Amur River and Mongolia. In particular, he points to the similarities of material excavated from the Tong-sam Tong site and the artefacts from a site in Ang-ang-hsi in Manchuria. The evidence suggests that these people were a Palaeo-Asiatic group engaged in primitive fishing and gathering. From some of the shell heaps which have been unearthed, it is conjectured that they lived in pit houses along the river banks and the shore of the sea. The excavation of a peculiar horn-shaped vessel suggests to Kim that it may have been used in the performance of a religious ceremony.⁵

The Middle Neolithic Period begins with the occurrence of comb-marked pottery called Chŭl-mun Pottery, which Kim feels represents the migration of yet another Palaeo-Asiatic group into the Korean peninsula. The Middle Neolithic has been dated to between 2500 and 1500 B.C. The subsistence economy and patterns of house construction would appear to be very similar to the preceding era. Again we find a fishing and shell fish collecting subsistence system

associated with home sites built along the coast or on the banks of rivers. One difference between the Early Neolithic Period and this era would be that Middle Neolithic Period habitation sites appear to be more sedentary than before. From this period onwards, we may speak of genuine villages rather than transient camp sites. Game hunting seems to have formed a part of the economy at this date as there are indications of the pursuit of wild deer and boar. The dog would also appear to have become domesticated during the Middle Neolithic. Lastly, Kim speculates on the type of contacts which might have existed during this period between Korea and the Japanese island of Kyūshū.⁶

The Upper Neolithic Era has been dated as beginning around 1500 B.C. and merging into the Bronze Age around 1000 B.C. in Manchuria and north Korea. It lasted much longer, however, in southern Korea, perhaps not ending until some time after 600 B.C. Kim mentions the development of more complex types of comb-patterned pottery as diagnostic artefacts of this period, while Ch'ong emphasizes the occurrence of two new types of pottery of clearly non-Siberian origin. These are the classic Mu-mun or Unmarked Pottery, and coloured pottery, which are, respectively, of Manchurian and Chinese derivation. The occurrences of these new forms of pottery are two important indications of the increasing migration of Manchu-Tungus ethnic groups into the Korean peninsula. These migrations might have begun as early as 2000 B.C.; however, cultural and racial dominance over the original Palaeo-Asiatic population did not take place much before 600 B.C. The economy of the Upper Neolithic Period was characterized by fishing and shell fish collection as before, but major changes in the economy and dietary habits are

indicated by the increase in game hunting, the adoption of true agriculture, and stock breeding. The marked increase in population and the abrupt change in diet from fish to animal and grain foods would appear to be related facts. Two important archaeological remains from this period are graves made of heaped earth and house sites incorporating an on-tol or radiantly heated floor. This discovery in late Neolithic home sites is particularly important. There is nothing which is more characteristic of modern Korean homes than the on-tol floor. Its discovery in such an early site implies that its development is concurrent with the development of the Korean race.⁷

Archaeological evidence from the latter part of the Neolithic Period would indicate that Korea, a corner of the great Northeast Asian land mass, was gradually being drawn into closer contacts with neighbouring ethnic groups. The beginning of considerable racial and cultural intermixture is indicated. The adoption of improved agricultural techniques and the development of denser settlement patterns would appear to be the principal fruits of this increased contact.

C. The Bronze Age

Ch'ong states that although the Bronze Age in north Korea began sometime in the tenth century B.C., there is no evidence for a Bronze Age in south Korea prior to the sixth century B.C. The Bronze Age in Korea spans the tenth through the third centuries B.C., and can be divided into four phases. These are: 1) an initial phase of bronze manufacture showing distinct Tungusic influence, lasting from approximately 1000 B.C. to 600 B.C., 2) a phase of indigenous bronze manufacture, lasting for two hundred years from 700 B.C. to 500 B.C.,

3) a phase of Scythian influence lasting from 500 B.C. to 300 B.C., and finally, 4) a phase of Chinese influence lasting from 400 B.C. to 200 B.C.⁸

Jung-bae Kim (Kim Chōng-bae) of Seoul National University states that the early Bronze Age of Korea was greatly influenced by the Bronze Age culture complex of Karasuk and Tagar in Siberia. This culture complex, he argues, was brought into Korea by a Tungusic group known as the Ye-maek, which he feels spread from the Maritime Province of Soviet East Asia to the island of Kyūshū in Japan. Although nomadic in Manchuria, when they entered Korea, the Ye-maek settled down into agricultural communities.⁹

Characteristic artefacts of the first two phases of the Bronze Age are bronze swords, for the third phase, a variety of objects showing the characteristic Scythian animal style motifs, and for the fourth phase, bronze agricultural implements. From the period of Scythian influence come several objects which will be of particular importance in a later discussion. These are belt buckles in the shape of a tiger and a horse, and a curious arc-shaped object, capped at either end by a bird. This latter object is called a sot-tae kan-tu.¹⁰

An important artefact from the late Bronze Age is the kok-ok (magatama in Japanese). These cashew-shaped pieces of jade have been found in the remote northeastern corner of Korea near the Tumen River, and date to the second or third century B.C. The semi-lunar knife is another characteristic artefact throughout the Bronze Age. The use of the on-toi floor becomes widespread during this period, and monumental construction occurs for the first time. Two types of dolmen, one typical of the north and the other of the south, stone

slab graves, stone pile graves, and menhirs are all widely distributed. In certain places there are as many as fifty clustered dolmens, lending a certain barbaric grandeur to the scenery. Large shell middens continue to be found.¹¹

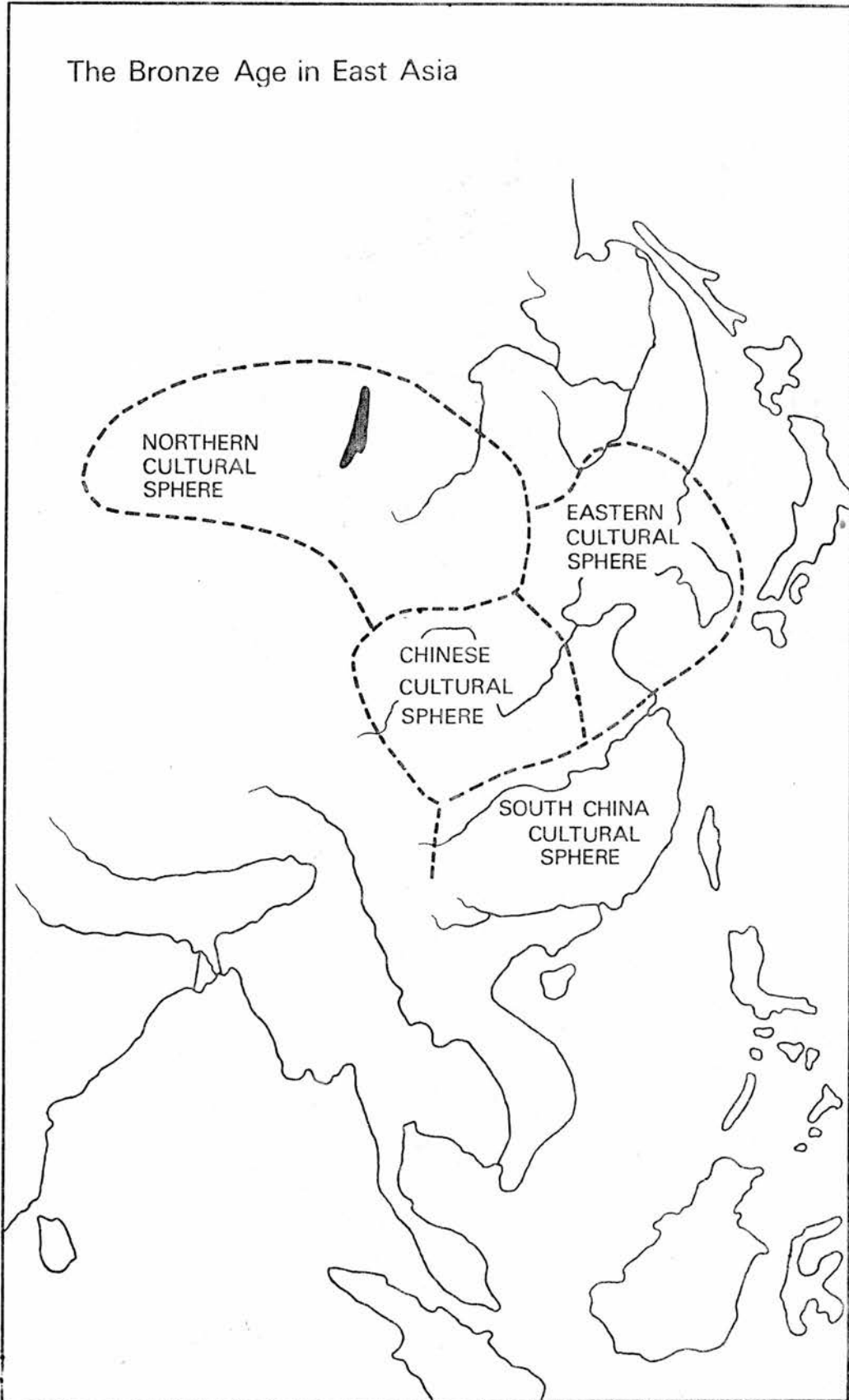
Ch'ong concludes his discussion of the Bronze Age by pointing to several differences between that period and the Neolithic Era.

Among these are:

1. the change from a technology of stone to a technology of metals,
2. the change from a society based on bands or villages to one based on tribal groupings,
3. the change from the primacy of blood ties, to the primacy of territorial bonds, and lastly,
- 4) the change from an egalitarian society to a stratified society.

He concludes with a map showing the Korean peninsula, large sections of Manchuria, the Liao-tung Peninsula, and the Shan-tung Province in China as constituting a single Eastern Cultural Sphere. To the north of this cultural sphere, extending into Siberia and Mongolia, lies the Northern Cultural Sphere, and to the south, centred in the Huang Ho Valley is the Chinese Cultural Sphere.¹² The Bronze Age in East Asia is not a homogenous sphere of culture, but is characterized by several regional cultural spheres. Although geographically close to China, Korea was not yet a constituent member of the Chinese sphere of cultural influence, but throughout the Bronze Age was a participant in another sphere of regional culture.

The Bronze Age in East Asia



D. The Period of Tribal States

1. The advent of the Iron Age in Korea coincides with the creation of the first of the early Korean states or, more properly, tribal confederations. As the Period of Tribal States was one of much social and cultural turbulence, our discussion in this section must be somewhat repetitive. From the fourth century B.C onwards, there existed in northern Korea a state known as Cho-sŏn or Old Cho-sŏn which sprang into existence probably as a result of the chaotic conditions which existed in China during the latter half of the Chou Dynasty. Two snatches of legendary history are of interest here. The origin myth of the state of Old Cho-sŏn states that the nation was founded by an official of the Shang Dynasty, known to the Koreans as Ki-cha, who had fled to the peninsula upon the collapse of the Chinese state. Although the historicity of this story can not be verified, the legend of Wi-man does seem to have a more firm historical basis. Wi-man was a Korean in the service of Lu Kuan, a general who had helped Han Kao-tsu establish the Han Dynasty. When a purge threatened, both Lu and Wi-man fled China. Wi-man returned to Korea, and offered to put himself and his followers at the service of King Chun of Old Cho-sŏn, who gave Wi-man the responsibility of defending the sensitive northwestern frontier. Sometime between 194 B.C. and 180 B.C. he usurped the throne, causing King Chun to flee south of the Han River. The state established by Wi-man, also called Cho-sŏn, was recognized immediately by the Emperor of Han, and lasted until 108 B.C., when it was finally destroyed by the armies of Han.¹³

Emperor Wu-ti after the collapse of Cho-sŏn established four commanderies. These commanderies not only became a bulwark in the

sensitive northeastern area of the empire against the incursions of the Hsiung-nu tribes, but also provided considerable cultural stimulus to southern Korea and western Japan. Of these four commanderies, Nang-nang (Lo-lang in Chinese), which occupied the centre of the former state of Cho-sŏn, became the economic and cultural centre of Chinese Korea. Throughout the history of direct Chinese rule in Korea, various readjustments had to be made in the system of administration. In particular, several prefectures composing the commanderies were disestablished, and the centres of the commanderies were shifted. Commanderies were absorbed into one another. All of this juggling was necessitated by the continued incursions of the Korean tribal states beyond the Chinese 'pale'. These adjustments were made in 82 B.C., 75 B.C., A.D. 30, and finally in A.D. 200, when the Viceroy Kang-suen Tu achieved a large degree of autonomy in the chaotic last days of the Han Empire. In A.D. 313 direct Chinese rule of the Korean peninsula was brought to an end forever with the conquest of northern Korea by the state of Ko-ku-ryŏ.¹⁴

Among the cultural relics of this period, one may note the following: earthen-walled fortresses, grave chambers made of wood or vaulted glazed brick, bronze mirrors, and a wide variety of military, agricultural and horse riding equipment. A famous item often shown to classes of art history is an elaborately decorated wicker basket with human figures inlaid along the side. Another relic from this period is a pi-sŏk or stele erected to the mountain god in A.D. 85. This is the first stele known to have been erected on the peninsula, and is inscribed with a prayer for a bountiful year.¹⁵

2. Beyond the area of direct Chinese rule, the Korean peninsula and its neighbouring areas were divided amongst a number of tribal states which continued to exist until the period of the Three Kingdoms. We shall consider each of these tribal states in turn.

The oldest Korean state, aside from Old Cho-sŏn, was Pu-yŏ, founded according to legend by Hae-mo-su at the very end of the pre-Christian era. It consisted of five major divisions, 2000 villages, and perhaps 80,000 households, and comprised an enormous area in Manchuria, north and west of the Tumen River, and south of the Sungari River. The last remnants of this state were absorbed into the polity of the more southerly state of Ko-ku-ryŏ during the reign of King Mun-cha in A.D. 494.¹⁶

The authority of the King of Pu-yŏ was rather weak, the central power being divided amongst four officials immediately below him called che-ka. These men, who were apparently clan heads, were known by names derived from animals, i.e. ma-ka for horse, u-ka for cow, chŏ-ka for pig or boar, and ku-ka for dog. Beneath these men were a variety of local officials called sa-cha and tae-sa. The land of Pu-yŏ was divided into four regions, which when added to the area directly under the king's authority, made five major administrative regions. Generally, society could be said to be divided into two classes, those who ruled, and those who were ruled. The ordinary citizenry were called the ha-ho. There was also a class of slaves used as agricultural workers known as the nong-no.¹⁷

Little is known of the religious life of Pu-yŏ. There is a record of a festival held in the "twelfth month" after the harvest called Yŏng-ko, which shows clearly the agricultural basis of the society, although connections also may be drawn between this ceremony

and certain ceremonies of hunting societies. As the word ko in the title of the ceremony means drum, the use of this instrument during the ceremony is indicated. Among the social customs recorded for the Pu-yǎo aristocracy are the wearing of white clothing and leather shoes. Burial of living persons to accompany the spirit of a deceased member of the élite is said to have been practised. Divination was practised and polygamy was said to have been permitted.¹⁸

Justice during this period was in a rudimentary state of development. A murderer was punished by death and his family were created slaves. A thief had to repay what he had stolen twelve times over. An adulterer or a shrewish wife were both punished with death. Jails were said to have existed in this period.¹⁹

3. The state of Ko-ku-ryǎo, originally situated northeast of the Liao-tung Peninsula and south of Pu-yǎo, was founded, according to an ancient legend, by Ko Chu-mong around 37 B.C. During the reign of the sixth king, T'ae-cho (traditional reign dates, A.D. 53 to 145), Ko-ku-ryǎo began its expansion in all directions. The Ok-chǎo in northeast Korea came under Ko-ku-ryǎo's domination. Over the centuries, Ko-ku-ryǎo took good advantage of the decline of the central power in China. Although like Pu-yǎo she sustained blows from the Hsiung-nu, she remained strong. The single factor which changed the geo-political situation in northeast Asia was the seizure by Ko-ku-ryǎo in A.D. 313 of the Chinese commanderies in northern Korea, the area of the former state of Cho-sǎn. This victory was followed up by the absorption of Pu-yǎo in A.D. 346.

At the beginning of the Three Kingdoms Period, Ko-ku-ryō had emerged as the most formidable of the early states.²⁰

Ko-ku-ryō during the Period of Tribal States was a grouping of five tribes which elected one of the tribal leaders to the kingship which only later became hereditary in one of the clans. Immediately beneath the king was a figure like a prime minister called a p'ae-cha. The head of the clan from which the previous king came and the head of the queen's clan were given an honorific title, ko-ch'u-ka. As in Pu-yō, there was a two-tiered society of rulers and ruled. The upper class, classed tae-ka, or sang-ho, had special customs which distinguished them from the lower class, the ha-ho. This latter class was principally involved in agriculture. Beneath this class, a slave class existed.²¹

The peoples of Ko-ku-ryō worshipped principally two spirits, Pu-yō Shin the mother of Chu-mong, and a spirit referred to as Ko-tūng Shin, the Great Spirit. There was also a harvest festival held during the tenth month called Tong-maeng. Ko-ku-ryō had the custom of adopting the husband of a woman who had no brothers into her clan. A burial custom known as hu-chang, or substitution burial was practised. This practice involved the burial of precious objects or cattle and horses in place of a living person with the dead. The practice of hu-chang is said to be an indication of the diffusion of Confucian thought into early Ko-ku-ryō. The legal system of Ko-ku-ryō was similar to Pu-yō's. A felon was brought before a council of elders to receive judgment.²²

4. The third of the tribal states which we shall examine is the 'state' of Ok-chǒ. It came into existence in the area of the modern Province of Ham-kyǒng, in northeastern Korea, after the reorganization of the Chinese commanderies in A.D. 30 and was said to have consisted of a thousand villages and five thousand households. Ok-chǒ was absorbed by Ko-ku-ryǒ in A.D. 56. There was no king; each village possessed autonomous government under a council of village headmen called sam-no who administered each village's affairs. The term sam-no means the Three Elders. The Ok-chǒ had the custom of burying the bones of the deceased in a common family burial ground, a practice called kol-chang je.²³

5. About the fourth group, the Tong-nye, very little is known. They were the southern neighbours of the Ok-chǒ, having settled in the southern part of Ham-kyǒng Province and the northern part of Kang-wǒn Province. Like Ok-chǒ, Tong-nye was absorbed by Ko-ku-ryǒ. It is now believed that these two tribal groupings may in fact have been breakaway branches of the Ko-ku-ryǒ tribal federation.²⁴

As with the Ok-chǒ, there was no king. However, there does seem to be some indication of social stratification, for we find such titles as hu and ǔp-kun, which may be interpreted as marquis and lord of the village, respectively. We also find the term sam-no used here to designate the village headmen. The legal system of Tong-nye was similar to that of Ko-ku-ryǒ. With regard to marriage customs, they are known to have practised clan exogamy. In the case where one village sustained an injury inflicted upon it by another, compensation was given in the form of slaves or livestock. During the tenth month of the lunar year, the Tong-nye celebrated a ceremony

called Mu-ch'ŏn, or literally, dancing before Heaven. This festival of thanksgiving was performed on a high mountain and addressed to Heaven. It was accompanied by dancing and singing, and is believed to have been similar to the Yŏng-ko ceremony of the Pu-yŏ and the Tong-maeng ceremony of the Ko-ku-ryŏ. Astrological divination was practised, and there also appeared to be a cult of the tiger. This latter fact has led some to suppose that the tiger was a totemic animal for this people.²⁵

6. In southern Korea at this time, the tribal groupings were known collectively as Chin. The most important of these tribal states, located near the modern city of Chik-san, was called Mok-chi Kuk, or Wŏl-chi Kuk. The high chief of Mok-chi Kuk must have exercised some degree of authority over a rather wider area than most chiefs as he is referred to as the King of Chin, and consequently is considered to be the first of the paramount chiefs of a tribal confederation in the south. As Iron Age civilisation spread into the southern part of the Korean peninsula, other tribal groupings grew up. These were known as Ma-Han, Chin-Han, and Pyŏn-Han, or collectively as the Sam-Han tribes.²⁶

Ma-Han was supposed to have included the modern provinces of Chŏl-la, Ch'ung-ch'ŏng and Kyŏng-gi. Of the fifty-four tribal states said to compose this area, Mok-chi Kuk and Paek-che Kuk near the modern city of Kwang-ju in Kyŏng-gi Province were the most important. This latter state developed into the Kingdom of Paek-Che. Chin-Han was said to comprise the area of modern Kyŏng-sang Province east of the Nak-tong River. Of the twelve tribal states composing Chin-Han, Sa-ro Kuk on the site of modern Kyŏng-ju was the

most important. The city state of Tal-ku-pŏl on the site of modern Tae-ku was another important centre. The Chin-Han area later became one of the three kingdoms, the state of Shil-la. The Pyŏn-Han group composed a tribal federation lying to the west of the Nak-tong River, and was divided into twelve tribal states. Later this area became known as the Ka-ya Federation. Recently, Yi Pyŏng-do, dean of Korean historians, has suggested that Ma-Han composed only the provinces of Chŏl-la and Ch'ung-ch'ŏng, that Chin-Han was centred on the Han River, and that the Pyŏn-Han encompassed all of the Province of Kyŏng-sang, east and west of the Nak-tong River.²⁷

The princes of these mini-states were known by a variety of names. These were shin-chi, kyŏn-chi, hŏm-chŭk, pŏn-ye, sar-hae, and ŭp-ch'a. Yu Hong-nyŏl states that these were ranked titles, shin-chi being the highest and ŭp-ch'a the lowest order. It has been conjectured that the princes were originally the men who controlled the supply of water from the reservoirs.²⁸

According to Korean scholars, role specialization first occurred during this period. Political and religious authority tended to be vested in two different figures. The high priest was known as the ch'ŏn-kun or Prince of Heaven, whose political authority extended only over a small area called a so-to. The chief ceremonies were connected with the agricultural cycle, being celebrated during the fifth and tenth months. These were referred to as su-rit nal and sang-dal respectively. Yu Hong-nyŏl refers to the so-to as the place for the performance of the ceremonies addressed to Heaven. Presumably he means that the ceremonies on su-rit nal and sang-dal were addressed to the Lord of Heaven, and that these took place at the so-to. He suggests two possible origins for the word

so-to. One explanation is that it is a rendering of the word sot-tae (or im-mok), a large tree erected in front of an altar. Another explanation is that it is a rendering of the word sot-t'ŏ, or high ground. As the so-to was considered to be sacred ground, criminals fleeing from justice could claim asylum within its grounds once they reached its boundaries.²⁹

As in the north, the southern tribal groups at one time practised live sacrificial burial and, later, hu-chang or substitution burial. Amongst the Ma-Han, the deceased was buried in a coffin and accompanied by both horses and cattle. The Chin-Han laid feathers over the burial and offered up prayers that the spirit of the deceased might ascend to Heaven. Among customs mentioned for the Pyŏn-Han are the wearing of peaked hats and merrymaking by dancing and singing, the latter still a common feature of Korean life. The Pyŏn-Han also used a four stringed instrument called the pi-p'a.³⁰

Although the basis of the economy in north and south Korea at this time was agriculture, there were special products associated with the different tribal groups. The Pu-yŏ were noted for excellent horses, red jade and other precious stones, and animal pelts. Ko-ku-ryŏ was noted for a type of bow called the maek-kung. Ok-chŏ was noted for its sable pelts and a unique type of linen-like cloth called maek-p'o. Tong-nye was famous for a special bow called the tan-kung, small horses, and the pelts of the seal or sea leopard. Yu says that the horses, called kwa-ha ma, or Beneath the Fruit Tree Horses, received their name from the fact that they were so short that a rider could easily pass beneath a fruit tree. The Sam-Han tribes, in addition to agriculture, practised sericulture, and exported iron.³¹

During the Period of Tribal States, we have observed the growth of more complex political entities on the Korean peninsula, and in its neighbouring areas. Although the culture of this period is clearly of an Iron Age type, there would appear to have been minimal Chinese influence in the Korean peninsula aside from the area of the Chinese commanderies. The custom of hu-chang among the Ko-ku-ryō must have been a rather late development. Thus, the culture of these societies was of a highly developed Northeast Asian type which had been modified by Chinese culture but not dominated by it. The religion of this period appeared to emphasize a belief in the God of Heaven, the worship of whom was conducted by a leader known as the Prince of Heaven. The principal ceremony of the year was conducted during the tenth lunar month and was related to the agricultural cycle. We will come back to these points in a later chapter. Now we must turn to a survey of the events from the establishment of genuine kingdoms to the emergence of a single unified government over most of the peninsula.

E. An Overview of the Three Kingdoms

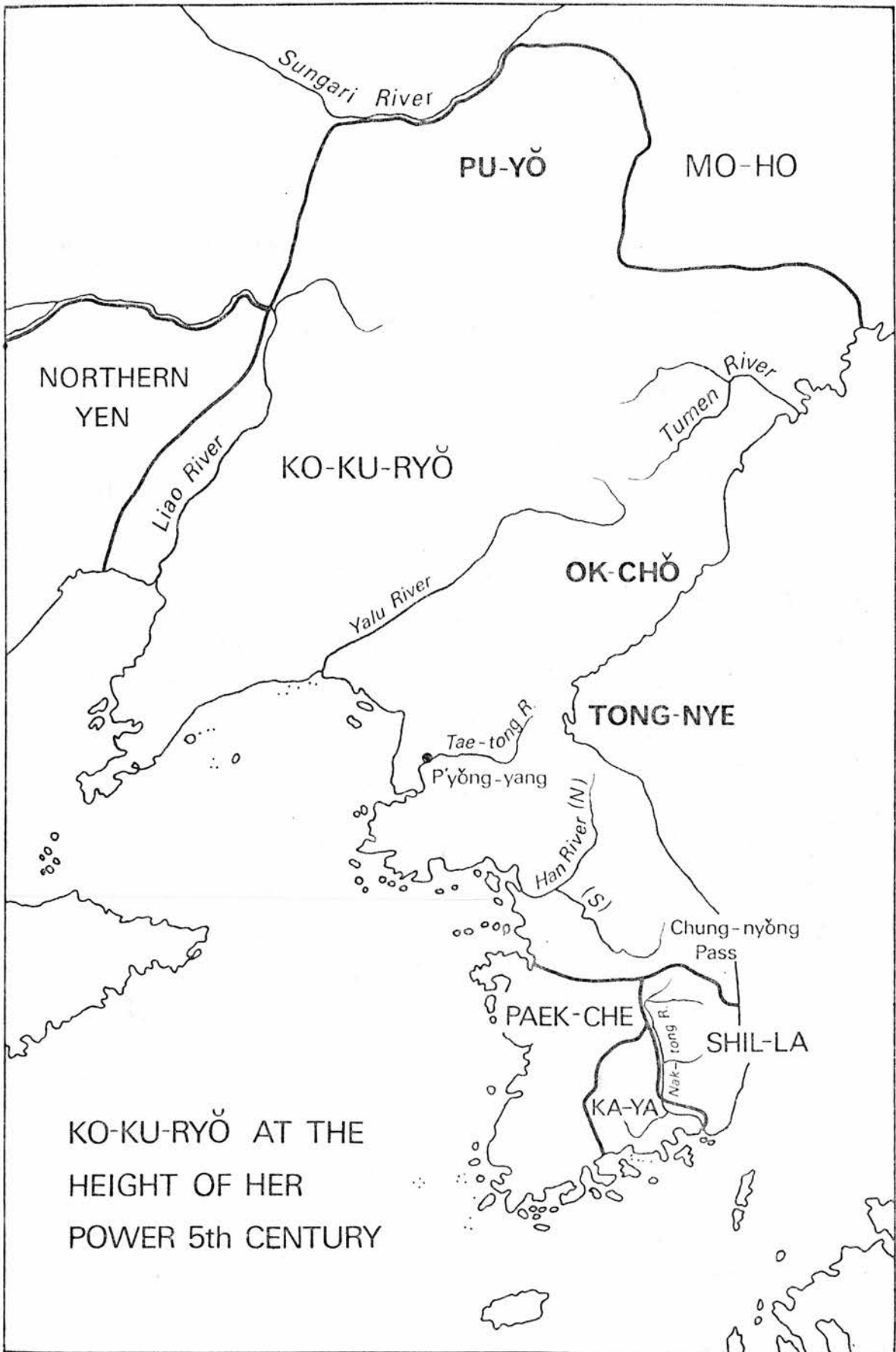
1. By the end of the third or the beginning of the fourth centuries, the political configuration of the Korean peninsula began to change radically with the emergence of true kingdoms. The history of the next few centuries is largely a record of the expansion of the power of the three kingdoms, Ko-ku-ryō, Paek-che, and Shil-la, and the jockeying between these three states for supremacy on the peninsula. A fourth political entity, the Ka-ya Federation, was quickly eliminated from the scene of Korean history. This period culminates in the wars of unification which occurred in

the latter part of the seventh century. Shil-la with the aid of T'ang China was eventually able to crush the states of Ko-ku-ryŏ and Paek-che but was not able to establish her rule over all of the territory of these states. Initially, China attempted to establish her jurisdiction over the territory of Ko-ku-ryŏ, but was unable to do so, as Shil-la seized the southern part of Ko-ku-ryŏ. Much of the remaining Ko-ku-ryŏ territory was regrouped under the remnants of the Ko-ku-ryŏ élite to form a new nation called Par-hae (P'o-hai in Chinese). For this reason, some modern Korean scholars prefer to style the next period of Korean history as the Period of Northern and Southern States, rather than as the Unified Shil-la Period.³²

During the fourth century, Ko-ku-ryŏ emerged as a powerful state. The reader will recall its conquest of the Chinese commanderies and of the state of Pu-yŏ. This rapid growth created a number of contradictions in the Ko-ku-ryŏ social system. For one thing, the nomadic military tactics which had gained it such immense territory were unsuited to the changed circumstances of defence. More importantly, the acquisition of such large tracts of territory created new demands for the administration and absorption of the conquered peoples for which the traditional tribal structures were incapable of coping. Changes were demanded. These demands were met in part by three great kings whose reigns dominated the latter part of the fourth century to the end of the fifth. They are So-su-rim (A.D. 371 to 383), Kwang-gae-t'o (A.D. 391 to 412), and Chang-su (A.D. 413 to 491).

To understand the Ko-ku-ryŏ of King So-su-rim's period, one must grasp the importance of its geographical position vis-a-vis the barbarian states of northern China and its southern neighbours on the

Korean peninsula. In order to solidify its position, Ko-ku-ryō under So-su-rim created closer political ties with the empire of Former Chin and with Shil-la. Under the reign of this king, Buddhism was adopted as the state religion (A.D. 372), a Confucian college was established, and a Chinese type of legal system was promulgated. Having established itself on a firm political and cultural foundation, i.e. having modernized itself in fourth century terms, Ko-ku-ryō under King Kwang-gae-t'o expanded immensely. He added the strategic Han River basin, the remaining territory of Old Cho-sŏn, bits of Pu-yō not then under Ko-ku-ryō's administration, and large sections of northeastern Manchuria including the Su-shen tribes. An immense stele erected to the memory of this king states that before his death at the age of thirty-nine, he had added some fourteen hundred villages and towns and sixty-four fortified areas to the royal domain. Truly, he was the Alexander of his age. Kwang-gae-t'o was succeeded by his son, Chang-su, who lived to the age of ninety-eight. Chang-su placed much emphasis on the use of diplomacy as a weapon to increase the power of his state. He established formal diplomatic ties with several of the barbarian states in the north of China, and exchanged embassies with Eastern Chin and with Sung (A.D. 420 to 479) in south China. These moves effectively undermined the special ties which Paek-che had cultivated with the southern dynasties. In 427, the capital was moved to modern P'yōng-yang, which increased the political and military pressure on Paek-che. In 475, Ko-ku-ryō seized the Paek-che capital, south of modern Sŏ-ul, and shortly thereafter established her southern boundary from a line drawn between In-ch'ŏn on the west to the Chung-nyōng Pass on the east. This cramped Paek-che, Shil-la,



and Ka-ya into the southern third of the peninsula.³³ Her total victory seemed almost certainly assured.

However, the advantages which Ko-ku-ryō possessed were lost during the sixth century as a result in part of the alliance of Paek-che and Shil-la against Ko-ku-ryō. The Han River Basin was taken from Ko-ku-ryō, with the eventual control of the river passing to Shil-la. While this event brought Ko-ku-ryō and Paek-che into alliance against Shil-la, the full effect of this new alliance was blunted by the rise of the first Chinese dynasty in several centuries to rule over all of China, the Sui Dynasty. Ko-ku-ryō and Sui eyed each other with a good deal of distrust. Sui no doubt felt that it was necessary to bring all of the surrounding barbarian states under its suzerainty, while Ko-ku-ryō, on the other hand, must have seen the rise of a single, centralized Chinese state as a threat not only to its expansion but to its existence. In 598, Ko-ku-ryō attacked Sui in the hopes of stimulating other barbarian states to declare war on China. Sui retaliated by sending a force of 300,000 men, which was repulsed. In 612, after five years of preparations, Sui unleashed an army of well over a million men against Ko-ku-ryō which quickly over-ran the outer defences of the state. A detachment of 300,000 men despatched to take the capital, P'yōng-yang, was led into a clever trap laid by General Ūl-chi Mun-tōk. The Chinese army was so badly mauled that of the men sent out only 2,700 returned to China. Sui made further attempts to destroy Ko-ku-ryō in 613 and again in 615, neither of which was successful. These campaigns were so disastrous that they led to rebellion within the empire, and were a direct cause of the collapse of the Sui Dynasty and of the rise of the T'ang Dynasty.³⁴



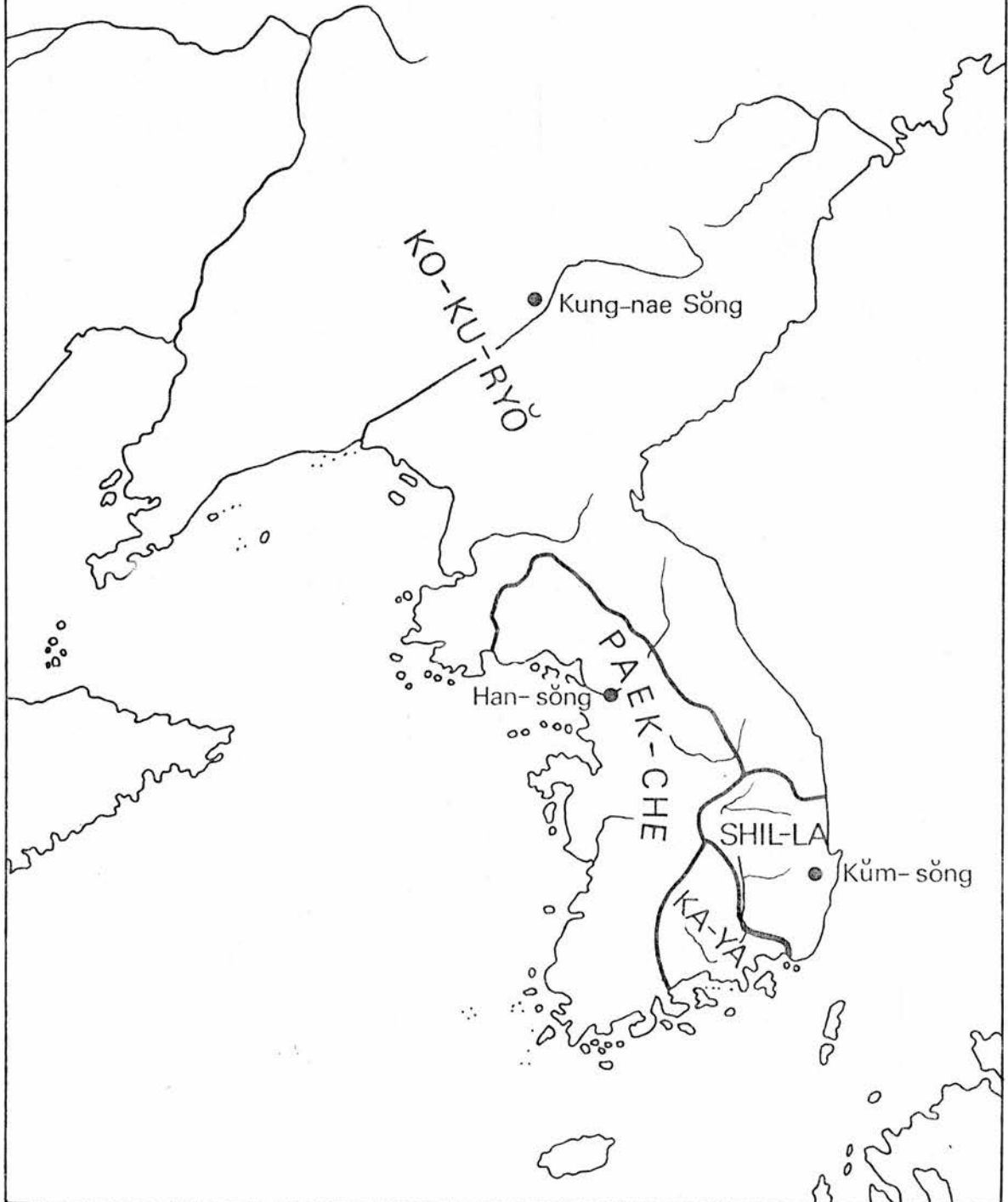
For thirty years after its establishment, T'ang avoided conflict with Ko-ku-ryǎo. In 645, finding an excuse, the Emperor T'ai-tsung attacked Ko-ku-ryǎo without success. Subsequent attacks in 647 and 648 were also of no avail. T'ai-tsung's successor, Kao-tsung, likewise attacked Ko-ku-ryǎo in 655 and 659, also unsuccessfully. By now the political picture had begun to change. Shil-la had risen to become the naval power in the Yellow Sea. Also, at this critical juncture, feuding among the ruling élite seriously weakened the structure of Ko-ku-ryǎo. Prince Ch'un-ch'u of Shil-la seizing the opportunity, wrested an agreement from T'ai-tsung that T'ang in concert with Shil-la would conquer Ko-ku-ryǎo and Paek-che, and that T'ang would recognize Shil-la's sovereignty over the peninsula south of P'yǎng-yang. This agreement resulted in the war of 660 which destroyed Paek-che. In 661, T'ang attacked Ko-ku-ryǎo from the south and west, again without success. Six years later a pincer attack by T'ang and Shil-la acting in co-ordination finally broke through Ko-ku-ryǎo's defences. By 668 P'yǎng-yang had fallen, bringing to an end one of the strongest of the ancient states of northeast Asia. Its collapse however, seems to have been related more to bickering amongst the élite rather than a lack of military prowess. Ko-ku-ryǎo was not permanently dead. Remnants of the Ko-ku-ryǎo élite established a new kingdom in 699 through a union of the Mo-ho and other Tungusic groups. Par-hae existed alongside Shil-la until it was destroyed by the Khitans in 926.³⁵

The structure of Ko-ku-ryǎo society by the time of King Chang-su seems to have developed little of the potential it had possessed in the period of tribal states. Beneath the king in power was a figure called the tae tae-ro or head of the council of clan elders, who was

elected triennially from amongst themselves. There was also a rank system of fourteen grades, one of the more curious features of which was the usage of kinship nomenclature. Thus, one finds titles such as t'ae tae-hyǒng, tae-hyǒng, and so-hyǒng which incorporate the character hyǒng for elder brother. Another feature of these titles is the inclusion of the term sa-cha, or one who carries out the orders of the clan leader. Thus we find terms like tae-pu sa-cha and tae sa-cha. These terms seem to reflect the need to deal with two essential problems, the integration of the tribal leaders into the royal government, and the establishment and maintenance of a system of tribute and taxation. The nation continued to be divided into five regions. In addition, the capital itself was divided into the same number of divisions, each apparently under the jurisdiction of a traditional tribal leader. As before, the society remained a two-tiered system of ruler and ruled. The legal system remained much the same. Certain types of criminals, murderers and those involved in rebellion, were brought before a council which meted out their sentence. Thieves had to indemnify the owner twelve times.³⁶

2. Having covered the history of Ko-ku-ryǒ, we need to retrace our steps to view the development of Paek-che as a separate entity. Paek-che, perhaps due to its smaller size and to the fact that its ruling élite was homogenous, created a formalized system of government in advance of the other kingdoms. During the fourth century, it was Paek-che under King Kün-ch'o-ko (346 to 375), which first seized the Han River Basin. However, when Ko-ku-ryǒ blocked further expansion of Paek-che, she was led to seek relations with Japan. This alliance with the Yamato clan not only strengthened the primacy of

PAEK-CHE AT THE HEIGHT OF HER POWER,
4th CENTURY



this clan, but was also an important military resource for Paek-che. It was during this period of alliance that Paek-che sent Confucian and Buddhist scholars to the Yamato court to spread Chinese and Buddhist culture.

In the fifth century, Paek-che became weaker vis-a-vis Ko-ku-ryō. One king, Tong-sōng (479 to 500), attempted to restore the power of Paek-che. He increased its defences against Ko-ku-ryō, strengthened its alliance with Shil-la, and gained control of T'am-na Kuk, modern Che-chu Island. During the sixth century, Paek-che attained the zenith of its cultural development. During the notable reign of King Sōng (523 to 553), administrative reorganization was undertaken, Confucian thought was adopted and the spread of Buddhism throughout the land was encouraged. Teachers in these fields as well as in astronomy, medicine, and music were sent on a regular rotating basis to Japan. King Sōng also undertook military ventures against Ko-ku-ryō in conjunction with Shil-la, in hopes of recovering the Han Valley. Instead, Shil-la seized it. King Sōng was eventually killed in a later battle against Shil-la. This would appear to have been an event of devastating effect, for one never again hears Paek-che described as a power until its destruction in the seventh century. The story from the sixth century onwards is largely of the contest between Ko-ku-ryō and Shil-la.

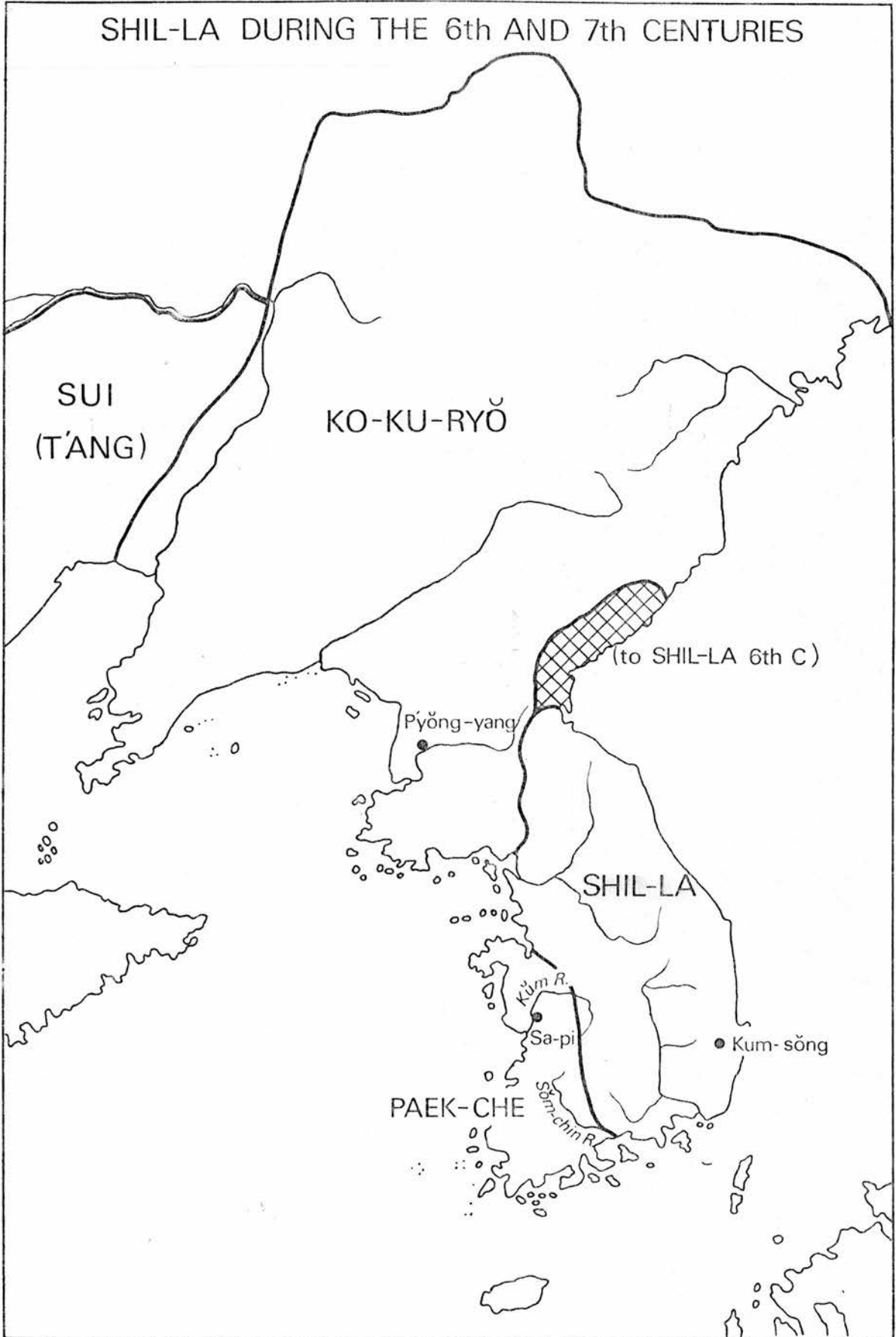
Paek-che was the first of the three states to achieve a Chinese style of administration. Its social system which had been composed formerly of eight aristocratic clans, was later replaced by a system of royal government dominated by the king and a bureaucracy divided into six sections. Administratively, the capital was divided into five sections (五部) and the nation into five divisions (五方),

which contained twenty-two principal cities. Traitors, soldiers who were defeated in battle, and murderers were punished with death. Thieves had to return to their victims double what they had robbed.

3. The third political entity to which we shall draw the reader's attention is the Ka-ya Federation. Originally a grouping of twelve tribal groups along the Nak-tong River, it eventually emerged as a rough union of six states, of which Pon Ka-ya (modern Kim-hae) and Tae Ka-ya (modern Ko-ryōng) were the most important. These mini-states were absorbed by Shil-la in A.D. 532 and 562 respectively. While this area was militarily much weaker than its eastern and western neighbours, it was not a cultural backwater. It maintained contacts during the tribal states period with the Chinese colonies in the north, and later on was an important source of raw materials and finished products for Japan. Its acquisition by Shil-la greatly enriched the indigenous culture of that state.

4. We have already traced the histories of Ko-ku-ryō and Paek-che through the turbulent political developments of these four centuries. We shall not repeat this story in discussing the history of Shil-la. Shil-la, the military and cultural latecomer on the scene, was the victor in the great struggle for peninsular supremacy. We may trace her real growth to the late fifth century. It is then that we notice the first signs of the centralization of the government. During this period the tribal leaders in both the capital and the outlying regions were deprived of their equality and ranked according to the relative strength of their clans. The sixth century saw a steady increase in Shil-la's power under the reigns of two great kings,

SHIL-LA DURING THE 6th AND 7th CENTURIES



Pōp-hŭng (514 to 540) and Chin-hŭng (540 to 575). Under Pōp-hŭng the government was reorganized according to the Chinese pattern. Perhaps most important for our discussion is the fact that it is under this king that Buddhism was formally adopted as the state religion in 527. His successor, Chin-hŭng, added greatly to the territorial extent of the state. The Han River Valley, Shil-la's only outlet to China, was added, as well as the old Tong-nye and Ok-chō tribal areas, and Tae Ka-ya. The semi-military troop of young nobles, the Hwa-rang Do, has its origins in his reign. Building on the strength of the sixth century, Shil-la moved into the seventh century with a determination for expansion and supremacy on the peninsula, the architect of which was Prince Ch'un-ch'u, who reigned as King of Shil-la during the wars of peninsular conquest. He is known to history as Tae-chong Mu-ryōl Wang (654 to 661). He died before the culmination of the war, and was succeeded by his son Mun-mu (661 to 681). It was the genius of these two men which guided the people of this backward kingdom through political and military difficulties to the unification of the three states. More significant than the military prowess of Shil-la was her ability to integrate the conquered groups into her social system. Provision was made, for example, for admitting the people of Ko-ku-ryō and Paek-che into the bureaucracy. The nobility, of course, were well received.³⁹

Apart from the establishment of a bureaucratic system of seventeen grades under King Pōp-hŭng, the most significant feature of Shil-la's social system was the kol-p'um che or Bone Rank System. The highest grade was the sōng-gol or holy bone. Members of this class were those members of the Kim clan who were in the line of succession to the throne. The second grade was the chin-kol or true

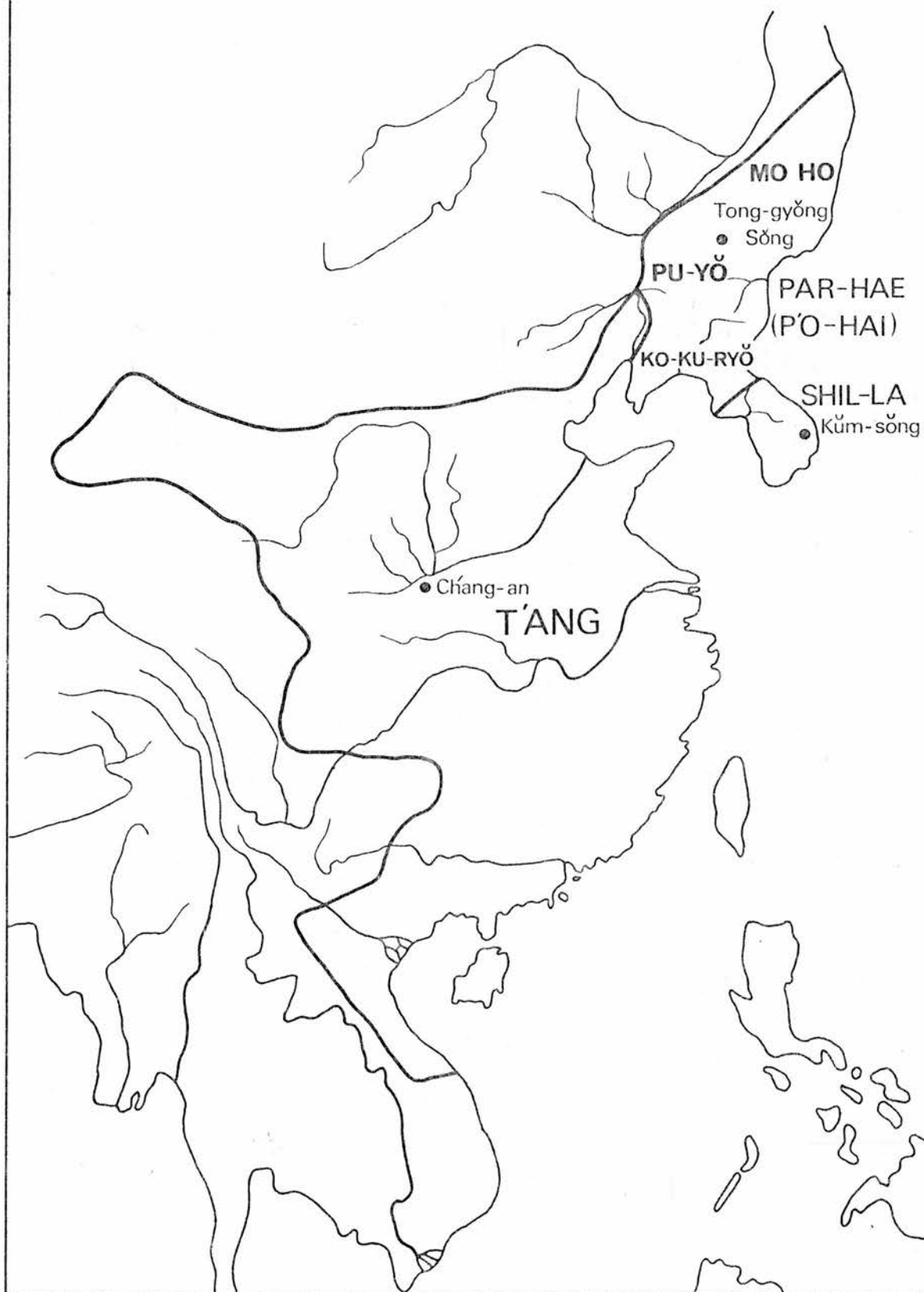
bone. This included members of the Pak clan and those members of the Kim clan who were not in the line of succession. Beneath these ranks in order of importance were yuk-tu p'um, o-tu p'um, and sa-tu p'um or Six Head, Five Head, and Four Head Rank respectively. It is interesting to note that a sōng-gol Kim had to be born of a mother from the Pak clan. Tribal leaders of lesser importance were appointed to Four Head Rank or Five Head Rank, whilst important tribal leaders were given Six Head Rank. For persons below chin-kol rank who reached the top of their grade, there was as in modern bureaucracies a system of super grades called tūng-nan. The chin-kol drew to themselves all of the important government offices and a disproportionately large amount of the nation's wealth. Not only did the colour of their uniforms disclose their rank, but the size and decoration of their houses, vehicles, and eating utensils were also a means of keeping rank distinctions unblurred. This system remained intact until the accession of Prince Ch'un-ch'u as King Mu-ryōl, who became the first king of chin-kol rank.⁴⁰

As the centralized royal government grew stronger, the ancient proto-parliamentary system, the Hwa-paek, slowly withered. This council, meeting alternately in one of four places, formed a gathering of the clan heads of the six villages which composed the ancient heartland of Shil-la. Decisions were taken unanimously.⁴¹ One institution more than any other symbolized the growing power of royal authority. This institution was the Chip-sa Pu, which had been established just prior to the advent of the wars of unification. Its principal functions were to transmit royal commands to the appropriate department of government and to oversee their implementation. The last feature of Shil-la society which we will consider is

the development of the Hwa-rang Do, which had been re-established by a famous monk called Wŏn-kwang. Upon his return from study in China, he wished to establish a corps of aristocratic youth who would devotedly serve their country. To accomplish this end, he taught a system of precepts called the Five Principles for Life. These principles were a conflation of Buddhist and Confucian thought and as such are one indication of the cultural intermixture which was taking place at that time. These principles may be stated as loyalty to one's lord, filial obedience to one's parents, sincerity towards one's friends, determination never to retreat in battle, and lastly, a promise not to destroy life. Among the famous Hwa-rang alumni were General Kim Yu-shin, commander of Shil-la's troops during the wars for peninsular unification, and King Mu-ryŏl.⁴²

We may draw two conclusions about the Period of Tribal States. Firstly, in each of the states which we have considered above, there was a marked increase in royal authority which took place at the expense of the authority of the clan elders. This process had the effect of weakening or eliminating certain tribal institutions, such as the Hwa-paek. Concurrent with these changes, we observed an increase in the rate at which foreign culture was diffusing into the peninsula. These two cultural facts signal to us that Korea moved into the Chinese sphere of culture sometime in the late Iron Age.

EAST ASIA IN THE 8th CENTURY



F. General Conclusions

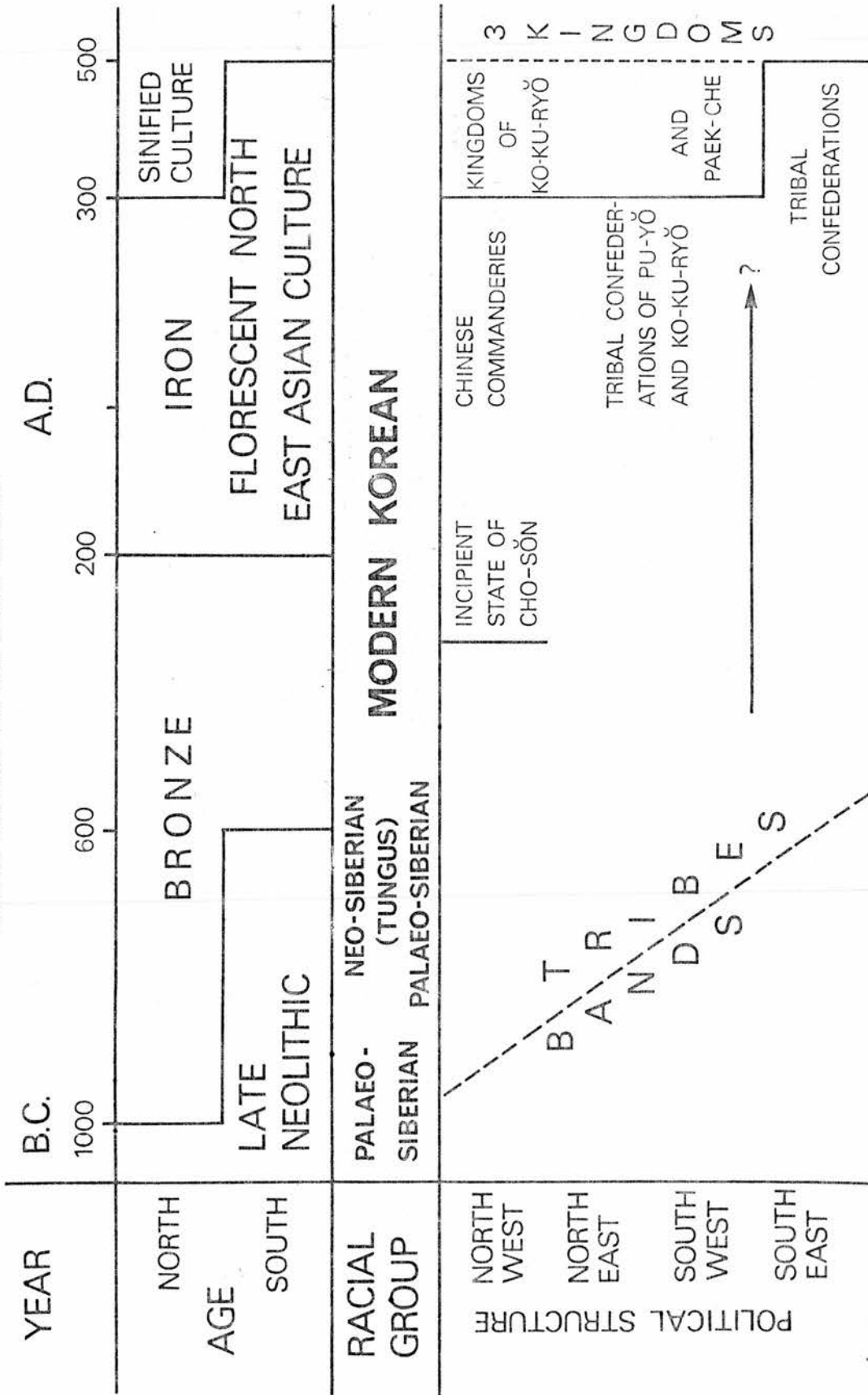
1. Although it is common for the Korean people to say that they are a homogenous race, recent archaeological research would indicate that this is not the case. The earliest inhabitants of the Korean peninsula were members of a Palaeo-Asiatic race who were most probably ancestral to the modern Palaeo-Siberian tribes. Archaeological evidence indicates that this ancient race began to be mixed with or displaced by tribal groups which belonged to the Tungusic races from the late Neolithic Period onwards. Bronze Age civilisation which first appeared in north Korea around the year 1000 B.C. had diffused throughout the entire peninsula by 600 B.C. As the spread of this civilisation seems to have been concurrent with the continued flow of population into the peninsula from Manchuria, the completion of the process of the mixing of the Palaeo-Asiatic and Tungusic races must have occurred sometime around the year 600 B.C. This Bronze Age civilisation was supplanted by an Iron Age culture in 200 B.C., which continued to exist down to A.D. 300 in north Korea, and to A.D. 500 in the southeastern part of the peninsula. The Iron Age civilisation of Korea represents a florescent form of the culture which existed in northeast Asia at that time, and is important for our discussion in that it was this culture which existed amongst the Korean people immediately prior to the advent of Sino-Buddhist civilisation. Between the fourth and sixth centuries of the Christian Era, the tribal states or confederations into which the Korean people were organized reached a critical point in their development which made them unusually open to outside cultural influences. Buddhism which entered Korea as the religious component of Chinese civilisation did not enter a vacuum, but had to build upon the

religious and cultural traditions of the pre-existent culture.

The culture of the Period of Tribal States was characterized by increased complexity in social stratification, which may be illustrated by the growing number of subtle distinctions made within the élite stratum of society itself. Increased social stratification is related to the religious beliefs of the time. The rituals which were connected with the agricultural cycle were related to a belief in a Lord of Heaven who controlled the natural forces of the world. The worship of this High God was conducted by a figure called the Prince of Heaven who acted as an intercessor between man and the realm of the spirits. This worship took place on the tops of mountains and was accompanied by music and dancing. In a later chapter we shall contend that the Princes of Heaven were in fact the chieftains of the several tribes and not a separate class of people. We shall also contend that this role of intercessor at the state ceremonies was related to a belief in the divine descent of the royal families, an idea which first occurred in the Period of Tribal States.

2. The development of Korean civilisation to the sixth century is summarized in Chart 2-7, which should be compared with Chart 2-8 which follows it. The evolution of Korean culture fits a pattern which has been used to organize the facts of the culture history of other societies. Julian Steward has shown that the civilisations of Peru passed through five stages of development before their growth was halted by the Spanish Conquest. These stages may be summarized as a Pre-Agricultural Phase, a Formative Phase, a Phase of Regional Florescence, a Phase of Fusion, and a Phase of Empire. Leon Stover adapted this evolutionary schema to the culture history of China, as

SCHEMATIC DIAGRAM OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF
KOREAN HISTORY TO THE SIXTH CENTURY



is indicated by Chart 2-8. If Korean culture history is placed into this schema, it will be seen that the Late Neolithic Period and the Bronze Age correspond to the Formative Period of the schema, and the Period of Tribal States to the Period of Regional Florescence. Steward has demonstrated that the Period of Regional Florescence is characterized by a social structure of priests, warriors, and artisans, in short the states of this period were theocratic in their form of government. This would accord with what we know about Korea of the Period of Tribal States. K. C. Chang in a recent book has demonstrated that the Shang Dynasty, which Stover classifies as the Period of Regional Florescence, was a theocratic state. According to Chang, the Shang believed in a Supreme Being who had control of the natural forces of the world, and who was related to the chief ancestor of the royal house. The mythology and art of the time would indicate that for the Shang, animals were believed to be the companions and guardians of the ancestors of the clans. In a later chapter, we shall contend that at a similar stage of cultural development the Korean people held to very similar beliefs.⁴³ In the two chapters which follow we shall attempt to define the pre-Buddhist religion of Korea more thoroughly by examining the religious traditions of contemporary Siberian tribes, and by analyzing the beliefs and practices of modern Korean shamanism. These two strands will then be compared with archaeological and linguistic evidence which bears on the pre-Buddhist religious tradition of Korea.

SCHEMA OF CULTURAL EVOLUTION

STEWART'S SCHEMA as revised by STOVER	Pre-Agricultural Period	Formative Period	Period of Regional Florescence	Period of Fusion	Period of Empire
SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS	Bands, Hunting and Gathering	Villages, Agriculture (in Andes, emergence of theocratic societies)	City States, Theocracy	Kingdoms	Imperial State
CHINESE HISTORICAL PERIODS	Sheng-wen	Lung-shan Yang-shao	Western Chou Shang	Eastern Chou	Chin -
KOREAN HISTORICAL PERIODS	Paleolithic - Early Neolithic	Late Neolithic, Bronze Age	Period of Tribal States	Period of Three Kingdoms	Unified Shil-la

CHAPTER 3 RELIGION AND SOCIETY IN SIBERIA: A COMPARATIVE SURVEY

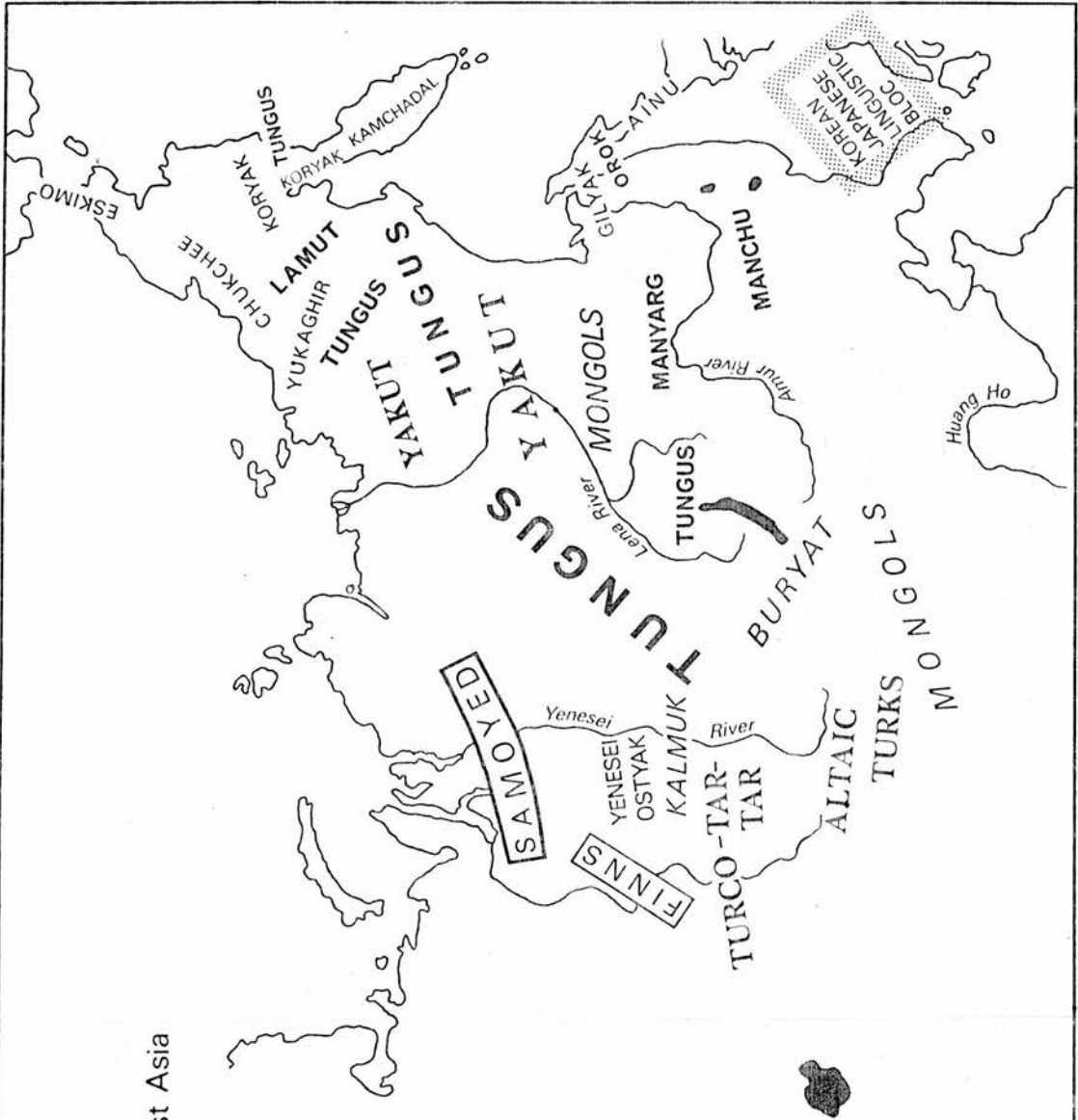
A. Methodology

In the previous chapter, we have seen that the Korean people are the result of the mingling of two different racial groups, the Palaeo-Siberians and the Neo-Siberians, a process which must have been completed sometime around 600 B.C. The mixture of these two races must have been accompanied by a blending of the cultural traditions which were characteristic of each group. In order to ascertain the religious beliefs of the Korean people during the Period of Tribal States, we shall utilize the anthropological technique of the comparison of surviving cultural traits. In this chapter, we shall survey the contemporary ethnographic accounts of modern Siberian peoples to determine the principal characteristics of their religious beliefs and in the following chapter to compare these findings with the characteristics of modern Korean shamanism. In so doing, we wish to demonstrate the essential identity of Korean and Siberian shamanism, and, by way of further comparison, to establish the essential identity of Korean-Siberian shamanism in form and content with the religious practices and beliefs of the Korean people during the Period of Tribal States. The ethnographic material in this chapter will utilize the distinctions made between the Palaeo-Siberian and Neo-Siberian tribes. The latter group will be subdivided further into the Turkic, Samoyedic, Finnic, Mongol, and Tungusic races. In examining the ethnographic materials, we shall consider the following topics:

1. Belief in a Supreme Being
2. Belief in superior beings and other lesser supernatural beings
3. Other religious concepts not covered above, such as life after death
4. Type of shaman; family or professional shamans, spirit selected or hereditary shamans
5. Training of the shaman for his work
6. Costume and equipment of the shaman
7. Shamanic and non-shamanic ceremonies
8. Social structure
9. Other pertinent material

Before turning to the principal considerations of this chapter, the reader should examine Chart 3-1. An examination of this map reveals the fact that eastern Siberia is primarily the home of the Tungus and Palaeo-Siberian races. All of the remaining Neo-Siberian tribes, with the exception of the Yakut and some Mongol tribes, are found in western Siberia. Therefore, we must expect to find a greater degree of similarity between the Palaeo-Siberian and Tungus tribes than with any other racial group. Further examination of the map will reveal to the reader the fact that with the exception of the Yenesei Ostyak, the Palaeo-Siberian tribes are located exclusively in the corners of the Siberian landmass which must be the result of the migration of stronger groups of people into areas which had been occupied previously by the Palaeo-Siberian tribes. The significance of the Korean peninsula as the southeastern corner of the East Asian-Siberian landmass is emphasized when one recalls that the Korean people must have been formed as a distinct racial group at the time

Ethnic Map of Siberia & East Asia



YE CH KO Paleo Siberian Tribes

T T LA Tungusic Tribes

TU AL Turkic Tribes

MO KA Mongol Tribes

SAM Samoyed Tribes

FIN Finnic Tribes

that the Tungusic people were expanding into North East Asia and Siberia.

B. The Palaeo-Siberian Tribes

1. The Chukchee

The Chukchee believe in a large number of beneficent beings called vairgit, the most important of which receive sacrifice and are said to live in the twenty-two directions of the compass. There are a further six vairgit who represent certain special qualities, but none of these six receives a special sacrifice of its own. Five of them are mentioned, however, in the sacrifices to the Dawn, the Zenith, and the Midday. The sixth, which does not receive any sacrifice at all, is called Tenan-tomgin, or The One Who Induces Things To Be Created. The name of this deity suggests to Mircea Eliade that the Chukchee revere a Creator.¹

In addition to the Supreme Being, and various celestial superior beings, the Chukchee believe in a special class of guardian beings which watch over the reindeer, the walrus, the tribal tents and houses, and which in general assist the superior beings. There is also a class of beings who own or are the masters of various aspects of nature, such as the masters of the forests, the lakes, the rivers, the killer whale and the polar bear. Three types of spiritual beings are related to the shaman: a) the spirits of disease and death, b) cannibal spirits, and c) those spirits which assist the shaman in his work.²

For the Chukchee, life after death is lived much as it is in the present life, although, unlike the here and now, the future world is composed of several worlds, the conditions of one's death

determining to which world one is sent. M. A. Czaplicka states that funerals are often performed to propitiate the potential malevolence of the dead.³

Family shamans, or leaders of the cult connected with the prosperity of the family, are the most common type of shaman. Shamans are further described as being divided into three classes, ecstatic, prophetic, or incantory shamans. Although shamans are predominantly female, male shamans are not unknown. Amongst the Chukchee we find the curious phenomena known as the shaman's change of sex role of which there are four types: a) ceremonial braiding of the hair, b) change of dress which is done for life, c) complete change of life habits from one sex to the other, d) marriage of a 'soft' man to another male.⁴

The shaman is selected by the spirits at an early age. As the shaman undergoes his preparation, he is segregated from the camp to wander in the forest and hills, often falls into a profound sleep, and eats, works, and talks little. For the weak, this period of preparation does not last long, whereas for the strong, it may last from two to three years.⁵

Although there are no regulations concerning the type or form of the shaman's apparel, the Chukchee shamans normally wear the cap and coat. In some instances semi-nudity has the same function as a special costume. The coat is lined with reindeer fur, and has magical amulets sown onto it while the cap is fringed and has a tassel on top and two tassels down the left side. Both knives and drums are used as part of the shaman's ritual equipment.⁶

The rites of the Chukchee are communal affairs. The rites of the Reindeer Chukchee are connected primarily with the protection and

prosperity of the herd, and consist of a sacrifice of a dog or reindeer to benevolent spirits. There are two principal rituals of the Maritime Chukchee. One is an autumnal sacrifice to the dead, while the second is a thank offering to Keretkhun, the sea spirit. An image is erected, and the worship conducted with dancing, singing and the beating of a drum.⁷

The kinship terminology which Czaplicka gives would indicate that the family structure is Eskimo in type, that is, the nuclear family is clearly distinguished from the families of both father's and mother's brother and sister. There are also terminology distinctions made for younger and elder siblings. Each camp, which tends its own herd, has a 'master' who lives in the 'front' tent. This 'master' is referred to at times as the 'strongest one'.⁸

2. The Eskimo

The chief deity of the Eskimo is Tornassuk, the ruler of all the beneficent and guardian spirits, and whose power is of an undefined nature. Eliade says that this spirit is also called Sila, or Master of the Universe. He resides in the sky, and is said to rule the weather, sending down hurricanes and snow storms.⁹

The Eskimo believe in a variety of spirits which inhabit animals and inanimate objects, and in certain great spirits called inua, or owner. These master spirits may possess a certain local area, a particular geographical feature, or a certain quality, such as strength. In terms of cult, to the Eskimo the greatest of these spirits is Sedna or Arnaknagsak, who is conceived of as an old woman living at the bottom of the sea. If the tabus which she has

promulgated are infringed, she will send down storms or withhold from the hunters the animals over which she has lordship.¹⁰

The Eskimo believe that disease is caused by the loss of the soul. Of the two souls which man is thought to possess, at death one ascends to Heaven, while the other goes into the ground along with the body. Eliade, however, records three places to which the souls may go, adding a deep underground world to the two mentioned above. The sky and deep underground worlds are supposed to be like the world as the Eskimo now know it, except that the seasons are opposite to those on the earth.¹¹

As with the Chukchee, there is a predominance of the family shaman and the presence of the phenomenon of the change of sexual role. Amongst the Eskimo the primary role of the shaman would appear to be the discernment of the cause of Sedna's anger, and the compulsion of the sinner to confess his fault. In addition to the male shaman or angakok, amongst the Eskimos of Greenland there is an inferior class of female shamans called gilalik. Although both Czaplicka and Eliade indicate that amongst the Eskimo there is a hereditary principle at work in the attainment of the power and role of a shaman, it is equally clear that there is an element of selection by the shamanic spirits. Paul Radin cites the example of a man who unexpectedly encountered two hill spirits. Without realizing what he was doing, he began immediately to sing the drum songs of the shaman. He did this three times. Upon his return to the village, he found that he possessed the power to cure illness. There also seems to be an element of coercion in the attainment of shamanhood as Eliade cites the example of a person lying down by a grave in the hope of acquiring a shamanic spirit.¹²

Czaplicka indicates that like the Chukchee, there would appear to be little stipulation about the nature of dress. The drum is used by all the Eskimo, from North East Asia to Greenland.

When there is a scarcity of game or some other problem in hunting, the shaman is sent down to visit Sedna to discern the cause of her anger. This ceremony is accompanied by singing which is performed by the shaman's family and others present at the seance. Shamans are said to be able to transform themselves into wolves and to fly like birds.¹³

The social organization is rather loose, the village being the largest unit. There is no headman as such, but there is always one person who is regarded as the advisor on most matters. The family structure is, of course, of the Eskimo type.¹⁴

3. The Gilyak

There is a belief amongst the Gilyak in a Supreme Being called Ytsigy, but other than this, we have found no other information on the meaning of the word or the characteristics of this god. Like the other Palaeo-Siberian tribes, the Gilyak have a belief in master spirits who own the sea, the mountains, and fire. Sky gods would appear to be less important amongst them than with other peoples. The Gilyak practise a cult of the bear, an animal which is seen as an intermediary between mortals and the spirit of the mountain. Bears are said to have human souls, human feelings, and even human social institutions, such as clans. In fact, it is claimed that the soul of a person killed by a bear will go into the forest and become transformed into a bear. The Gilyak believe that an ordinary man has one soul, whilst a powerful shaman may have as many as four!

The soul at death is said to go to a land of the shades where it leads an existence not very different from its experience prior to death.¹⁵

Gilyak shamans who are predominantly family shamans are chosen only by the spirits. Czaplicka gives the example of a man who had been made ill by the shamanic spirits. Without intending to do so, he heard himself singing the shamanic songs, and then saw a bird behind which stood a man who commanded him to shamanize.¹⁶

The Gilyak shamans consider the girdle and the drum to be the most important elements of their equipment. The girdle is made of leather and has suspended from it a number of iron plates and other metal objects which make a clanging noise during the seance. Bells are also used.¹⁷

The clan would appear to be the central social structure in Gilyak society. Being a clan member means the use of a common fire, the recognition of common ancestors, the participation in the cult of the bear, and the adherence to common tabus. Although there is no despotic authority, in times of crisis a wealthy person or a person of great strength may come to the fore. Otherwise all decisions are made by the council of clan elders, or old men, called the Kheyamar.¹⁸

4. The Kamchadal

The Kamchadal have a belief in a Supreme Being who is the grandfather of the first Kamchadal couple, and who Czaplicka feels corresponds to the Koryak Supreme Being. Otherwise, the majority of the Kamchadal spirits are evil. There also appears to be a number of gods or superior spiritual beings of undefined functions. The Kamchadal venerate the whale, walrus, wolf, and the bear, and have a

concept of life after death.¹⁹

Amongst this group we find a predominance of female shamans over male shamans, the predominance of family shamans, and the absence of a class of professional shamans. There is also the phenomenon of the inversion of sexual role. The only thing which we have been able to find out about the acquisition of shamanic power is that it is said to happen during the flashing of lightning. There would not appear to be any use of a special shaman's costume, or the use of the drum, and the shamanic mask is used only to frighten children and to deceive spirits of the dead at a funeral. Divination is done by using the human hand or foot.²⁰

The Kamchadal have two curious burial customs. Children are buried in tree trunks, while the body of an adult is left outside to be devoured by wild beasts. The idea is that the spirit of the dead person would be able to control the animals which had eaten him.²¹

5. The Koryak

The Supreme Being of the Koryak is conceived of as an old man with a family, and is known under various names, such as Universe, Supervisor, The One on High, Master on High, Master. It is he who sends famine or abundance. If he does not turn his visage to the earth, disorder occurs. Big Raven, the messenger of the Supreme Being, is sent to see to the ordering of human affairs. It is said that dogs are offered sacrificially to the Supreme Being.²²

The cosmos is divided into five worlds, the present world, two spheres above the earth and two beneath it. In this world there are a variety of evil spirits, called Kalan, which are divided into two types, those which inhabit the tundra, and those which inhabit the

forests. In addition to these, we again encounter the familiar master spirits of the sea, the hills, the cliffs, and the sun. Amulets are used as protection against disease and calamity. Although the bodies of privileged persons are burned so that their souls may ascend with the smoke to Heaven, it is also believed that all souls ascend to be with the Supreme Being. The shade of the dead man, however, descends to the nether world.²³

The shaman is called eñeñalan, or the man who is inspired by spirits. This is a clear indication that it is the spirits which choose the shaman. A Koryak does not choose to possess shamanic power. As before we note the presence of male shamans, the phenomenon of change of sex role, and the predominance of family shamans. One interesting fact is that family elders often possess shamanic powers, although, again, it is the spirits which choose their vehicle. They appear to the future shaman in the form of a wolf, a bear, a raven, a seagull, or an eagle. The spirits are supposed to teach the novice all that he will need to know to fulfil his proper function, including the practice of magic. There are some elder shamans who instruct novices, but these shamans, as a consequence, lose a corresponding part of their power.²⁴

The mask, as elsewhere, has no shamanistic use, but is used only to frighten children and to deceive the spirits of the dead. There is no special shamanic costume nor does the shaman even possess a special drum of his own. Amongst the Koryak ceremonies, there is divination by a seal's shoulder blade, and the sacrifice to the Supreme Being.²⁵

The Koryak kinship terms indicate a family system which is patrilineal and of the Eskimo type. There is much emphasis on seniority, distinctions being made, for example, between elder and younger siblings. The home of the family elder had a post in front of it called the guardian of the community.²⁶

6. The Yenesei Ostyak

The Yenesei Ostyak are the only Palaeo-Siberian people who now reside in western Siberia. Unfortunately, there is very little written on them in English. They believe in a Supreme Being who does not intervene directly in the affairs of men. Czaplicka says that the family shaman predominates amongst them, and Eliade adds that they believe their first shaman to have been born of an eagle. Almost unique amongst the Palaeo-Siberians, the Yenesei Ostyak shamans have a specialized costume which they don. It is inherited in the family, and the wearing of it and its accompanying objects is supposed to give the shaman his power. The coat and cap are decorated with the reindeer motif and the cap uses upright deer horns and simulated deer bones, whereas the shaman's shoes use the bear bone motif. The shaman's drum likewise is decorated with various images of men and animals. The shaman is said to participate in an ecstatic healing ceremony, which requires him to take two journeys, one being of longer duration than the other.²⁷

7. The Yukaghir

The Yukaghir hold a belief in a Supreme Being called Pon, which simply means 'something', and like other groups possess a belief in certain master spirits which animate nature. They also hold a

belief in the existence of three souls. At death one descends into the ground, one goes to the realm of the shades, and one ascends to the sky. The soul which ascends to the sky enters into the presence of the Supreme Being, and enjoys a life rather like what it experienced before death. When a shaman seeks the lost soul of a patient, he seeks for it in Heaven.²⁸

Although, there are both male and female shamans, women are not allowed to take part in the family cult, which function is the principal work of the shaman. The primary roles of the shaman are the treatment of illness, the offering of sacrifices and prayers to the gods for good hunting, and the general maintenance of good relationships with the land of the spirits.²⁹

The shamanic costume is decorated with feathers, and the shamans use drums during the ritual. In the past these drums used to belong exclusively to the families of the shamans. As with other groups, the mask is not a part of the shamanic equipment.³⁰

The burial practices have an odd connection with the practice of divination. The body of the dead is placed upon a raised platform. After decomposition, the bones and dried flesh of the deceased will be distributed amongst his relatives to be used as amulets. The skull of a dead shaman also may be used for the purpose of divination. Besides the practice of divination, the shaman may attempt to cure patients by addressing himself to the Creator of Light, or in the case of averting famine, to Earth-Owner. The Yukaghir also practise a cult of the clan ancestors. The use of animal names for the names of clans does not, seem, however to be connected with genuine totemism, although all tribes do claim descent from a shaman.³¹

8. Summary

From the information given above, we may draw the following conclusions:

(a) There is a universal belief in a Supreme Being beneath whom there may exist a wide variety of gods and other spiritual beings. In two cases, the Kamchadal and Koryak, the people trace their ancestry back to the Supreme Being.

(b) There would appear to be an almost universal belief in a type of spirit which owns or possesses some natural object or animal or which possesses some important quality. In one case, the Koryak, the Supreme Being is called the Master on High, or simply the Master. The implication would seem to be that he is the master of the master spirits. Master spirits connected with the food supply, such as the Eskimo's Sedna, are particularly important.

(c) There is a universal belief in life after death, with either two or three types of worlds being portrayed as possible future homes for the soul or souls.

(d) The bear and the bear cult play an important role in most of these societies. Certainly, for the Gilyak, the bear cult would appear to be the ceremony.

(e) Amongst the Palaeo-Siberians, one might say that the shamans tend to be female rather than male, to be concerned with the family cult, to change their sexual role during the shamanic seance, and finally, to be a semi-professional rather than a professional class of practitioners.

(f) There would appear to be three potential ways for acquiring shamanic power: through simple inheritance, through selection by the spirits, or by coercing the spirits to accept one as

a shaman. However, in spite of the principle of heredity or the element of coercion, the key component in the process of becoming a shaman is selection by the spirits. We have given several examples which would indicate this to have been the crucial factor.

(g) Amongst the Palaeo-Siberians, there would appear to be no specialized costume for the shaman. As the Yenesei Ostyak, the only Palaeo-Siberian tribes which possesses an elaborate shamanic costume, are isolated from other Palaeo-Siberian tribes, it is evident that the wearing of the shaman's costume is not an indigenous trait. The Gilyak, unlike other tribal groups, place great importance on the shamanic girdle. As their situation is much like that of the Yenesei Ostyak, one may also assume that this idea derived from an outside source. With the exception of the Kamchadal, the use of the drum is universal.

(h) Although there are a wide variety of rituals, those which have to do with requests for bountiful hunting, the curing of disease, divination, and contact with the Supreme Being would appear to be the most important. For the former rite, one thinks of the Eskimo's cult of Sedna or the cult of Keretkhun amongst the Chukchee, while the bear cult best exemplifies the latter cult.

(i) The social structure of these groups is very simple with the village or the clan being the largest structural component. There would appear to be in most cases no hereditarily established leadership, but rather a leadership based upon perceived ability. An emphasis on seniority seems implied in all groups. The council of old men amongst the Gilyak reminds one of the sam-no of the Ok-chǒ and the use of the word master amongst the Chukchee is reminiscent of the ŭp-kun amongst the Tong-nye.

(j) Ornithological elements are very common. Big Raven assists the Supreme Being amongst the Koryak. The Yenesei Ostyak say that their first shaman was born from an eagle's egg. The Yukaghir costume is decorated with feathers. The Eskimo shamans are said to fly through the air. These bird motifs are, in fact, a universal Palaeo-Siberian description of shamanic power.

C. The Neo-Siberian Tribes

1. The Turkic Tribes

1a. The Turco-Tartars and Turks of the Altai Region

According to Czaplicka, these Turkic groups believe in a vast number of celestial beings which are divided like tribes into two classes, the good spirits and the evil spirits. At the head of each class stand chief gods, somewhat like tribal leaders, which are known as Yulgen and Erlik, respectively. Eliade, on the other hand, indicates that there is a belief in a Supreme Being known as Tengere Kaira Khan, or the Merciful Emperor Heaven, whom he considers to be similar to the Samoyed's deity Num. There is no sacrifice offered to this deity. Uno Holmberg would agree with these observations. He states that the Turks call their High God or Over God, Great, Rich and Great, and the Merciful Khan.¹

These groups also conceive of the Supreme Being as having seven sons each of whom lives in one of the seven storeys of heaven. There is an element of sexual dualism in their thought as they believe in a great female deity known as the Great Birth Mother. As amongst other groups, here too we note the belief in master spirits. They use one word, kut, to refer to the soul which resides in both humans and natural objects, but the soul itself is not a unitary

being. It is understood to consist of or pass through six phases. Clans trace their origin back to an animal ancestor.²

There are three classes of shamans amongst these Turkic groups, namely those shamans who are concerned with the celestial gods, those who are concerned with the gods of the nether world, and those who maintain relations with both. In addition to shamans, one finds these other types of 'spiritual' practitioners: 'prophesiers', 'guessers', bone diviners, diviners using the hand, and men who control the weather by using certain peculiar stones. While there is some indication of a hereditary principle in the attainment of shamanhood, no one becomes a shaman of his own free will, as it is the spirits which select the candidate. When a descendant of a shaman's family also becomes a shaman, the Turks say, "the ancestral spirits leapt upon him".³

The shaman's equipment includes the coat, the cap and the drum. The cap of the Altai shaman is made of the leather of a reindeer calf and is decorated with feathers, whilst the Teleut make their cap out of the skin of an owl and its feathers. Sometimes the head of the owl itself is left attached to the Teleut cap. The coat of the shaman is covered with a variety of pendants which dangle from it, and among which one of the more curious items is a bow and arrow which is said to frighten away evil spirits.⁴

Both Czaplicka and Eliade agree that the shaman conducts a sacrifice to Heaven lasting for three days. It is composed of two parts, first the sacrifice of a horse to the Supreme Being, followed by the shaman's ascent to Heaven to encounter the Supreme Being. This sacrifice, Eliade claims, has its parallels with the horse sacrifice of certain Northeast Asian groups. In this instance, it

would appear that the shaman has displaced the original conductor of the sacrifice. In his ascent to Heaven, the shaman is assisted by both a horse and a goose. The imagery which the shaman uses to describe the ordeal he undergoes on his ascent is ornithological. First, he encounters a yellow steppe over which no magpie can cross, and then a pale steppe over which no crow can pass. On the first evening, in preparation for this ceremony, the shaman's yurt is erected in a meadow. Inside the yurt a tall young birch which has had its lower branches stripped off is erected in the centre and nine notches carved onto it. Around the yurt, on the outside, a palisade of sticks decorated with bird images is set up. The staves by the entrance of the yurt have horse hair placed on them.⁵

As is well-known, these groups are divided into tribes and further subdivided into clans. Czaplicka points out a curious fact that the different generations are referred to as bones.⁶

1b. The Yakut

The Yakut, the only Turkic group which lives in eastern Siberia, believe in a Supreme Being who is the creator of the earth and of man. This great deity is known as Uron-Aiy-Toyon, the White Lord, or as Art-Toyon-Agu, Father, Ruler of All, and is said to reside in the Ninth Heaven. The rest of the Yakut pantheon is organized more or less on the pattern of clans. The gods of the sky are divided into nine classes, while those of the lower world are divided into eight classes. As with the Turkic groups of western Siberia, we find the belief in a kindly mother creatress, gods of the earth, fields, cattle, hunting, and the underworld. In common with other groups, we again find the concept of master spirits, or ichchi.

For the Yakut, there are three kinds of soul: kut, which is the physical soul, tyr, which is the life force, and sür, which is the psychic soul. The Yakut believe that at the golden navel, or centre of the world, there is an eight-branched tree from which the first man was born. According to Yakut mythology, the mightiest guardian spirits are those of the stag, stallion, bear, and the eagle.⁷

Although shamans may be of either sex, males are considered to be more powerful. Female shamans are used mostly for divination and prophecy. There does seem to be a tradition of hereditary shamanic families as members of a family of shamans tend to become shamans themselves. Nonetheless, the essential characteristic of the shaman is his selection by the spirits. A person who is seized and made ill by the spirits is able to recover only if he will promise to shamanize. There is also an ethical element made manifest here, for he is instructed to take special care of the poor, and to go to them before attending to the rich.⁸

The principal item of the shaman's attire is the coat, for the cap seems to be of comparatively little importance among the Yakut. The coat is decorated with a large number of dangling objects, among them being the amägyat, a long copper plate said to represent the shaman's ancestor, a plate in the shape of a fish, and others in the shape of animals, birds, the sun, the moon and the stars. The shamanic seance is accompanied by music created by the drum, a stringed instrument, or a jew's harp. The wearing of the shamanic costume is said to endow the shaman with his power of flight.⁹

The curative seance is divided into four parts: i) the invocation of the helping spirits, ii) the discovery of the cause of the illness, iii) the expulsion of the evil spirits, and iv) the

shaman's ascent to the sky. During a ceremony of sacrifice, a line of wooden staves or trees is erected, upon the top of which figures of birds are placed. These seven staves are said to represent the seven storeys of Heaven, in the highest of which the Supreme Being lives. During the burial of a shaman, Holmberg states that the Yakut place images of animals or birds over the grave.¹⁰

The social structure of the Yakut is most complex. They refer to the clan as aga-usa. Thirty of the aga-usa form one nasleg. Several of the nasleg taken together form one ulu. This would seem to conform to a social structure of clans, tribes and tribal confederation respectively. Local decisions are made by the clan elders in council. However, superior to these councils is the authority of the council of the confederation which is composed of three circles, one each for the elders, the nobles and warriors, and the common men.¹¹

2. The Samoyed

The Samoyed believe in a Supreme Being who lives in the sky and whose voice is the thunder. Although he is known by various names such as Among the Stars, or Land's End, he is always called grandfather and treated as the ancestor of the tribe. The Ostyak Samoyed represent him by the bear. We find again the concept of master spirits, for example, the master of quadrupeds, or reindeer. Among these master spirits is Yaumau haddaku, an old woman who lives at the bottom of the mouth of the Ob River, and who is responsible for good or bad catches of fish. Spirits are classified into shamanic assistants, ancestral spirits, domestic spirits, and the spirits of various natural objects. The Samoyed believe in three types of

soul: an intellectual soul, a physical soul, and a shadow. The dead live in a world of their own but are believed to be capable of returning to do harm to those now alive. The Samoyed of the Ket River believe that they are descended from a certain hero who married the daughter of the spirit of the forest and give birth to a bear.¹²

The Samoyed possess both male and female shamans, but the latter would seem to be inferior to the former. Women are never in charge of any religious ceremonies, for example, and on principle are debarred from sacrificing to the domestic gods. This latter role is reserved exclusively for the eldest male of the family. The office of shaman appears to be hereditary amongst the Samoyed, as novices are given special training by an elder shaman who selects them for training. The cap would seem to be the most important part of the shaman's costume, for in its absence, shamanizing is said to be only some form of amusement or game. The cap is decorated with feathers. The shamanic coat found in those areas which are away from the Russian settlements is very rich in decoration, and is made of skins, furs, reindeer bone, and mammoth ivory. Compared with the coat of the Tungus shaman, the Samoyed coat is decorated with far fewer items of iron. The shamanic ceremony is accompanied, of course, by the drum. Two of the most important ceremonies are the propitiation of the domestic gods, and the propitiation of Yaumahaddaku, the ruler of the animals of the sea.¹³

3. The Finnic Groups

3a. The Ugrian Ostyak

This people are said to believe in a Supreme Being known as Numi-Torum, or the Heavenly God, who is praised in a special hymn sung by the shamans. The Ugrian Ostyak believe in a life after death in which the spirit will conduct his affairs much as he does now. They locate the next world beneath the bottom of the Arctic Ocean. The Ugrian Ostyak have both male and female shamans, and it is the shamans who select their successors, often from amongst their sons, although one can buy a shamanic spirit from another shaman. Specialized training is considered an important part of the attainment of shamanhood. Of the three shamanic items, cap, coat, and drum, for this people the drum is the most important. The cap is very simple, being decorated with ribbons. Some scholars consider that the wearing of the cap may not be an indigenous trait at all. Interestingly, the shaman is said to use a special, secret language during the seances. As with many groups, the most important of these seances is the curing of disease by the search for lost souls.¹⁴

3b. The Vogul

The Supreme Being of the Vogul is called Kors-Torum, or the Creator. He has seven sons who live with him, the eldest being Yanykh-Torum. Once a week Yanykh-Torum descends from Heaven at his father's command to see how the affairs of man are proceeding. When he appears to men, Yanykh-Torum takes the form of a man, whose clothes shine brilliantly like gold. All the other benevolent spirits are connected with the individual, the family, or the clan.

There are also certain dark spirits who are said to devour humans on occasion. The Vogul conceive man to be composed of three things, body, soul, and shadow. While the hereditary principle may operate very strongly in the selection of new shamans, even to descent in the female line, it is also felt that to become a shaman a novice from childhood must have exhibited certain peculiarities of behaviour. The use of the shaman's cap amongst the Vogul would appear to be an influence from the Samoyed. Curiously, the Vogul practise sacrifice before undertaking a shamanic cure. Eliade feels that this is a later innovation, the search for the patient's soul being the more indigenous rite.¹⁵

3c. The Votyak

The Votyak, as do the Vogul, refer to the Supreme Being as Creator, calling him Kylchin-Inmar. As with many Neo-Siberian groups, there is an element of dualism. The shamans are divided into white and black shamans according to the type of spirits with which they maintain relations. The predominant form of shamanism, however, is the cult of the bright god and his attendant white shamans. Both Czaplicka and Eliade agree that while there is a hereditary principle involved in the attainment of shamanhood, it is not a right but a gift granted by the Supreme Being. The Supreme Being is the one who instructs the shaman in dreams and visions. It is he who gives the shaman the special knowledge he will need to know in order to shamanize. In addition to the ordinary shamanic practices, the Votyak practise a sacrifice to the God of Heaven, using as sacrificial animals the horse and the goose. Society would

appear to be largely clan based, a clan consisting of ten to thirty villages united by a common cult and belief in a common founder-protector.¹⁶

4. The Mongol Tribes

4a. The Buryat

The cosmological concepts of the Buryat are quite complex, but the reporting on their religious beliefs is not very clear. The pantheon consists of a large number of celestial spirits called tengeri. The ninety-nine tengeri are divided into two groups, the Western Tengeri composed of fifty-five spirits which act benevolently towards humanity, and the Eastern Tengeri composed of forty-four malevolent spirits. At the head of each group stands a spirit which is chief of all the subordinate tengeri, an arrangement which is reminiscent of the structure of a tribal federation and is similar to the beliefs of the Turco-Tartars. Czaplicka denies that there is one spirit which is recognized as the Supreme Being, the lord of all creation. However, amongst the deities which she lists, one discovers a spirit by the name of Daban-Sagan-Noyon, the Owner of the Whole Earth. He is conceived of as an old man with a wife, and receives worship after the autumnal harvest. This figure sounds very much like the description of the Supreme Being which we found amongst the Kamchadal, Koryak and the Samoyed. This supposition is strengthened by the fact that both Holmberg and Eliade assert that the Buryat have a conception of a Supreme Being. Eliade goes on to add that in his opinion the division of the spirits into two large groups is a recently acquired trait. Apart from the tengeri, there are also demons which are believed to be the souls of sinful persons,

or women who have died violently or in childbirth, and which act with particular malevolence towards children. Shamans may come from either sex, and both hereditary and first generation shamans are found. In spite of the greater importance of the hereditary principle, it is selection by the spirits which counts. A child who acts strangely is said to be undergoing training by the spirits, and in some instances by the spirits of deceased shamans. Eventually, a novice will go away to a mountain or to the forest to make his final call upon the spirits before becoming a shaman.¹⁷

The costume of the Buryat shaman is of great interest. Czaplicka informs us that the Buryat shaman's cap has horns with three branches like a deer, that the coat is covered with the images of horses, fish or birds, and that the boots have iron plates sewn on them. Eliade adds that the cap is decorated with ribbons which hang down at the sides. Amongst the shaman's equipment must also be included the chest which contains various magical objects, the mirror, and the shamanic mask. Special animals or birds are believed to be the guardians of the Buryat shaman, and in fact, it is believed that the power of a shaman was given to the first Buryat shaman by a vulture, which then became his special guardian. In the past, shamans were said to have had charge of the family rites, but this is now no longer true. The shamans are divided into two classes, white shamans who are in charge of such family rites as the ceremonials for birth and marriage, and black shamans who are said to send disease. The Buryats believe that their first political leaders were shamans.¹⁸

4b. Eastern Mongols

The picture of a Supreme Being seems to be clearer amongst the Eastern Mongols. The word Tengeri means Heaven, or the One God who

rules the world and decrees the fate of men. As Heaven is said to be able to observe all that happens in this life, the judgement of Heaven falls on the guilty in this life and not in the after life. The Supreme Being has nine sons, all of whom are said to live with him. Like the Buryat, the Eastern Mongols recognize the ninety-nine tengeri, but they do not know the names of any of them. The costume of the Eastern Mongol shaman is decorated with wings at the shoulder, and the Mongols believe that when the shaman dons this costume, he in fact becomes a bird. The Eastern Mongols practise scapulomancy using the shoulder bone of a sheep, conduct sacrifices in the spring, autumn and winter, and perform special sacrifices for the protection of children. Eastern Mongol society is made up of clans which have been joined together to form five tribal units. As elsewhere, much emphasis is placed upon the requirements of seniority.¹⁹

5. The Tungusic Tribes

5a. The Tungus

S. M. Shirokogoroff tells us that the Tungus believe in a Supreme Being, whom they call Buga, which means the Ruler of the Sky. He does not seem to be a personal deity but an impersonal abstraction. Holmberg, however, states that this deity is associated with the sun and that he is often portrayed as a sun with a human face inside. There are numerous types of spirits in which the Tungus believe, but the most prominent amongst them would be the master spirits. Besides those master spirits which we have encountered before, the tiger is worthy of particular mention, as he is believed to be the master of all animals. Connected with the tiger is a spirit called Bainaca, an old man with a long beard who rides on the back of the

tiger, and who is said to be the master of hunting and of the taiga. Offerings are made to him on rude altars on mountain passes or on river banks. The description of this spirit is reminiscent of Daban-Sagan-Noyon of the Buryat. Shirokogoroff points to a class of spirits which have been imported into the Tungusic pantheon from the Sinicized Manchus. Thus we find the spirit of the moon, which is sacrificed to on the evening of the fifteenth day of the eighth lunar month, the lung-wang or dragon king, the vègè enduri, which are two spirits conceived of as an old man and an old woman and symbolized by two large stones, and wuziga enduri, a star spirit thought to cure diseases. The Northern Tungus also worship a water spirit, a dragon called mudurkan. There is another class of spirits who were formerly the souls of living persons. The souls of some deceased persons may themselves become master spirits or they may become one of the spirits of the ancestors which are worshipped. These latter spirits, surprisingly, are conceived of as mischievous and harmful and require placation. There is an additional class of spirits which are said to assist the shaman in curing disease, and in prophecy. One of these latter spirits is said to have the form of a man with the wings of an eagle, and is believed to carry the shaman from place to place. The Tungus believe that the souls of men perch like birds in a great tree waiting to be born. The loom is the soul of a deceased shaman which takes the form of a bird so that it may act as the guardian of a new shaman.²⁰

Shamans are said to be of two types, either clan or family shamans, or independent shamans. Interestingly, shamans are not possessed by spirits, but rather possess them. That is, the shamans are thought to be the master of the shamanic spirits. Shamans may

be either male or female, and are chosen by a shaman who will then instruct them. Selection, however, would appear to be based on an awareness of the child's aptitude rather than on any hereditary principle. After a year or more, these novices will receive from their master the cap and the drum, and may thus begin to shamanize on their own.²¹

The shaman's costume consists of two items, the coat and the cap. The headdress consists of an inner cap of skin, which is partly enclosed by an iron band, attached to which is a pair of iron deer antlers from which hang a variety of dangling objects called 'snakes'. To the back of this cap there may be attached a number of objects variously referred to as representations of the sun, the moon, a swan, a bear, or a fish. The coat takes one of two forms, the duck or reindeer pattern. The costume of a deceased shaman is placed near his grave upon the burial of the corpse. The shamanic drums are decorated with images of birds, snakes, and other animals. In addition to these shamanic tools, the Northern Tungus include the use of mirrors.²²

Skirokogoroff classifies the shamanic performances into four types. The first would be the discovery, diagnosis and treatment of illness. Secondly, a shaman may go in search of the wayward soul of a deceased person in order to discover why he is causing discomfort to his descendants. The shaman, in effect, takes upon himself the management of souls in the nether world. Thirdly, the shaman will attempt to use his power to fight with and neutralize the spirits of other persons, and especially those of other shamans. Lastly, the shaman will offer sacrifice to his own guardian spirits and to the spirits of his clan. Burial is accomplished by wrapping the corpse

in the skin of a reindeer, and the placement of the corpse upon a raised platform. Images of birds and animals as well as the shamanic costume are placed on or near the shaman's grave. There is much veneration of the bear, and divination is practised by throwing drumsticks into the air.²³

The Tungus are divided into various clans, which take their names from their clan ancestors. Decisions which affect the clan are made by the council of clan elders. From amongst themselves the clan elders elect a prince for a period of three years, and there is at least one instance in which a shaman held this position for some twenty-five years.

The Tungus form an important racial bloc in Northeast Asia and have appeared in Chinese history under various names. They have been known as the Tung-i, the Su-shên, the I-lou, the Jurchen, and the Manchu. These latter two groups founded two important Chinese dynasties; the Jurchen formed the Chin Dynasty, and the Manchus established the last Chinese Dynasty, the Ch'ing.²⁴

D. Summary and Conclusions

1. Amongst the Neo-Siberian tribes of whatever ethnic group, we have found the universal belief in a Supreme Being. He is known principally by two kinds of names, either as Heaven or the God of Heaven, or as the Creator. In most instances he is believed to rule over all other spirits in much the same way as a tribal chieftain governs his subordinate chiefs and their men. In the case of the Turco-Tartars, the Vogul, and the Eastern Mongols, he is said to have, variously, seven or nine sons who reside with him. The Vogul believe that he sends down to earth the eldest of his sons to oversee

the affairs of men. The Samoyed refer to him as grandfather and see him as their primal ancestor. Typical of virtually all the Neo-Siberian groups, with the possible exception of the Mongols, is the belief in master spirits, those spirits which are lord of a certain aspect of creation.

Although shamans may be either male or female, amongst the Neo-Siberian tribes it is believed male shamans possess more power. In spite of a clear principle of heredity involved in succession to shamanhood, it is the spirits alone which make the ultimate choice of who it is that they will assist. The Voytak even claim that it is the Supreme Being himself who makes the choice and that it is he who instructs the novice shaman.

The costume and equipment of the shaman are the cap, coat, and the drum, though not every group uses every item. Amongst the several tribes, certain items of the costume are considered to be more important than other items. For example, the Samoyed feel that proper shamanizing can not be done without a cap, whilst the cap amongst the Finnic groups may not be an indigenous or a necessary element to the costume. The Tungus and the Buryat use horns to decorate the cap, while the Turkic groups prefer feathers. Deer and bird motifs are two of the most commonly used sources for the decoration of the costume, and the Tungus in fact use both motifs to decorate the coat. The Tungus shaman's coat appears to be the most complex of all the costumes of this type. It is replete with dangling objects which are said to represent various natural beings or objects. The Samoyed costume, which is stated to be rich in decoration, has, by comparison with the Tungus costume, fewer of these dangling objects. Boots among the Buryat and mirrors amongst

the Northern Tungus and the Buryat should be included as part of the shaman's costume. The use of the drum is universal.

Amongst the Neo-Siberian tribes, the role of the shaman has expanded in comparison with the role of the Palaeo-Siberian shaman. Although the shaman is involved in curative practices, amongst the Turco-Tartars, the Yakut, the Samoyed, the Vogul, the Votyak, the Eastern Mongols, and the Tungus, the performance of sacrifices offered to the spirits of the ancestors or to Heaven have become an important ceremonial function. Descriptions of the setting of the shamanic seance and the words in which the shaman describes his experience are replete with ornithological imagery, as well as horse imagery. In addition to increased religious functions, amongst the Neo-Siberian tribes we note the first clear indication of the political role of the shaman. The Buryat say that their first chiefs were shamans, while amongst the Tungus, we find the example of a shaman who had been elected for twenty-five years to be their prince.

Political structure as well as the structure of religion is more complex now. Clans are organized into tribes, tribes into tribal confederations. At each level we find councils of the elders or a grand council of the confederation. Particularly interesting is the fact that at this stage of social development, leadership is not a function of heredity, but is an elective office. At each oligarchic level of society there must be agreement that a person is fit to be a leader. The social structure of the Neo-Siberian tribes recalls to mind the pattern of councils of the elders and elected leadership which we found to be characteristic of early Pu-yǎo and Ko-ku-ryǎo. In these societies, one finds the fact curious to the Western mind of the interconnection of stratification, selection, and

religion. Broadly speaking, the religious conceptions of the Neo-Siberians may be said to reflect this increased complexity in social and religious structure.

2. In comparing the Neo-Siberian and Palaeo-Siberian tribes, we note the following similarities and distinctions:

(a) Both possess a belief in a Supreme Being, although, as one would expect, the concept is more highly developed amongst the Neo-Siberians. Several of these groups also believe that the Supreme Being has sons and amongst both the Palaeo-Siberian and Neo-Siberian tribes, we find the concept of the primal ancestor as the God on High.

(b) Master spirits, likewise, are a universal trait, with one or two exceptions, throughout Siberia.

(c) There is a universal belief in the continued existence of the soul after the death of the body.

(d) Amongst the Neo-Siberians, the bear cult does not hold the same place of pre-eminence which it does among the Palaeo-Siberians. In several instances it would not appear to be present at all.

(e) Important Neo-Siberian shamans are more often male than female, and are more often concerned with rituals and cultic practices than with the curing of disease. Although the shaman still remains as a mediator between the spirit world and the world of men, Neo-Siberian shamans seem to be shading off into being sacramental leaders. Amongst the Neo-Siberians heredity plays a greater role in the selection of shamans than it does among the Palaeo-Siberians. One would hesitate, however, to call Neo-Siberian shamans a professional

class. Change of sexual role is not a prominent characteristic of the Neo-Siberian shaman, but is primarily a trait of the Palaeo-Siberian shamans.

(f) The only piece of shamanic equipment or costume which the Palaeo-Siberians may be said to share in common with the Neo-Siberians would be the drum. Neither the use of the cap nor the coat is an indigenous cultural trait with them, while both of these items are important components of the Neo-Siberian shaman's dress, and are heavily decorated and rich in symbolism. Deer and bird motifs, vegetation, and natural objects such as the sun are important elements of the dress of the Neo-Siberian shaman.

(g) Amongst the Palaeo-Siberians, practices concerned with a bountiful hunt, the curing of diseases, divination, and contact with the Supreme Being are central features of the shaman's work, whereas for the Neo-Siberians, sacrifice plays a surprisingly large part in the work of a shaman. In one instance, the Vogul, the shaman sacrifices before commencing a curative seance. This strange fact may be the result of an importation, nevertheless, it is indicative of the growing sacramental and hereditary characteristics of the shaman. As with the Palaeo-Siberians, Neo-Siberian practices utilize ornithological motifs to a conspicuous degree. Ceremonial areas are decorated with these motifs; the shaman's helpers and guardians are said to be birds; the ordeals which the shaman undergoes are compared with the flight of a bird. As the bird motif is common to all Palaeo-Siberian tribes, and because these groups do not share, to our knowledge, the other commonly used Neo-Siberian motifs, we feel that the ornithological motif is an indigenous cultural characteristic of the Palaeo-Siberian tribes.

(h) Social structure is far more complex with the Neo-Siberians. Leadership, as vested in tribal chiefs, takes on a more structured form and we can discern the beginning of genuinely stratified societies.

As we turn to the question of shamanism in Korea, we shall contrast its ancient and modern forms with the characteristics of contemporary Siberian shamanism.

CHAPTER 4 ANCIENT AND MODERN KOREAN SHAMANISM

A. Shamanism in Contemporary Korea

1. The Shaman

In Chapter 2, we have seen that the religion of the Period of Tribal States consisted of a belief in a Supreme Being, and the presentation of worship to this being at key points in the yearly agricultural cycle. The ritual was conducted by a figure called the ch'ŏn-kun or Prince of Heaven. In this chapter, we shall elucidate more clearly the characteristics of the religion of that period by an examination of modern Korean shamanism which we contend is the contemporary survival of the most ancient religion of Korea. We shall compare the shaman, the shamanic ceremonies, and the shamanic spirits of modern Korea with their counterparts in modern Siberia. In the latter part of this chapter, we shall utilize this comparison to enlighten us about the archaeological and historical evidence for the religion of the ancient period.

Homer Hulbert in his classic series of articles on Korean shamanism states that there are two types of specialists involved in the folk cult, the mu-tang or mu-nyŏ who is the female shaman, and the p'an-su who is a fortune-teller. Charles Allen Clark expands this list to include the pak-su or male shaman, temporary shamans who supervise certain village rites, the chi-kwan or geomancer, and the il-kwan or selector of propitious days. Although all of these figures play an important part in the folk religion of Korea, only three of them are relevant to our discussion, the mu-tang, the pak-su and the temporary village shamans. It is an interesting fact that both of the words used for shaman, mu-tang and pak-su, may be

demonstrated to be of non-Chinese origin. This is most obvious in the case of the male shaman or pak-su as this word cannot be written with Chinese characters, which would suggest that the term developed in a period prior to significant Chinese influence. This supposition is supported by a comparison with the Kirghiz and Tungus terms for a male shaman, which are baksa and baksi respectively. As mu-tang is written with Chinese characters, it would appear that the term for a female shaman in Korea is an importation from China. The character mu (wu in Chinese), after all, has been used since the late Chou Dynasty to describe Chinese shamans. Ryu Tong-shik, on the other hand, contends that the word mu-tang derives from an attempt to write the sound of the ancient Korean word for female shaman in Chinese characters. Amongst the Neo-Siberian tribes there is a single word for female shaman which is variously pronounced as utagan, udagan, udaghan, ubakhan, or idakon. Mu-tang was an attempt to write a Chinese character word which not only sounded like the Korean term, but also conveyed the same meaning.¹

The characteristics of the Korean shaman, likewise, show strong affinities to the characteristics of their Siberian counterparts. The clothing of the Korean shaman like the Neo-Siberian shaman's is covered with various dangling metal objects. Like the Palaeo-Siberian shamans, the mu-tang and the pak-su wear the clothing of the opposite sex during a seance, a phenomenon known as the change of sex trait. As with the Siberians, the drum is used universally during the shamanic seance. Ornithological motifs are common. For example, spirit possession is often described in terms of seizure of a person's soul by the spirit of an eagle. Divination is another shamanic practice, although Korean shamans unlike those in Siberia do

not use bones but ashes from the hearth. Descriptions of the temporary village shamans are also similar to descriptions of the family shaman amongst the Palaeo-Siberian tribes and the practices of the ancient Korean tribal states. Village shamans are selected by the elders of a village for the purity of their lives and are assigned the task of conducting ceremonies to be addressed to the mountain god. Two principal ceremonies are conducted by these temporary shamans, prayers for rain during periods of drought, and ceremonies following the autumnal harvest. All of these facts suggest that the shamanism of Korea is a mixture of the practices and beliefs of the Palaeo-Siberian and Neo-Siberian tribes, and that it does not derive from Chinese civilisation. Another leader of the folk cult does seem to be derived from China. The p'an-su or fortune-teller uses the drum as do the shamans, but he does not enter into a state of spirit possession. His power comes from the recitation of incantations contained in books, and in the cultivation of friendship with certain powerful and benevolent spirits called shin-chang.²

2. The Shamanic Ceremonies

The Korean term for a shamanic seance is kut, which is a pure Korean word. As with the words mu-tang and pak-su, this would indicate to us that the use of the word arose at a time prior to the significant diffusion of Chinese culture into the peninsula. Hulbert distinguishes eight types of kut, which depend for their effectiveness upon the mu-tang's "friendship with the spirits rather than in any power to force them to her will".³

(a) The first and most common type of kut is concerned with the curing of disease. The Koreans hold to the theory of the spiritual origin of disease. For one reason or another, usually for some offence against the spirits, the spirits will attack people by making them ill. Among the causes for this spiritual assault upon humanity, Hulbert lists the following: hungry spirits which have not been fed a morsel from the dinner table, ridicule of the spirits by men, the possession of a man by the spirit of a close relative or friend, or the encounter by a man of a spirit who is lonely. In other words, there are a multitude of reasons why one may attribute the occurrence of disease to a spiritual cause.⁴

Arrangements for a kut begin when a relative of the afflicted person goes to the mu-tang's house and describes the symptoms of the disease. The mu-tang then states which spirit or spirits are thought to be causing the disease, and announces a date for the performance of the kut. Depending upon the patient's ability to pay, the kut will be either at the home of the shaman or at the home of the patient. Next, the mu-tang prepares the food to be used and the clothes to be worn during the kut. As with the location of the kut, the quality of these preparations is related to the ability of the patient to pay for them, although the type of spirit to which the kut is to be offered also determines the elaborateness of the preparations. The spirit of a relative will generally get superior treatment, whereas an ordinary spirit will be more perfunctorily handled. The cheapest of all these curative ceremonies merely involves the reception of instructions from the shaman. The patient's family proceeds to act on their own. The relatives will paint a picture of three or seven horses on a piece of paper, wrap

some money in it, and toss it out on the street. A wealthier person will often have the kut performed at the mu-tang's home or at one of several small shrines. Hulbert lists twelve types of these shrines, the most common of which are the Mi-rŭk tang or Hall of Māitrēya, and the sŏng-hwang dang or Hall of the Guardian Spirit of the City.⁵

The cost of the ceremony will vary, depending upon the location of the kut, as indicated above. The cheapest is that held at home because the patient's family supplies all the food. That held in the mu-tang's home is more expensive because it is the mu-tang who prepares the food. Lastly, the most expensive kut is one held at a shrine, for in addition to the expense of the food, a fee must be paid to the owner of the shrine for its use.⁶

Once all the preparations have been made, the mu-tang arrives with an assistant. The assistant sits down, places a basket in front of herself and scrapes it with a piece of wood, which action summons the spirit to the seance. In the meantime, the mu-tang puts herself into a state of frenzy by leaping about. When she is possessed by the spirit, the spirit speaks through her mouth, stating the cause of the illness and the way it may be cured. Often a specific sum of money is indicated as an important aspect of the cure. The patient then thanks the spirit as it leaves the body of the mu-tang. After the conclusion of the kut, the participants eat the food offering prepared for the seance.⁷

(b) A second type of kut enables the living to enter into contact with the spirit of deceased relations. This kut is based on the notion that the spirit of the deceased will remain in the house until the burial of the corpse or, in some unusual cases, for three years after the funeral. By calling in a shaman, a spirit is

enabled to give its valedictory remarks, as Hulbert terms them. The procedure is somewhat different from that outlined above for the curative kut. Food is laid out, and the mu-tang and her assistant call the spirit in the manner described above. However, the mu-tang does not enter into a trance but remains calmly seated on the floor. After obtaining possession of the mu-tang, the spirit states what its hopes and desires had been while it was alive on earth, and adds its regrets at its inability to achieve these goals. The spirit concludes its address to its relatives with various admonitions for correct living, following which there is much weeping and sorrowful leave-taking as the spirit bids farewell. After the spirit has left, the physical remains of the food offering are consumed by the participants in the kut.⁸

(c) A third type of kut takes place after the burial of the deceased. Koreans believe that there is a class of heavenly spirits called sa-cha which call away a man's spirit to Heaven, an event which is believed to be one of the principal causes of death. A mu-tang is called in to summon the sa-cha, who is then fed and begged to lead the soul of the deceased to the land of the dead as quickly as possible. The spirit of the deceased itself might even be called up for one last farewell. Unfortunately, Hulbert does not give us a complete description of the mu-tang's actions during this kut.⁹

(d) Much of the working of Korean society is based upon the benevolent protection and assistance which is offered by a figure in authority. As it is realized that the recently deceased, who is only newly arrived in the next world, has not had time to make the necessary connections to assure his well-being, his family among the land of the living attempt to do this for him. A ceremony

which is held at a special shrine about a month and a half after the burial of the corpse constitutes a fourth kind of kut. The mu-tang calls up the spirit of the dead by going into an ecstatic trance. When the spirit of the deceased takes possession of the mu-tang, he is asked whether he has met such and such a person's spirit in the other world, to which the spirit responds by describing his experiences. The spirit of the deceased will often promise to help the living. This illustrates an interesting fact. The ties of responsibility which exist between members of a family do not cease upon death. Even after death, the living and the dead continue to assist each other. Hulbert thinks that the modern Koreans have borrowed the Buddhist concept of hell, as we find here the same belief in ten infernal judges, one of which is the supreme judge, and the others, subordinate judges. After the spirit of the deceased has been dismissed, the supreme judge is called up, presented with food, and entreated to see to the satisfactory care of the dead man's soul. This spirit assures the relatives of the dead person that there is no need to worry, and he will often compliment the food! After the supreme judge has been dismissed, the judge who has charge of the portfolio of the deceased is called up and entreated in the same manner outlined above. His response is similar to that of his superior. Finally, the spirit guardian of the dead man's house is called up, wined and dined, and asked to look after the interest of the house. When all this has been done, and while the line to the spirit world is still open, relatives feel free to call upon any of their deceased relatives and friends for a chat. It is, Hulbert says, "quite a reception or afternoon tea with the dead".¹⁰

(e) The fifth type of ceremony which Hulbert lists is one dedicated especially to the Small Pox Spirit. This spirit was so widely feared that it is the only one of the disease spirits, he claims, to have been given a specialized kut. From the fifth day of the appearance of the disease onwards a number of tabus are imposed which have clear connections with sympathetic magic. Among these tabus are the prohibition against slaughtering animals for fear that the blood of the animal will cause the patient to scratch and bleed, the prohibition against papering walls for fear that this will cause the patient's nose to become stopped up, and the prohibition against driving nails for fear that this will pockmark the patient's face. In addition to these tabus, there is a blanket prohibition against the performance of sacrifices to the ancestors, and on services offered to the spirit guardian of the household, which is done in the belief that either offering would prevent the Small Pox Spirit from receiving the offering which is set out especially for him. After the ninth day, all restrictions are removed except for the three tabus which we have detailed above. On the thirteenth day, when the Small Pox Spirit is supposed to depart, a special feast is prepared. A wooden image of a horse is made, a bag containing rice and money placed on its back, and a red umbrella and a multi-coloured flag added, all of which is then placed on the roof of the house. It is only at this point that the mu-tang is called in to entreat the spirit to deal fairly with the patient and his family. Following the kut, the prohibitions against driving nails and papering walls are enforced for another three months. The use of the mu-tang as a curative practitioner and the horse as the companion of the spirits have obvious parallels with Siberia.¹¹

(f) The sixth type of kut comprises a number of ceremonies collectively called the Yong-shin Kut, or Kut for the Dragon Spirit. These spirits, unlike most other spirits, are perceived to be benevolent, and are thought to reside in streams, rivers, and the ocean. They are propitiated in a thousand different places and on a wide variety of occasions. Often in the spring and in the autumn one may see these kuts performed, some of which we shall examine below:

(i) Most villages at some point will perform a village kut, either to propitiate the dragon for some punishment he may have inflicted on the village, or to ask for good spring rains. The mu-tang performs the kut in a boat in the middle of a stream or river close by the village. In this instance, the dragon does not possess her, but rather she prays to the dragon on behalf of the villagers. Occasionally this kut may be performed for the god of the mountain or the spirit of some heroic figure.¹²

(ii) Another type of dragon kut is performed for boats and vessels. A large merchant craft which makes only a few trips a year may have this performed before each sailing, whilst smaller craft may do it before the beginning of the season. On occasion, villagers may hold a collective kut for all of their boats. With the large craft, the mu-tang comes on board to the accompaniment of drums and reed pipes, and proceeds to call up the dragon spirit and the spirits of drowned men, which are implored to ensure a safe journey. Kuts for smaller craft omit the music because of its cost.¹³

(iii) A third type of Yong-shin Kut is performed prior to the departure of fishing vessels for a catch. The mu-tang comes aboard with her musicians, and calls up the spirit of the dragon. She confesses to the dragon that men do know that it is wrong to capture and eat his subjects. She then pleads with the dragon to overlook these infractions as they are necessary if men are to live, and concludes with a request for a bountiful catch. After the ceremony, the men go to work singing loudly. The spirit of the dragon is like a Siberian master spirit, and in particular is similar to the Eskimo spirit Sedna and the Samoyed spirit Yaumau haddaku.¹⁴

(iv) There is a special dragon kut performed in the spring and autumn by the ferrymen. Like the ceremony for merchant craft the dragon and the spirits of the drowned are called up and implored to permit a safe crossing of the river. At a ceremony performed on a ferry near Sŏ-ul, the mu-tang used to cast food offerings on the water, and then enter into a trance, illustrating in her possessed state the horrible experiences of the spirits of the drowned.¹⁵

(v) A kut used to be performed especially for vessels of war. Water spirits were feared by Korean sailors because it was thought that they would grab the sailors by the topknot into which Koreans used to bind their hair and drown them. Drowning by the spirits could be prevented if the sailor would wear a silver hairpin in his topknot.¹⁶

(g) Hulbert tells us that up to 1894, when the Korean court stopped sending envoys to the imperial court in Pei-ching, the departure of the Korean diplomats was always accompanied by a special kind of kut. As it would have been unbecoming for the government or the envoys themselves to be involved directly in the support of this practice, the kut was performed at the suggestion of the envoy's servants and attendants. Four or five mu-tangs were called in to ask for the safe return of the embassy. Spirit possession, however, did not form a part of this type of kut. The mu-tangs dressed in ambassadorial robes, offered up prayers to various gods for the safe return of the envoys and their attendants, after which there was a lengthy impersonation of the ceremony of leave-taking between an envoy and a minister of state.¹⁷

(h) The eighth and final type of kut which Hulbert lists is known variously as the San Kut or the San-shin Kut, the Kut for the Mountain God. Because it may be performed either by the supplicant himself or by a mu-tang, it is not the exclusive domain of the shaman. Hulbert says that two types of people in particular call upon the san-shin, childless women and people who seek to prolong their life. Prayers and food offerings are lifted up to the san-shin, and paper and incense are burned during the ceremony.¹⁸

Ryu groups these rites into three broad categories, rites for prosperity and happiness, curative rites, and funeral rites.¹⁹ It would seem that these three types of rituals must represent the principal life concerns of the Korean people. One should also note that funeral and curative rites involve an element of spirit possession, whilst the rites for happiness take the form of petition and prayer. This would indicate that the Koreans possess both the

more ecstatic rites of the Palaeo-Siberians, and the more petitionary and sacrificial rites of the Neo-Siberians.

3. The Spirits

Broadly speaking the Korean pantheon may be classified into six types of spirits if one includes ancestral spirits. These are:

- a) a Supreme Being, b) gods of the air and their attendant spirits,
- c) gods of the land and their associated spirits, d) gods of the water and their associated spirits, e) nameless spirits, and
- f) ancestral spirits.

3a. Ha-na-nim

Ha-na-nim is the name given to the god whom Hulbert refers to as "the Supreme Ruler of the Universe".²⁰ Clark says that people attribute to him the harvest, the rain, and even their lives. As we have seen with the Siberian tribes, little or no worship is offered directly to the Supreme Being, although in any adversity, it is his name which is first on a person's lips. If we analyze the name of the Supreme Being, we may note the following points. First, the word Ha-na-nim is a pure Korean word, and does not derive from any Chinese antecedent, such as Shang-ti or T'ien. Ha-nal or in more modern usage, ha-nŭl, means the sky, or heaven, while nim is an honorific. Ha-na-nim or variantly Ha-nŭ-nim might be translated as the Lord of Heaven, or more simply Heaven. Again, the fact that the term for the Supreme Being cannot be written in Chinese characters would indicate that the word came into being before the advent of Chinese civilisation in the peninsula. The meaning of the term Ha-na-nim would also indicate close cultural ties with several of the

Siberian tribes. The Samoyed, the Finns, the Voytak, the Mongols, the Buryat, and the Tungus all refer to the Supreme Being as Heaven or as the Ruler of Heaven.²¹

3b. Gods of the Air

(i) O-pang Chang-gun

We have seen that, although Ha-na-nim is regarded as the creator of life, worship is not offered to him directly. The running of everyday affairs is left in the hands of the spirits which are subordinate to the Supreme Being, and for this reason worship is offered more frequently to them. We have seen that this situation is similar to the beliefs of the Samoyed and the Yenesei Ostyak. The celestial world is divided into five regions, each of which is governed by a spirit general. Collectively, these spirit generals are known as the O-pang Chang-gun or the Generals of the Five Cardinal Points. The generals are identified individually by the symbolic colours which represent the region over which they have authority. The Ch'ŏng-je Chang-gun or Azure General controls the eastern celestial sector, the Paek-che Chang-gun or White General, the western sector, the Chŏk-che Chang-gun or Red General, the southern sector, the Hŭk-che Chang-gun or Black General the northern sector, and the Hwang-je Chang-gun, the central sector. Beneath each of these spirit generals are a horde of subordinate spirits which are organized along the lines of a tribal confederation, as is the case with the cosmology of several Neo-Siberian tribes. The description of the O-pang Chang-gun would also indicate that they are the master spirits of the particular celestial sphere to which they have been assigned.²²

(ii) Shin-chang

Beneath the Generals of the Five Cardinal Points are their respective officers and aides de camp, referred to as the shin-chang. These heavenly soldiers, of which there may be as many as eighty thousand or more, are the spirits which the p'an-su cultivate. Unlike the mu-tang who is possessed by the spirits, the p'an-su attempts to utilize his friendship with the shin-chang to obtain his ends. Beneath these spirits are the celestial spirits which constitute the heavenly troops. The three levels, general, officer, soldier, present a very military and orderly hierarchy of celestial beings, not unlike the nomadic hordes which roamed Central Asia and Manchuria.²³

3c. Gods of the Earth

(i) San-shin

Of all the gods of the land, the mountain god or san-shin is perhaps the most ubiquitous. The reader will recall that a stele was erected to this god circa A.D. 85. He is a master spirit for Clark tells us that he is the lord of everything which is on the mountain, whether it is animal, vegetable, or mineral. Miners, hunters, gatherers of the in-sam (ginseng) root as well as farmers whose fields are at the base of the mountain all offer up prayers to the san-shin. Clark mentions two other spirits which are actually the san-shin. He refers to the custom of the Koreans of tying a strip of cloth or a prayer to a tree, or tossing a stone onto a pile to propitiate the god of the mountain pass. This god is not a separate deity, but is the san-shin. He also draws our attention to a tree spirit to which prayers are offered at tae po-rum, the

fifteenth day of the first lunar month. The heads of the households in a particular village will gather before a rude altar in front of an ancient tree in the village to offer up prayers for a prosperous and happy new year. The prayers are not offered up, however, to the spirit of the tree, but to the san-shin. It is interesting to note that the Korean mountain god is remarkably similar to the Tungus spirit Bainaca, the master of the hunt. Like Bainaca, the Korean san-shin is pictured as an old man with a long white beard who rides or sits on a tiger.²⁴

Ryu has put forward an interesting hypothesis about the identity of the san-shin. He claims that the san-shin is a guise of the founder of the first Korean state, Tan-kun. The ancient legend which Ryu analyzes says that Tan-kun was the offspring of the son of the Lord of Heaven and a bear. After he had brought his reign to an end, Tan-kun hid himself in a mountain and became a god. Thus, Ryu claims that worship of the san-shin is not the worship of the master spirit of a mountain, but the worship of Tan-kun, grandson of the Lord of Heaven.²⁵

(ii) Ch'on-shin

Among the lesser spirits of the earth, Clark lists the tutelary spirits of the villages, which are in charge of the fertility of the fields, and which possess other functions which are similar to the role of the san-shin. He cites a little ceremony performed by farmers at lunchtime when they may offer some rice to the ch'on-shin from their lunch by tossing a portion to the ground. He considers this ritual to be similar to a custom of the Buryat.²⁶

3d. Gods of the Water

(i) Yong-shin

As with the celestial and terrestrial spheres, the waters also possess their own master spirits, the dragons. As the reader will recall, these spirits are associated both with rain, and with the mastery of aquatic animals. Villagers turn to the dragon during times of drought, and fishermen placate him before going out on a catch. As with the mountain god, Ryu argues that the belief in the dragon as the water spirit is indigenous to Korea, and is not an importation from China. Although modern Koreans use the Chinese word yong as the term for dragon, Ryu states that mi-ri or mi-rŭ is the indigenous term. A similar example may be found amongst the Tungus who worship both the lung-wang and mudurkan.²⁷

3e. Minor Spirits

(i) Song-chu

Song-chu is the principal guardian spirit of the Korean household. At harvest time, when a house is newly erected, or at any time when the members of a household feel that the guardian spirit is punishing them for some infraction, this spirit will be propitiated. In the case of the last two instances, a mu-tang will be called in to perform a kut.²⁸

(ii) Nameless Spirits

There are numerous lesser spirits beneath the gods which are unnamed, yet nonetheless, they form an important part of the cosmological conceptions of traditional Korean religion. Among these nameless spirits there are two which are considered to be benevolent spirits of good fortune, the spirit of the rice jar, and the kitchen

god. There is also a class of malevolent spirits which comprises the spirits of the vengeful dead, the spirits of the drowned, the spirits of boys and young men, and the spirits of girls who died before they were able to marry. A further group of spirits would be the mischievous imps, or to-gae-pi, which delight in cracking kitchen crockery or misplacing household items.²⁹

We have seen that the characteristics of the Korean shaman, the purposes of the shamanic ceremonies, and the gods which the shaman may invoke all bear strong similarities to the shaman, shamanic ceremonies, and shamanic spirits of the Siberian tribes. We have also seen that while there are parallels to Siberian shamanism, the parallels are not to be drawn between any one racial group and the Korean people but with all the Siberian tribes. The shamanism of Korea is a blend of Palaeo-Siberian and Neo-Siberian shamanism. The core of the indigenous religion of Korea owes nothing to Chinese cultural influences, for we have seen that even in instances where a Chinese term is used for a shamanic spirit, there is a parallel indigenous term which is undoubtedly older. The core of this shamanic religion has two principal characteristics, the presence of a hierophant or shaman who intercedes between man and the celestial sphere, and ceremonies which emphasize the primary concerns of the Korean people, prosperity, disease, and death. Ryu contends that the structure and content of modern Korean shamanism or Mu-kyo is a survival of the religion of the Korean people as it existed during the Period of Tribal States. We shall attempt to demonstrate the validity of this statement in the final section of this chapter.³⁰

B. The Religion of the Ancient States

In order to clarify the nature of the religion practised in Korea during the Period of Tribal States, we shall examine artefacts excavated from the royal tumuli in Kyōng-ju and such non-archaeological material as the titles ascribed to the rulers of the tribal states, family names, and the foundation myths of the Korean states. We shall compare this material with material drawn from modern Korean and Siberian shamanism. Most of the material in this section will concern Shil-la, the last of the three Korean kingdoms to emerge from the level of a tribal confederation. Although there is nearly a two-hundred year time-lag between the development of Ko-ku-ryō, and Paek-che on the one hand and Shil-la on the other, we shall assume that the basic characteristics of the religion of ancient Shil-la are the same as the basic characteristics of the religion of the other two states.

1. Archaeological Evidence

1a. Tomb Types

Of the three types of tomb construction which Kim Wōn-yong describes for Shil-la and Ka-ya, the conventional form of royal interment was the Piled Stone Wooden Coffin Tumulus. This was used in Korea between the fourth and seventh centuries and had been used in China until the later Han Dynasty. It is not, however, a typical Chinese method of burial as it was known to have been used originally by the Hsiung-nu as early as 500 B.C. The classical archaeological site is at Pazyrik in the Altaian region. From the tombs at Pazyrik some unusual burial items have been excavated, among the more curious of which are masks which were placed over the faces of sacrificial

horses. One of these is in the form of the face of a reindeer with antlers attached to the head. The burial items from this tomb also included a two-stringed instrument. From another tomb at Pazyrik, a winged mask for a horse was excavated. It has been suggested that it was necessary to disguise the sacrificial animal in this way so that it would become an appropriate mount to accompany the august dead to heaven. It is equally clear that the motifs used on these relics are similar to contemporary Siberian shamanic motifs.¹

1b. Burial Items

(i) Royal Crowns

Ever since the completion of the first excavation of a Shil-la royal tumulus in 1927 up to the present day, the interpretation of the precious grave relics excavated from them has been a hotly debated issue. Prominent among these artefacts are the royal crowns which are designated by the name of the tomb from which they were excavated. We shall examine the crowns from the Gold Crown Tomb, the Lucky Phoenix Tomb, the Gold Bell Tomb, and the Tomb of the Heavenly Horse. These gold crowns are made of a circular band of gold to which have been attached uprights in the shape of a branched tree crowned with buds at the front, and two other uprights in the shape of deer antlers which have been attached at the rear. From these uprights hang circular plates of gold. On the crowns from the Gold Crown Tomb and the Tomb of the Heavenly Horse, comma-shaped pieces of jade called kok-ok dangle from the uprights. From the gold bands of each of the crowns, more of the circular plates of gold are hung, and in the case of the crowns from the Gold Crown Tomb and the Tomb of the Heavenly Horse, kok-ok are also suspended. At

either side of the crowns, there are long pendants with various golden objects which hang from a golden string. In the case of the crowns from the Gold Crown Tomb and the Tomb of the Heavenly Horse, there is an inner crown. The inner crown of the former is a gold cap surmounted by large golden wings which spread out from its sides and from which dangle innumerable golden plates. The inner crown from the Tomb of the Heavenly Horse is more simple, consisting only of a helmet and visor, the surface of which has four abstract patterns which have been punched or cut through it. Two further objects of interest were excavated from the Tomb of the Heavenly Horse, one of which was a large pair of gold wings, and the other an ornament in the shape of butterfly wings. The crown from the Lucky Phoenix Tomb does not have an inner crown but does have two inner bands of gold which meet each other in a double arc, on the top of which have been placed three golden phoenixes.²

The form of the royal crowns of Shil-la may be demonstrated to be similar to the form of the caps worn by the shamans of Siberia. Holmberg, for example, shows a picture of a cap of a Yenesei Ostyak shaman which uses both the tree and antler motifs and from the sides of which hang ribbons with pendants. A Buryat shaman's cap uses similar motifs and has a long ribbon with pendants which hangs from the back of the cap. In both instances, there are two inner bands which rise from the headband to meet in a double arc at the top. As we have seen, the characteristics of these caps is surprisingly similar in both form and motifs to our description of the ancient Korean royal crowns. It will be remembered that the shaman's costume was often decorated with the bones of various animals. J. E. Kidder has identified the kok-ok (magatama in Japanese) as a jade form of a

claw or tooth. Whether one interprets the kok-ok as the claw of a bear or of a tiger, it is obvious that the use of this object was meant to indicate the special power which the wearer possessed.³

One aspect of the Korean royal crowns which we have not considered is the material out of which they were constructed. Although many archaeologists have commented on the similarity of these crowns to ancient Scythian crowns or to shamanic caps, no one to our knowledge has commented on the use of gold. Ryu has demonstrated that the use of light is a major element in the legends told about the founders of the various Korean states. He also shows that one of the titles used for the kings of ancient Shil-la is related to a Tungusic word for shaman, burkhan, and that both of these words refer to the brilliance of the heavens. This idea is found amongst other Siberian peoples, such as the Vogul, who believe that when the son of the Lord of Heaven descends to earth, he shines like gold. Gold was chosen as the material for the royal crowns not because it was a precious metal, but because it indicated the special power or divine attributes of the wearer.⁴

What may we conclude about the use of these gold crowns? Carl Hentze has said that the form and decoration of the crowns excavated from the tumuli would demonstrate that they were the ceremonial crowns of shamans and were not part of the regalia of ancient monarchs. Korean archaeologists, on the other hand, have expressed doubt as to the validity of this theory because the delicate construction of the gold crowns would preclude their frequent use. Kim Won-yong has suggested that the gold crowns might have been used as coronation crowns, as ceremonial crowns for the state sacrifices, or as entombment crowns for deceased monarchs. Hentze would imply that the

crowns had only a religious function, while Kim says that their use was only political. We believe that both explanations may have been true. The reader will recall that amongst several Siberian tribes, such as the Koryak and the Buryat, there was no distinction made between political leaders and persons said to possess shamanic power. The Tungus tribes, for example, elected shamans as heads of the tribal council. This would suggest that the same situation may have existed in Shil-la during the Period of Tribal States. It is our conviction that the kings of Shil-la were not only the political leaders of their nation but were its spiritual leaders as well. They were shamans of the highest order and were undoubtedly the ch'ŏn-kun referred to in the Chinese records. If we assume that prior to the advent of the Three Kingdoms the Korean peninsula formed a single cultural sphere, the early leaders of Pu-yŏ, Ko-ku-ryŏ, and the other tribal states by implication must also have been shamans. This supposition is confirmed by other evidence, which we shall discuss.⁵

(ii) Royal Girdles

Belts of gold are another common artefact which are found in Shil-la royal burials. We shall consider two of these belts, one from the Gold Crown Tomb, and another from the Tomb of the Heavenly Horse. The first of these girdles consists of some forty-one plates of gold which are linked together to form a single belt and are decorated with an intricate fret-work design. At the ends are the clasp and buckle, both of which are made of gold. From the links of the girdle are suspended seventeen pendant chains, the longest of which consists of nineteen linked gold plates, and which terminates

in a golden plate. The whole of this latter chain is covered with the same dangling objects which we have described for the crown taken from this tomb. Some of the remaining pendant chains terminate in long plates of gold, the remainder in various curious objects. Two of these objects are plates made of an exquisite open-work design, while the third object would appear to be some sort of case, a knife case, perhaps. Kim Wŏn-yong suggests that the larger of the golden plates may be an imitation of a Chinese ceremonial object. The four remaining objects are of particular interest. The first object is a kok-ok with a golden cap to attach it to the chain, the second is a golden model of a kok-ok, the third is a piece of jade enclosed in a mesh of golden wire, whilst the last object is a golden plate shaped like a fish.⁶

The girdle excavated from the Tomb of the Heavenly Horse is much like the one described above. It consists of forty-four links plus a buckle and a clasp. From the belt links are suspended thirteen pendant chains. As before, the longest of these chains terminates in a strange plate of gold, and the whole chain is covered with dangling plates of gold. There are also two pieces of gold-capped kok-ok, a basket of gold open-work, and a golden fish. Also excavated from the same tomb were belts made of silver, the decoration of which, however, is different in type from the decoration of the golden girdles.⁷

The staff of the National Museum of Korea tell us that girdles of the type excavated from the Korean royal tumuli had been used by nomadic peoples in northern Asia from a very ancient period and that by the Six Dynasties Period (222 to 589) the usage of these girdles had diffused into China. From China it is believed that the use of

these ceremonial objects spread into the Korean peninsula. With Kim Wŏn-yong, we believe that this view is incorrect. As Korea had for a long period been a part of the non-Chinese Northeast Asian cultural sphere and may be presumed to have had continuous cultural contacts with the various barbarian tribes, we do not think that the use of these crowns spread from China to Korea. On the contrary, we think that the use of these crowns must have formed a part of the indigenous ceremonial regalia of the Korean shaman-kings during the Period of Tribal States. Moreover, it is clear that the golden belts are shamanic girdles. The kok-ok, which may be interpreted as animal claws, are similar to the bones of various animals and birds which decorate the Siberian shaman's costume and which are symbols of his spiritual power. Other objects which dangle from the Korean royal girdles, such as the golden fish, find their parallel with the objects which are hung on the modern shaman's clothing. Thus, the use of these girdles derived directly from the barbarian peoples of northern Asia, and were worn as the symbol of the spiritual power of the king.⁸

(iii) Shoes

Kim Wŏn-yong tells us that shoes are another type of burial item which have been excavated from the royal tumuli. They are not made of solid gold as were the objects which we have described above, but are made of gilt bronze. The reader will recall that they also are one of the three principal elements of the Siberian shaman's costume. This would indicate that the constituent elements of the modern Siberian shaman's costume and the royal regalia of the kings of ancient Shil-la are the same. Other burial items from the royal

tombs are of interest. The ear-rings and necklaces which the deceased monarchs wore, like the crowns and girdles mentioned above, are covered with various dangling objects.⁹ This is such a notable characteristic of Shil-la's culture that Kidder calls it a 'passion' and adds that "one might facetiously characterize them (the men of Shil-la) as fabricators of a 'dangling culture'".¹⁰ The same could be said of Siberian culture.

(iv) Eggs

Among the more curious objects which have been excavated from the Tomb of the Heavenly Horse is an ordinary pottery vessel containing eggs. No one to our knowledge has offered an explanation for this burial item. A simple explanation might be that the eggs had been placed in the tomb as a food offering to the spirit of the deceased king. As most of the other burial items have been shown to have connections with shamanism, we believe that it is reasonable to assume that this item has a shamanic meaning as well. It is related, of course, to the ornithological motif, which is one of the principal motifs of shamanic power. The Yenesei Ostyak say that their first shaman was born from an eagle's egg and the Tungus believe that the souls of men perch like birds in a tree waiting to be born. The myth which is told about Kim Al-chi, the founder of the Kim Dynasty of Shil-la, says that he was born from a golden egg. Oviparous birth is a common motif in the birth narratives of Korean heroes. It is particularly important in this context as the king buried in the Tomb of the Heavenly Horse was a member of the Kim Dynasty. The inclusion of eggs amongst the burial items in this tomb was not only a reference to the origins of the family, but was also a symbol of

the spiritual power which the king was thought to possess.¹¹

(v) Comparison with Paek-che

The characteristics of the Shil-la burial items are also similar to materials which have been excavated recently from the royal tombs of Paek-che. For example, a gilt bronze crown from Na-chu shows strong similarities to the gold crowns of Shil-la. This crown consists of an inner and an outer crown. The outer crown is a band with three uprights in the shape of blossoming trees attached to it. From the trees and the outer band itself hang several golden plates. The inner crown is shaped like a cap with floral decorations on it. Impressive grave objects have been excavated from the tomb of King Mu-ryŏl (501 to 523) and his queen. The regal headpieces of the monarch and his consort are shaped like twisted trees with flowers loaded on the branches. The king's headpiece is also decorated with dangling plates of gold. Both the king and queen were buried with ear-rings similar to the ones which have come to light from the Shil-la tombs, and pieces of kok-ok with intricately decorated gold caps were also found in the same tomb. These artefacts would indicate that the regalia worn by the kings of Shil-la were not unique but were typical of a culture which was characteristic of the entire peninsula. As we have said elsewhere, by implication, the kings of Paek-che must also have been shamans, or at least descended from families of hereditary shamans.¹²

(vi) Corroborative Evidence from the Bronze Age

Recent archaeological evidence from the Bronze Age would indicate that the motifs which decorate artefacts from the Period of Tribal

States are of great antiquity. Three items are of interest here - two bronze belt buckles, one in the shape of a horse and the other in the shape of a tiger, have been discovered in the County of Yǒng-ch'ŏn in North Kyǒng-sang Province. Although both of these objects may be said to reflect the Scythian animal style, the particular choice of motif is of considerable interest. Horses are not merely the most important animal in the nomadic life of the barbarian tribes, they are the animals which assist the shaman on his journey to encounter the Supreme Being. Likewise, the tiger as the master of all animals is an important shamanic spirit. A third object which comes from the period of Scythian influence is called a sot-tae kan-tu and dates to the fifth or fourth centuries B.C. This object, made of bronze, is a finial which was placed on the tip of a pole, and is in the shape of an arc capped by a figure of a bird on either end. Poles which were capped by the sot-tae kan-tu were erected in the centre of a so-to where the shamanistic rites were performed during the ancient period. This object is similar to items which are used in modern Korean shamanistic ceremonies, and recalls descriptions of the Buryat shaman's enclosure. The discovery of objects such as these would indicate that some of the elements of the religion of the Period of Tribal States must date back at least as far as the Bronze Age.¹³

2. Historical Evidence

2a. Linguistic Evidence

(i) Titles of Tribal Leaders

The titles ascribed to the early kings of Shil-la would also confirm our contention that these rulers were shamans. Before the adoption of the Chinese term wang for king by King Pōp-hŭng (514 to 539), four terms had been used for the ruler. These were kō-sō-kan, ch'a-ch'a-ung, ni-sa-kūm, and ma-rip-kan. The last of these terms was adopted sometime in the fourth century and meant the great khan or king. The earlier terms, however, show distinct shamanic influences. The title attributed to the first 'king' was kō-sō-kan, or one who performs a rite of sacrifice. The term ch'a-ch'a-ung, which was applied to the second 'king' of Shil-la, meant a shaman, and is used as a word for mu-tang in our own day on the island of Che-chu. Ni-sa-kūm means an elder or one who succeeds another person. The meaning of these terms takes on added meaning when we recall that the Sam-Han peoples referred to the chief celebrant at the state sacrifices as the ch'ōn-kun or Prince of Heaven, a term not dissimilar to the title of the Japanese emperor, tennō. Contrary to the arguments of Korean scholars, such as Ryu, that the political and spiritual leaders of the tribal states were two different people, the linguistic evidence would indicate that the two roles were occupied by the same person. The separation of roles may have occurred by the time of the Three Kingdoms, but it is our contention that during the Period of Tribal States, the rulers were the chief sacramental leaders of their people.¹⁴

(ii) Names of Clans

The connection between shamanism and the royal clans of ancient Shil-la may be illustrated by the names which each clan chose for itself. The Kyōng-ju Kim family, which contributed the majority of monarchs to the Shil-la Kingdom, use the character 金 to write their name, which is the character for gold. As we have shown in the section devoted to the royal crowns, the use of gold in the construction of the crowns and other royal regalia was done to represent both the brilliance of Heaven and the spiritual power of the shaman-king. Likewise, the character gold must have been selected as the royal clan name to illustrate the purported divine nature of the royal house. The birth narrative of the founding ancestor of the Kim family, Kim Al-chi, indicates clearly that there was a relationship between the brilliant objects which were associated with his birth and the choice of his surname. The narrative also includes the typical ornithological motif; the birth of the founder is announced by a crowing cock.¹⁵

The fourth 'king' of Shil-la was T'ar-hae, founder of the Sōk 昔 clan. The birth narrative of T'ar-hae states that his mother gave birth to an egg, which was placed on a boat and set adrift, because oviparous birth was said to be an evil omen. As the boat neared the shores of Shil-la, its approach was heralded by a group of magpies which danced and sang. The legend states that the character sōk was chosen for T'ar-hae's surname because that character is similar to the character for magpie (鶯) and adds that T'ar-hae means to throw off the shell, a reference to his oviparous birth.¹⁶

The relationship between clan names and shamanic concepts is a phenomenon which was not limited to Shil-la alone. The reader will recall that we have encountered this practice before in the tribal names of the Pu-yŏ Confederation. We may infer that the bearers of such names were not mere mortals, but were perceived to stand in some special relationship to the realm of the spirits. This conclusion is given further confirmation when we remember that those members of the aristocracy who laid claim to the right of succession to the throne of Shil-la were placed in a class designated as Holy Bone. Bone again is one of the symbols of shamanic power.

2b. Evidence from Legendary Sources

The foundation legends of the ancient Korean states also give good evidence for the conjoining of the roles of spiritual leader and political leader in one man. In this section, we shall examine the earliest of these legends, the story of Tan-kun founder of the state of Cho-sŏn, in the light of the analysis of Ryu Tong-shik.¹⁷ The legend is quoted from the first book (卷第一) of the Sam-kuk Yu-sa:

(i) The Myth of Tan-kun

"It is written in the Wei Shu,

'Two thousand years ago, there was a man called Tan-kun Wang-kŏm who created a city at A-sa-tal and founded a nation called Cho-sŏn. This was in the time of the Emperor Yao.

It is written in an old book,

"In ancient times, Hwan-ung, the son of Hwan-in - this means Che-sŏk - desired to descend from Heaven and to live amongst men. His father, realizing his son's intentions, chose among three great mountains to descend upon T'ae-paek San, and saw that mankind would greatly benefit (from such work). He gave his son the Three Heavenly Treasures and commanded him to go and rule (over mankind).

"Taking with him three thousand of his followers, he descended upon the pinnacle of T'ae-paek San beneath the Sacred Sandlewood Tree. That area was called the land of God, and he was known as Hwan-ung Ch'ŏn-wang. Together with his ministers of wind (風伯), rain (雨師), and cloud (雲師), he instructed mankind about agriculture, the preservation of life, the curing of disease, punishments, the difference between right and wrong, in all some three hundred and sixty kinds of work.

"At that time, there was a bear and a tiger which lived together in a cave. They prayed incessantly to Hwan-ung saying, 'please transform us into men'. Then, Shin-yŏng (Hwan-ung) gave them some magwort and twenty pieces of garlic and said, 'if you eat this, and if you do not see light for one hundred days, you will become men'. At the end of three times seven days, the bear became a woman. The tiger, which could not endure (the ordeal), did not become a man.

"As there was no one with whom the woman Ung-nyŏ could marry, she went constantly to the base of the Sacred Sandlewood Tree to pray for a child. Hwan-ung changed his mind and married her. A son was born who was called Tan-kun Wang-kŏm. In the fiftieth year of the Emperor Yao, in the region year Keng-yin, Tan-kun established a city at P'yŏng-yang and called the nation Cho-sŏn. He later moved his city to A-sa-tal on Paek-ak San, which was also known as Kung-ch'ŏng San or as A-sa-tal. He governed (the nation) for 1,500 years. When King Hu of Chou was on the throne, in the reign year Chi-mao, the king enfeifed Ki-cha with (the state of) Cho-sŏn. Tan-kun then transferred to Chang-dang Gyŏng. Later, he returned to A-sa-tal and hid himself, becoming a mountain god. At this time, he was 1908 years of age."¹⁸

(ii) Analysis of the Myth

Ryu Rong-shik holds that there are three mythic structures which are characteristic of this story: a) belief in the descent of the Lord of Heaven, b) belief in the Great Earth Mother and in rebirth, and c) creation as the union of Heaven and Earth. We shall examine each of these in turn.

(a) This legend gives conclusive support to the antiquity of the belief in a Lord of Heaven. Ryu demonstrates that the Chinese characters composing the word Hwan-in were borrowed for the purposes of writing the sound of the Korean word hwan-im, which refers to the brilliance of the sky. These same characters form part of one of the titles of the god Indra and constitute one further means of underlining the reference to a Supreme Being. The name Hwan-ung is composed of the hwan in Hwan-in, and ung which means male, or in this case, son. As we have pointed out, the belief that the Lord of Heaven had sons and a normal family life is not an uncommon concept amongst Siberian peoples. Amongst the Vogul it is believed that the Son of Heaven descends once a week to oversee men's affairs. The third and fourth elements composing the belief in the descent of a heavenly god are the mention of T'ae-Paek San and the Sacred Sandlewood Tree as the location of the descent, which Ryu compares to the belief in the cosmic tree and the cosmic mountain, which are the places where heaven and earth are believed to meet. Ryu further contends that the contemporary belief in the san-shin or sŏng-hwang shin is in reality a disguised belief in the Ch'ŏn-shin, the God of Heaven.¹⁹

(b) The second structure which Ryu suggests composes the myth of Tan-kun, is a belief in the Earth Mother Spirit. He identifies

this mythic structure as a legendary presentation of a rite of passage. Ung-nyō the bear woman is identified as the Earth Mother Spirit, the goddess of fertility, and the cave motif is stated to be a common representation of a womb. One of the features of a belief in the Earth Mother or Grain Spirit is a dying and rising again to new life. As the belief in the Grain Spirit is characteristic of the agricultural societies of southern Asia, the presence of this mythic structure in the myth of Tan-kun would indicate the diffusion of certain cultural influences from that part of Asia into Korea. From Ryu's analysis of the various elements of this mythic structure, we shall single out one component for mention. The Three Heavenly Treasures he sees as symbols of the power to control heaven, earth and the world after death, which in turn he correlates to the instruments used by the shamans (巫具).²⁰

(c) The third structure of this myth is the union of Heaven and earth, which leads to Creation. Ostensibly, the Tan-kun myth is about the origin of the state of Cho-sōn. It is more than that in Ryu's mind. It is about the creation of the world as we now know it. The son of the God of Heaven descends, transformations take place; the union of a god with these transformed beings leads to new life, to the creation of Tan-kun. Ryu demonstrates an interesting correlation between the Altaic word for the Lord of Heaven, Tengri-Kam, and Tan-kun Wang-kōm. He contends that Tan-kun is an attempt to write in Chinese characters the Altaic word tengri, and that kōm is an attempt to write the word kam, Tan-kun, he says, might be interpreted as shin-in or divine man, or as mu-kun, the prince of the shamans. This latter interpretation is particularly important when we recall that one of the titles of the ritual leader during the

Period of Tribal States was ch'ŏn-kun or Prince of Heaven. Ryu's analysis would imply that the rulers of that time consciously made allusions to themselves as shamans. It is interesting to note that dialectical variants of Tan-kun, tan-kol and tan-kŭl, are used today in the Chŏl-la Provinces to describe the hereditary shamans. For Ryu, the myth of Tan-kun and the foundation myths of the other Korean states, the myth of Chu-mong of Ko-ku-ryŏ, and the myth of Hyŏk-kŏ-se of Shil-la, are myths of creation. Creation according to Ryu's interpretation results from the union of Heaven and earth, god and man.²¹

Utilizing the analysis of these foundation legends, Ryu goes on to examine the ancient rituals of Korea, the history of Korean shamanism, and the condition of contemporary shamanism in Korea. He makes four conclusions from this analysis. First, the religion of the ancient period has the same structure as modern shamanism. Second, the form of Korean shamanistic ritual in every period consists in participation in drinking, dancing, and singing. Third, great emphasis is placed on the recreation of the world and man. Fourth, the shamanism of Korea is essentially the same as the shamanism of northeast Asia. The following are distinguishing characteristics:

- 1) unlike Tungusic shamans who fly up to meet the spirits, Korean shamans call the gods down;
- 2) the Tungusic shaman offers up objects to the spirits, the Korean shaman effects communication through dancing and singing;
- 3) like their northeast Asian counterparts, the Korean shaman's work consists primarily in the offering of requests for a prosperous life, the curing of disease, and the sending of the souls of the dead to the other world.²²

C. Conclusions

In summarizing the material which we have examined in Unit II, we may draw the following conclusions:

1. There is a family unity which exists between the religion of pre-Buddhist Korea, and the shamanism of modern Korea and Siberia. We have seen that they hold to similar cosmological beliefs. There is a common belief in a Supreme Being who is called Heaven or the Lord of Heaven, in master spirits, and life after death. We have seen that there is a common repertoire of motifs used to express these beliefs. The use of the bird, bear, horse, and tiger as companions to the shaman is a universal trait. We have seen that there is a common belief in the close relationship between Heaven and earth, and that this relationship is facilitated by the intervention of a man, the shaman. We have seen that there is a common use of certain shamanic instruments, such as the drum. We have seen that the dress used by the shamans and the ancient royal regalia share common characteristics, such as the cap, belt, and shoes. We have seen that there are similarities in the place of shamanizing, such as the ancient Korean so-to, and the Buryat enclosure. Lastly, we have seen that there were similar rites of propitiation, curing, and the dispatch of the dead. Rites connected with the agricultural cycle, such as those held in the fifth and tenth lunar months, were also found amongst all three groups.

2. Ancient Korean religion consisted in a belief in three kinds of major spirits: the Lord of Heaven called Ha-nū-nim or Ch'on-shin, his son, and the master spirits.

3. Analysis of Korean legends shows them to be composed of three structures, the descent of the Lord of Heaven, the dying and

rebirth of the Earth Goddess, and creation as the result of the union of Heaven and earth.

4. The Koreans of the ancient period believed in a contemporary communion of men with Heaven which took place through the agency of the shaman.

5. Communication between men and the realm of the spirits centred on three important functions, the petition for prosperity and happiness, the curing of disease, and the dispatch of the dead into the next world.

6. Analysis of the ancient royal burial objects has shown them to be similar in type and decoration to the dress of contemporary Siberian shamans. Likewise, analysis of the legends told about the founders of the several Korean states has shown that these stories use the same motifs which are used to describe the shamans of Siberia. This leads us to the conclusion that the kings during the Period of Tribal States were shamans, or were descended from families of hereditary shamans and were perceived to stand in a unique relationship between Heaven and earth. They were, as Ryu suggests, divine men.

7. The divinity of the ancient monarchs implied, according to the myth of Tan-kun the divine origin of the universe, of human culture, and of human government. The kings when they took upon themselves the sacramental role of ch'ŏn-kun became the supreme shaman, the supreme intercessor for their people with the Lord of Heaven.

UNIT III

BUDDHISM

CHAPTER 5 BUDDHISM IN KOREA, THE FIRST CENTURIES

A. Buddhism in Ko-ku-ryō

By the beginning of the fourth century, significant cultural and political changes were beginning to take place in the Korean peninsula. The Korean kingdoms were now completely within the orbit of Chinese civilisation. Although they had submitted culturally to China, the Three Kingdoms had grown remarkably in political and military strength. No period had such a formative influence on later Korean culture than did the period between the third and fourth centuries, with the possible exception of the late nineteenth century. It was a period of change and vigour when a revitalized or 'modernized' Korean culture asserted itself. Along with these other cultural changes, Buddhism became the principal religion of the Korean states. This dramatic change in culture first took place in Ko-ku-ryō and Paek-che and then later in Shil-la.

It is usually said that Buddhism was first introduced to the Korean peninsula when the missionary monk Sun-to arrived in the capital of Ko-ku-ryō in the year 372, the second year of the reign of King So-su-rim. The monk arrived as the emissary of the Emperor Fu-ch'ien of Former Chin who was an ardent Buddhist believer. The emperor had sent Sun-to to preach to King So-su-rim and had entrusted him with some gifts which he was to give to the king. Among these gifts were sūtras, ritual implements and several Buddhist statues. The king went out to the gate of the capital to greet his distinguished visitor and accompanied him to the royal palace. Once established within the palace precincts, the Hae-tong Ko-sŭng Chōn tells us that he began the work of proselytization amongst the members

of the court circle.¹

Although 372 is usually considered to be the date when Buddhism first came to Korea, there are three reasons why we should doubt this. The Kao-sêng Chuan records that the eminent southern Chinese monk Chih-tun entered into correspondence with a monk from Ko-ku-ryō for whom he had a high regard. Chih-tun is believed to have died in the year 366, or some six years before Buddhism is believed to have come into Ko-ku-ryō. If the monk to whom Chih-tun wrote was in his mid-thirties at the time of their correspondence, and if the correspondence took place during the last year of Chih-tun's life, the Ko-ku-ryō monk must have taken monastic vows sometime around the year 350. In the second place, we need to recall the turbulent political situation in China during the early part of the fourth century. The imperial capital at Lo-yang had been sacked again in 311, which had caused the collapse of the government and the dismemberment of the state. We know that these disorders caused monks to leave the north to go to the comparative quiet of southern China. Is it strange to think that some of these monks might have found their way to the barbarian state of Ko-ku-ryō? If this is so, it is conceivable that there might have been a Buddhist presence in Korea some fifty years prior to the official date of its introduction. There is a third reason why we may assume that Buddhism was present in Ko-ku-ryō prior to A.D. 372. The Tomb of Tong-shou or An-ak Number Three Tomb in the Nang-nang area which dates to the year 357 utilizes a form of roof construction known as the tsao-ching pattern and is decorated with paintings which have the lotus motif on them. The lotus motif is an obvious Buddhist symbol and the tsao-ching roof is found as a part of several Buddhist cave temples, such as Tun-huang and

Yun-kang. The Academy of Science of the D.P.R.K. is convinced that this indicates a Buddhist presence prior to the year 372.²

Even though 372 may not be the date of the entrance of Buddhism into Korea, it is not without any significance as it does represent the close political ties which existed between Former Chin and Ko-ku-ryō. The three states of Former Chin, Former Yen (348 to 370) and Ko-ku-ryō bordered on each other. As Former Yen constituted a threat to both Former Chin and Ko-ku-ryō, these two states found good reason to enter into cordial relations with each other. When the state of Former Yen collapsed in 370, one of its leaders, Mu-jing P'ing, tried to escape to Ko-ku-ryō. The King of Ko-ku-ryō had him taken into custody and sent him back to the victorious invading forces of Former Chin. Two years after this incident, the Emperor Fu-ch'ien sent the missionary monk Sun-to to King So-su-rim. Looked at in this way, it can be seen that Buddhist mission work became a factor in the political relationships between the two states. With the prestige of the Emperor of Former Chin behind it, Buddhism became socially and politically acceptable for members of the court to practise. The political nature of Fu-ch'ien's gesture would also explain why the king took the extraordinary step of greeting the Buddhist emissary at the city gate rather than granting him an audience after his arrival in the Ko-ku-ryō capital. Lastly, Fu-ch'ien may have urged the acceptance of Buddhism for an unusual spiritual-political reason, for at that time it was believed that the practice of Buddhism would guarantee the protection of the Buddhas over the state. Thus Fu-ch'ien may have urged the acceptance of Buddhism for three reasons, for personal faith, as a symbol of the

cultural and political relations which existed between the two states, and lastly as a means of protecting the state spiritually.³

Two years after the arrival of Sun-to, the monk A-to arrived from Northern Wei. The Sam-kuk Yu-sa says that A-to was not a foreigner, but was a returning citizen of Ko-ku-ryō who was the offspring of a union between A-kul-ma, an official of Northern Wei who had been resident in Ko-ku-ryō, and a Ko-ku-ryō woman, Ko-to-nyōng. A-to's mother must have been a Buddhist as it is said that at the age of five he heard his mother's words, left home, and entered a monastery. At the age of 16 he left Ko-ku-ryō for Northern Wei where he met his father, and settled down for three years to study under the Buddhist scholar Hsüan-chang. When he was 19, he returned to Ko-ku-ryō and set about the task of Buddhist evangelization. This story is one further indication that Buddhism must have been known in Ko-ku-ryō before the official date of its acceptance.

The third of the early missionaries to Ko-ku-ryō was T'an-shih (Tam-shi in Korean) who was a native of the Kuan-chung region of China, modern Shen-si. He arrived in Ko-ku-ryō in the fifth year of the reign of King Kwang-gae-t'o (395) and brought with him a large number of Buddhist texts. He is supposed to have stayed in Ko-ku-ryō for ten years, after which time he returned to his native place. Although little is actually known about this monk, he must have been held in very high regard as virtually all the stories told about him involve magical practices and mysterious doings. He was also known as the White Footed Master because it was said that his feet were whiter than his face and would not become muddied even though he passed through a turgid stream.⁵

Following the arrival of these early missionaries, temples were constructed for their use as soon as was possible. King So-su-rim ordered the Sŏng-mun Temple to be built for Sun-to, and the I-pul-lan Temple to be built for A-to. The former became known as the Hŭng-guk Temple, while the latter became the Hŭng-bok Temple. Although the meaning of I-pul-lan is not known, it is significant to note that the temple which was built for Sun-to took its name from the gate at which the missionary had been met by King So-su-rim.⁶ While we can know very little of what these men actually taught, we can make a few guesses. In a later period the Sam-non School became the predominant form of Buddhism in Ko-ku-ryŏ. As the Buddhist scholar Buddhahadra upon whose thought this school developed was active during this period, it seems plausible that both Sun-to and A-to could have come under his influence. If this supposition is correct, then the evangelism of these men laid the foundations of the Sam-non School in Ko-ku-ryŏ.⁷

Temple building and evangelism were continued vigorously under the successors of King So-su-rim. His immediate successor, King Ko-kuk-yang (384 to 391), laid great stress on evangelism amongst the people, taking Buddhism out of the court circle and spreading its benefits amongst the ordinary citizens. Ko-kuk-yang's successor, the great King Kwang-gae-t'o, turned Ko-ku-ryŏ into a Buddhist state. Among other tangible results of his efforts, he ordered the construction of nine temples in and around the P'yŏng-yang area, which was the region of the southern capital. One indication of the strength of Buddhism at that time, and perhaps an argument for a longer history of Buddhism in Ko-ku-ryŏ is the number of monks who began to go to China for study in this early period. Probably the greatest of

these monks was Sŭng-nang who is said to have been the student of an otherwise unknown Ko-ku-ryō monk, Pōp-to. Sŭng-nang went to China to study under the great Kumārajīva at the Ts'ao-t'ang on Chung Shan. He emphasized the Hua-yen (in Korean Hwa-ōm) and the San-lun doctrines and helped to lay the foundations for the development of the San-lun School in China. The Emperor Wu of Liang (502 to 549) was said to have been greatly impressed by Sŭng-nang's erudition.⁸

Sŭng-nang was not the only famous monk to go to China. The monk Shil and his disciple In went to Ch'ên (557 to 587) to study. However, they were caught in the political chaos attending the collapse of the state and so had to flee to what is now Sze-chuan, and it is claimed that they were responsible for the spread of Buddhism in that region. During this same period the monk P'a-yak went to T'ien-t'ai Shan to study the T'ien-t'ai doctrine with the eminent Chinese monk Chih-che. He did not return to Ko-ku-ryō, but is reported to have died in China.⁹

As Buddhism advanced in Ko-ku-ryō, a sense of missionary zeal was growing up at the same time. In the second year of King P'yōng-wōn (559 to 590) and the thirteenth year of the Japanese king Bidatsu, the Ko-ku-ryō monk Hye-p'yōn (in Japanese Keiben) went to Japan and was responsible for the conversion of a woman who became known as the nun Zenshin who in turn had two famous disciples, the nuns Zenzō and Keizen. Of those Ko-ku-ryō monks who went to Japan perhaps none proved to be more influential than Hye-ch'a (in Japanese Keiji). He crossed over to Japan in the year 595 to become the tutor of the crown prince, Shōtoku Taishi, who was responsible for the far reaching political and religious changes which completely renovated Japanese society in the seventh century. In the year 602,

two more Ko-ku-ryō monks crossed over to Japan for the purpose of evangelization. These were Sung-nyung (in Japanese Sōryū) and Un-ch'ong (in Japanese Unshū). Again, in the year 610, the famous artist monks Tam-ching (in Japanese Donchō) and Pōp-chōng (in Japanese Hōtei) entered Japan together. It is Tam-ching especially who is credited with the creation of the beautiful wall paintings in the Kintō of the Hōryū Temple. Finally, there is Hye-kwan (in Japanese Keikan) who entered Japan in 625 after a long period of study in China. While he was in Sui, he had studied the San-lun doctrines under the Chinese monk Chi-ts'ang. He stayed on in China after the establishment of T'ang, but finally felt the pull of a missionary calling. With the Paek-che monk Kwan-nūk (in Japanese Kanroku), he helped to establish the Sanron Sect there. There is a curious story associated with Hye-kwan. It is said that the Japanese Empress Suiko (592 to 628) commanded Hye-kwan to pray for rain. When he did so, a tremendous rain storm began immediately, which so impressed the Empress that she honoured the monk with the title of sōjō, the highest clerical rank, and ordered the erection of a temple for the propagation of the Sanron doctrines. The stream of incoming Ko-ku-ryō monks continued up to the end of the state in the late seventh century. The monk To-hyōn (in Japanese Tōgen) was a resident in the Daian Temple and is credited with the writing of the Nihon Seiki. It is said that by observing a mouse clinging to the tail of a horse, he had a premonition of the fall of Ko-ku-ryō.¹⁰

The strong ties which Ko-ku-ryō had established with continental Buddhism in the fourth and fifth centuries continued throughout the sixth and seventh centuries. To mention the work of three monks will be sufficient to indicate the importance of these ties. The

Hae-tong Ko-sŭng Chŏn records that there was a sixth century monk of Ko-ku-ryŏ, Ŭi-yŏn, who not only had a broad knowledge of Buddhism, but was well versed in Confucian philosophy and in Dark Learning. At the same time, there was an eminent monk of Northern Ch'i (550 to 577), Fa-shang, who was the leading Buddhist monk during the reign of the Emperor Wên-hsuan (550 to 559). The Prime Minister of Ko-ku-ryŏ, Wang Ko-tŏk, began to delve into the origins and development of Buddhism. Being unable to satisfy himself on certain points, he wrote a letter to Fa-shang which was carried to the Chinese monk by Ŭi-yŏn. Wang desired to know when the Buddha had entered nirvāṇa and when Buddhism had been introduced to China. He also had various questions about the sūtras. Upon his return, Ŭi-yŏn began to propagate Buddhism more vigorously than before. At this time, there could not have been a thorough explanation of Buddhism which had reached down to the ordinary man as the Hae-tong Ko-sŭng Chŏn tells us that Ŭi-yŏn "skillfully persuaded and led the straying masses". Again, it is recorded that in the beginning of the Sui Dynasty, the monk Chi-hwang went to Sui to study under some of the eminent Hīnayāna monks there. This would indicate not only that Hīnayāna was present at this period in China, but that its influence had seeped over into Ko-ku-ryŏ. Finally, at the end of the Ko-ku-ryŏ state, it is said that the monk Po-tŏk was responsible for the gathering of books on Taoism in China and the introduction of the Yŏl-pan Sect (Nirvāṇa Sect) into the peninsula.¹¹

Toward the end of Ko-ku-ryŏ, the upper classes turned to Taoism. This and the collapse of the state in the war fought with T'ang and Shil-la are often said to show that Buddhism in Ko-ku-ryŏ disappeared completely during this period. The state may have

disappeared, but Buddhism had not vanished from the land. Shil-la's attempt at peninsular unification was incomplete. After the collapse of Ko-ku-ryō a new state arose from her ashes. We must now turn to a brief description of Buddhism within this successor state to Ko-ku-ryō.¹²

B. Par-hae

Nearly thirty years after the demise of Ko-ku-ryō, a new state arose in Manchuria called Par-hae. Ko-ku-ryō had never been entirely conquered by T'ang and Shil-la. After the collapse of the central administration, eleven walled cities held out and never submitted to T'ang. Li Chin-ch'ung, a Khitanese commander, had been assigned the task of preventing the further westward encroachment on T'ang of the Ko-ku-ryō and Mo-ho peoples. Instead, in 696, he rose up against T'ang putting the whole region into political confusion. This revolt provided an opportunity for a former general of Ko-ku-ryō, Tae Cho-yōng, to organize several of the Manchurian tribes into a new state. He gathered around him the remnants of the Ko-ku-ryō people and the Mo-ho, Su-shên, and Ye-maek tribes to form a new state called Chin Kuk. That this new state was seen to be the successor to the defunct state of Ko-ku-ryō is evidenced by letters sent by the second and third kings of the new state to the Japanese king. The second king, Mu (719 to 737), in his letter says that "this nation is built upon the land of Ko-ku-ryō, and keeps the customs of Pu-yō". In the letter sent by the third king, Mun (737 to 793), the monarch refers to himself as Ko-ku-ryō kuk-wang, King of Ko-ku-ryō. In the year 713, the name Par-hae was substituted for Chin Kuk. The early years of Par-hae were uncertain. T'ang did not want a strong state on her

northeastern border, and connived at tribal warfare against Par-hae. Par-hae responded by sending a naval squadron to attack the Shan-tung peninsula in 732, which evoked a joint response by T'ang and Shil-la. This counterattack was successfully repulsed by Par-hae. A treaty of peace was signed with T'ang, but not with Shil-la. This situation of confrontation with Shil-la forced Par-hae to seek better relations with Japan. Thus a long period of frigid relations set in between the two Korean states.

The culture of the new state was borrowed largely from T'ang. Its governmental forms, its art, and city planning all came from T'ang models. Particularly outstanding was the layout of its capital city, Tong-gyŏng Sŏng, which was modelled after the T'ang capital of Ch'ang-an. Ko-ku-ryŏ influence on the arts, however, did not wane, for archaeologists have noticed its stamp on such mundane objects as roof tiles, and the presence of the on-to system of heating, which is unique to Korea. The nation conducted trade with both China and Japan, its primary items of export being animal hides, ginseng and honey. The kingdom reached its greatest period of prosperity under King Sŏn (818 to 830) at which time Chinese authors began to refer to Par-hae as hai-tung shêng-kuo, the prosperous state to the east of the sea. The tenth century saw the total disruption of the political system of East Asia with the collapse of T'ang, Par-hae, and Shil-la. Par-hae never formed a fully integrated culture which was capable of unifying the various tribal groups, but always remained a union dominated by the Ko-ku-ryŏ ruling class. Consequently, this weakness made Par-hae incapable of meeting the advances of the warlike Khitan tribes. After destroying T'ang, they turned east and eliminated Par-hae in 926. It was only then that the ethnic unity

of the Par-hae élite and the people of Shil-la was revealed. During those turbulent years, thousands fled to the south, among them being Prince Kwang-hyŏn. The king of the new state of Ko-ryŏ, T'ae-cho (918 to 943), took the extraordinary measure of granting the royal surname to this exiled prince.² So ended 277 years of history.

So far we have made no mention of the extent of Buddhism in Par-hae. As Yi Hong-jik correctly points out, one of the problems of studying Par-hae history is that it left no records of its own. Thus, information must be gleaned from secondary written sources and archaeological artefacts. The physical presence of Buddhism is clearly indicated by the sites of four Buddhist temples in the capital, the numerous Buddhist statues which have been excavated there, and various stone lanterns. The lantern at the Nam Tae-myo in particular is remarkable for its form.³

Ennin, the peripatetic Japanese monk of the ninth century, had an interesting experience while he was staying at Wu-t'ai Shan. He discovered one evening that an eminent Japanese monk, Reisen, had lived in the same hermitage in which Ennin was then staying. In gratitude for the imperial stipend which he had received, Reisen had sent his disciple Chŏng-so, who was a monk from Par-hae, with a return gift to the Emperor of Japan. The grateful emperor sent Chŏng-so back with a generous gift for Reisen, but unfortunately Reisen had died by the time Chŏng-so returned. The Par-hae monk, overcome with grief, wrote a lengthy and emotional lament which Ennin read. On another occasion Ennin mentions having encountered a prince of Par-hae who was apparently on his way home from an official embassy to the imperial Chinese court. Ennin was invited to a

maigre feast which the prince held in the monastery in which Ennin was lodged.⁴ Though such evidence as this is quite slim, it does indicate that after the creation of Par-hae, Buddhism in the area which had formerly composed Ko-ku-ryō had not faded away. Monks were sent to China for study, and even members of the royal house were devout followers. Whatever the ups and downs of its fate at the court may have been, Buddhism survived the collapse of Ko-ku-ryō to nourish the culture of its successor Par-hae.

C. Paek-che

In the first year of the reign of the fifteenth king of Paek-che, King Ch'im-nyu (384 to 385), the Indian monk Mālānanda entered that country and so was the first recorded person to introduce Buddhism there. This was in the year 384 of our era. This monk had come from India through Central Asia to China. Whilst working in Eastern Chin (316 to 420), he met an official of the Paek-che court and resolved to follow him to his home country.¹ The Hae-tong Ko-sūng Chōn says that:

"the king went to greet him at the outskirts of the capital, invited him and his entourage to the palace, deferred to him and worshipped him, and listened respectfully to his sermon. With the court's favour encouraging them, the people were transformed. Buddhism thereafter spread widely, and both king and subject esteemed it."²

The Hae-tong Ko-sūng Chōn goes on to add that in the year 385, a temple was built on Han San for Mālānanda, and that ten monks were ordained. This tells us several things. First, Buddhism was brought to Paek-che at the instigation of a missionary monk, and was in part the result of the network of international relations which

existed at that time. Second, as in Ko-ku-ryō, the king went out to greet the monk as he entered the city, a most unusual mark of respect. Third, the monk did not travel alone, but must have been at the head of a small entourage. Fourth, Buddhism developed first, as also in Ko-ku-ryō, as a cult of the royal court. From there it spread to the mass of the population. Fifth, the king built a special temple for the missionary as was done also in Ko-ku-ryō.³

After this initial discussion of the introduction of Buddhism into Paek-che, the historical records are silent on any further developments until the reign of King Sōng in the sixth century. It will be recalled that it was under King Sōng that Paek-che reached the zenith of her cultural development. In considering that brilliant epoch, one must look to the life of one monk in particular, Kyōm-ik. Kyōm-ik was the first of a stream of Korean monks who went to India over the next two hundred years. He left Paek-che in the year 526 for China, and after sojourning there for a period made the arduous journey to India. It is said that he studied for five years at the Tae-yul Temple in the city of Sang-ga-na in Central India, during which time he was a student of the eminent Indian monk Pae-tal-ta. The city of Sang-ga-na has never been identified before with a modern city in India. Sir Alexander Cunningham identifies the city Seng-kia-she which had been visited by Hsüan-tsang in the seventh century with the ancient city of Sangkasya, which is the modern Sankisa. The final character na, 那, in Sang-ga-na is, we believe, a misreading for ya, 耶. This character and its alternative, 邪, may also be read in Korean as sa. If we substitute sa for na in Sang-ga-na, we can see that the place which Kyōm-ik visited was Sang-ga-sa, which is identical with Sangkasya. In fact

the Korean reading of the characters 僧迦舍 for Seng-kia-she as Sung-ga-sa is even closer to the Sanskrit pronunciation than is the Chinese. This we believe confirms the identification of Sang-ga-na with modern Sankisa. In the early part of the fifth century, Fa-hsien also visited Sankisa, taking note of the number of temples, pagodas, monks and of a shrine to a "guardian dragon". I assume that it was knowledge of India which Kyōm-ik may have gained through a reading of Fa-hsien's record of his travels which made Kyōm-ik decide to go to Sankisa.⁴

The temple in which Kyōm-ik studied must have borne the name Mahā-vinaya Vihāra, as this is the literal translation of the words Tae-yul Sa, Temple of the Great Law. Hsüan-tsang during his visit noted that in Sankisa itself there were four temples with an aggregate of a thousand monks. Some twenty li from the city there was a great temple housing a hundred monks. In both places he claimed that they studied the Saṃmatīya School of Hīnayāna Buddhism. Hsüan-tsang also noted that the great temple was beautifully constructed and possessed an image of the Buddha of surpassing magnificence.⁵ We assume that it must have been this same great temple which both Fa-hsien and Kyōm-ik visited.

Of Kyōm-ik's teacher, we know very little. We find no further mention of his name. His title 三藏 literally means Tripitaka. W. E. Soothill says that the term is applied to a teacher of the Law, and especially refers to Hsüan-tsang.⁶ From this we may conclude that Kyōm-ik's teacher was an eminent man of his day, though now forgotten.

During his stay, Kyōm-ik is said to have studied the vinaya texts, and to have brought back copies of the Abhidharma-piṭaka in

in the original Sanskrit. The abhidharma is an abstruse explanation of Buddhist philosophy and metaphysics and is defined by Buddhaghōsa (fifty century) as the law which is beyond or behind the Law which possesses five special characteristics. The Abhidharma-piṭaka is one of the three divisions of the Tripitaka and is composed of Mahāyāna, and Hīnayāna treatises.⁷ The five divisions (五部), mentioned in the title of the manuscripts which Kyōm-ik brought to Paek-che must refer to the five characteristics of abhidharma.

Upon his return with these sūtras, the king set Kyōm-ik in charge of the Hūng-nyung Temple and ordered twenty-eight scholarly monks to assist him in the project of translating the scriptures. Seventy-two volumes were produced in his lifetime. The vinaya doctrines became the predominant form of Buddhism in Paek-che.⁸

We may reach two principal conclusions about Buddhism in Paek-che after Kyōm-ik. First, it was a mixture of Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna doctrines. This must have been so since Kyōm-ik's teacher was apparently well versed in all aspects of the Tripitaka, and because the sūtras which Kyōm-ik brought with him were likewise a mixture of the two forms of Buddhism. Second, Paek-che Buddhism must have laid heavy emphasis on the metaphysical aspects of Buddhism as Kyōm-ik was well versed in the abhidharma.

In the year 551, King Sōng sent a personal emissary to a leading scholar of the Liang Empire in order to make enquiries about Buddhist doctrine. Curiously enough, this Liang scholar seems to have been more noted for his knowledge of the Mao version of the Book of Odes. The representative returned from Liang with a copy of the Nirvāṇa Sūtra. Sometime after this, Buddhist temple artisans and artists were sent from Liang to Paek-che. The second great cultural

accomplishment of the reign of King Sōng was the initiation of Buddhist missionary work in Japan. The importance of this and its influence on later Japanese Buddhism can not be overstressed. In the year 545, King Sōng had a Buddhist statue made and sent it along with some Sanskrit scriptures to the Japanese court. Later, in 552, he again ordered the manufacture of a bronze statue and sent it along with a stone statue of Māitrēya and Buddhist sūtras to the Japanese king. In the letter which he addressed to the King of Japan, he recommended Buddhism because it was a doctrine superior to that of the teachings of Confucius, and because it had found acceptance in India, China, and Paek-che. Joseph Kitagawa makes the important point that this was not the first contact of Buddhism with Japan. In this early era the administration of the Japanese government was dependent upon expatriate Chinese and Koreans. It is assumed that many of these officials were, in fact, practising Buddhists. The gifts of King Sōng, however, did initiate the Buddhist missionary movement in Japan, which caused considerable consternation amongst certain members of the Japanese aristocracy. The Soga clan which championed the Buddhist cause persuaded the Ko-ku-ryō monk Hye-p'yōn to conduct worship in a specially constructed temple. He is alleged to have ordained three girls as nuns to assist in the services.⁹ Kitagawa says that as they were too young for ordination "they must have been chosen to serve the spirit of the Buddha, just as young maidens were usually chosen for similar duties in connection with the kami".¹⁰ This is an interesting example of a conjunction of native and foreign religious practices.

In the year in which King Sǒng died, A.D. 554, he sent two eminent monks and sixteen Buddhist evangelists (法師) to Japan. The profound Buddhist connections existing between Japan and Paek-che did not end with the death of King Sǒng. His successor, King Wi-tǒk (554 to 598), upon ascending the throne sent another nine Buddhist evangelists to Japan. In 577, he followed this action up by sending a number of sūtras, doctors of the Law (律師), ch'an masters (禪師), nuns, exorcists, and finally a number of artisans to assist in the construction of the Taiben-ō Temple. Later, King Wi-tǒk sent to Japan a further party of artisans, specialists in wood, tile and stone. In 584 a seated statue of Māitrēya in stone and another statue were gifted to the Japanese monarch. Some time later, he sent Buddhist relics, and another contingent of doctors of the Law.¹¹

Up to this time, there had been no trained, indigenous clerics in Japan. To rectify this, the Soga clan sent several nuns to Paek-che including the famous nun Zenshin who had been converted by the Ko-ku-ryǒ monk Hye-p'yǒn. They studied in Paek-che for a period of three years. In 587, King Wi-tǒk again sent Buddhist temple artisans to Japan, including T'ae Yang-mal, T'ae Mun, and Ko Ko-cha. It was undoubtedly because of the constant input of Paek-che artisans, missionaries, and Japanese monks who returned from Paek-che that Buddhism and Buddhist culture experienced a period of growth in Japan under the reign of the Empress Suiko.

The last of the major Paek-che monks to go to Japan was Kwan-nǔk. He was a scholarly monk of the San-lun School who became a naturalized citizen of Japan. He crossed over to Japan in the reign of Empress Suiko in the year 602, bringing with him a large

number of sūtras, historical books, works on astronomy, geography, and the occult arts. He established himself at the Genkō Temple, and was eventually granted the title of sōjō. As was mentioned before, he worked with the Ko-ku-ryō monk Hye-kwan to establish the Sanron Sect.¹²

Internally, Buddhism continued to flourish. One of the successors of King Wi-tōk, King Pōp (599 to 600), in the year of his enthronement, proclaimed a law forbidding the taking of any life, which was interpreted as including birds. This took Paek-che one step further towards the goal of becoming a complete Buddhist state by stressing the importance of Buddhist compassion. King Pōp also wished to build a temple, the Wang-hūng Temple, for the furtherance of Buddhism. This great temple, given the special title of tae ka-ram, was not completed until the thirty-fifth year of the next king, King Mu (600 to 640), who was said to be so pleased with the temple that he went there often. In addition, King Mu ordered the construction of yet another great temple called the Mi-rūk Temple. Reasonably friendly relations existed between Shil-la and Paek-che at this time, which were symbolized by the fact that the queen of King Mu was the daughter of King Chin-p'yōng of Shil-la. Frequent and extensive cultural relations between the two states naturally existed and flourished during this period. One example of this interchange was the sending of a hundred temple artisans to construct new temples in Shil-la.¹³

In sum we may say that Buddhism had a great influence on the culture and society of Paek-che, particularly late Paek-che. By the late seventh century, it had become a mature Buddhist nation. It possessed great temples and large numbers of monks, vigorously

pursued a policy of Buddhist evangelism, and tried to bring its legal code into line with the ideal precepts of Buddhism. There is one further Buddhist influence on Paek-che to which we have not drawn the reader's attention. The names of all the kings prior to King Sōng may be shown to have no particular relationship to Buddhism, whereas all those after King Sōng, with one exception, do. Names such as Sōng, Wi-tōk, Hye, Pōp, and Ūi-cha are all redolent of the concept of the cakravartī-rāja, the Buddhist king. This fact is indicative of the great influence which Buddhism had on the royal family, and well symbolizes the claim that Paek-che had a long and brilliant history of Buddhism which came to flower during the last century of the kingdom's life.

D. Shil-la

1. The Period of Evangelism

As Shil-la was the victor in the wars for supremacy on the Korean peninsula in the seventh century, the historical records about this state are not only correspondingly richer than the records for the other states, but they are written from the point of view of Shil-la. Thus, material relating to the growth of Buddhism during the Period of the Three Kingdoms and later is greater for Shil-la than it is for the other states. In addition it reflects a historical bias that the centre of Korean Buddhism was Shil-la. One must be very careful in drawing conclusions about the importance of Buddhism in Shil-la during the early period. Sō Kyōng-bo divides the history of Shil-la Buddhism into three phases:

(a) The Period of Evangelism, from the reign of King Nul-chi (417 to 458) to the reign of King Mu-ryōl (654 to 661),

(b) The Period of the Establishment of Doctrinal Sects, from the reign of King Mun-mu (661 to 681) to the reign of King Hön-tök (809 to 826),

(c) The Period of the Establishment of Ch'an Buddhism, from the reign of King Hüng-dök (826 to 836) to the reign of King Kyöng-sun (927 to 936), the last king of Shil-la.

We shall follow this schema to organize the material on Shil-la.

For the hundred-year period from the reign of King Nul-chi to the reign of King Pöp-hüng, the record of the introduction of Buddhism into Shil-la is most confused. The Hae-tong Ko-süng Chön records five men who were responsible for the establishment of Buddhism during the early period. Chöng-bang, Myöl-ku-pi, Hük-ho-cha, A-to, and I-ch'a-ton. The first mention of the initial two missionaries occurs in a remark by a secret Buddhist believer, Mo-rye, to A-to. This would indicate that those men had arrived in Shil-la at some unspecified time prior to the arrival of both Hük-ho-cha and A-to. They both came from Ko-ku-ryö to Shil-la, and were martyred because of a fear of the new religion. As Hük-ho-cha is reported to have appeared in Shil-la sometime during the reign of King Nul-chi, we must place the arrival of these earlier monks at some time in the first part of the reign of King Nul-chi, or earlier. It is said that Hük-ho-cha came from Ko-ku-ryö and settled in at the home of Mo-rye in the county of Il-sön. Of the stories told about this monk, one in particular is of interest. It is said that during this time the daughter of King Nul-chi took sick. Eventually, the king called upon Hük-ho-cha to cure her, which he did by burning incense and taking a vow. After the recovery of the princess, the king bestowed his favour upon the monk. Shortly thereafter the monk disappeared.

In the reign of King So-chi (479 to 500) A-to appeared accompanied by three other monks. Like Hŭk-ho-cha, A-to settled in at the house of Mo-rye, where he died a few years later. The curious thing about A-to was that he was said to be similar in appearance to Hŭk-ho-cha. For this reason Korean scholars have assumed that they were one and the same person.¹

Several points may be drawn from the record given above.

First, it is altogether likely that monks should have entered Shil-la in the early part of the fifth century. Buddhism was already well established in both Ko-ku-ryŏ and Paek-che and Ko-ku-ryŏ in particular maintained continuous contact with Buddhist centres in China. Therefore, it does not seem likely that the So-paek Mountains, the boundary between Shil-la and Ko-ku-ryŏ, should have acted as a total barrier to the passage of Buddhism into Shil-la at that time. Second, as in Ko-ku-ryŏ and Paek-che, Buddhism initially took hold in Shil-la as a cult practised principally at the court. Third, its acceptance at the court was not because of the acceptance of Buddhist doctrine, but because of the performance of a curative ceremony. Buddhism may have been seen as a better form of shamanism. Fourth, if Hŭk-ho-cha and A-to are the same person, we may not conclude that the A-to who entered Shil-la was the same A-to who resided in Ko-ku-ryŏ. The Ko-ku-ryŏ monk A-to, if the records are to be trusted, must have been born some time around the year 355. It seems impossible that he should be the same A-to who came to Shil-la no earlier than 479, the first year of the reign of King So-chi. If this A-to had been a student of the Ko-ku-ryŏ monk, some confusion could have arisen between the name of the monk who went to Shil-la and his master.

One indication of the strength of Buddhism at the court during this period, according to Sǒ, is the change in the type of reign name for the kings who followed Nul-chi. The three kings before Pǒp-hǔng, in whose reign Buddhism was officially accepted, all had Buddhist names, he claims. He gives the kings as Cha-pi, So-chi 炤智, and Chi-chǔng. Certainly, Cha-pi's reign name would imply the Buddhist concept of compassion. However, the second character in Sǒ-chi's reign name, as given in both the Sam-kuk Sa-ki and the Sam-kuk Yu-sa, is not 智 but 知. As 知 means knowledge rather than Buddhist wisdom as 智 would imply, Sǒ's case is somewhat weakened.² The third king's name, as given in the Sam-kuk Sa-ki, is clearly Buddhist, conveying as it does the sense of one who witnesses to the Wisdom of the Buddha. While none of this is positively conclusive, it is indicative of what must have been growing Buddhist influence at the royal court.

Although the historical records are silent about the spread of Buddhism in Shil-la during the latter part of the fifth century, we may infer that it had some influence at court. King Pǒp-hǔng, who came to the throne in 514, was the first king who was avowedly Buddhist. However, as in Japan at a later date, there was a conflict between those who supported the new doctrine and those who supported the indigenous religion. In the Hae-tong Ko-sǔng Chǒn, it is recorded that when the new king began his reign, he desired to propagate Buddhism in his realm but was opposed by a significant number of his ministers and court officials. It was at this point that the king and a young court official entered into a pact to force the issue. Pak Yǒm-ch'ok, otherwise known as I-ch'a-ton, was a Buddhist believer who secretly agreed with the king to send out an

order for the construction of a monastery. When the ministers of the government discovered this order, they brought it to the attention of the king, who denied having issued it. I-ch'a-ton, who had issued the order, was ordered to be executed for his usurpation of royal authority. Before his death, he foretold that a miracle would happen. The Hae-tong Ko-sŭng Chŏn records that his head flew to the top of a mountain and that blood white as milk flowed from his neck. This miracle is said to be the reason why Buddhism was so readily accepted. The martyrdom of I-ch'a-ton probably occurred in the year 529.³

In the year 534, King Pŏp-hŭng ordered trees to be felled for the construction of a temple in the Forest of the Heavenly Mirror. In clearing the ground for the erection of this temple, it is recorded that the remains of a pre-existent monastery were found on the site. Upon its completion, the king abdicated, assumed the robes of a monk, took the name of Pŏp-kong, and entered into the life of the new temple. The monastery was called the Tae-wang Hŭng-nyun Temple. The queen likewise set herself aside and began to reside in the Yŏng-hŭng Temple. To commemorate the martyrdom of I-ch'a-ton, a memorial service was initiated on the fifth day of the eighth lunar month, the date of I-ch'a-ton's death.⁴

These passages clearly indicate that Buddhism by the first third of the sixth century had begun to take firm hold on Shil-la society. First, Buddhism could not begin to overcome opposition to its spread until a member of the court circle had been martyred. Once aristocratic opposition had been overcome, Buddhism could spread beyond the confines of the court. Second, Pŏp-hŭng is the first king whose reign name indicates a distinct Buddhist bias - Advancement of the

Dharma. Third, the king seems to have patterned his behaviour after that of the Buddhist king who renounces the world, the wang-sŏn. Fourth, the alleged discovery of relics from an ancient temple on the site of the Tae-wang Hŭng-hyun Temple is indicative of a desire to demonstrate that Shil-la in a previous age had been a Buddhist nation, and so to controvert the opponents of the new doctrine. Fifth, the title of the new temple refers to a great king who sets the wheel of the dharma in motion. The Buddha is the one who is said to turn the wheel of the law. However, this concept finds a parallel in the cakravartī-rāja, the sovereign ruler "whose chariot wheels roll everywhere without hindrance". As the great king referred to in the name of the temple must be Pŏp-hŭng himself, the temple commemorates both the life and work of this great monarch of Shil-la. It is important to note that in the reign name, Pŏp-hŭng, not only is the advancement of Buddhism indicated, but the spread of Chinese concepts as well. Pŏp-hŭng is the first king to be called by the Chinese title wang rather than by the Korean title ma-rip-kan.⁵

Pŏp-hŭng was succeeded by his brother's eldest son, Chin-hŭng (540 to 576), who ascended the throne at the age of seven. The gains which Buddhism had made under the guidance of his uncle were furthered during Chin-hŭng's reign. At the same time, the power of Shil-la was greatly increased. Fortifications were taken from Paek-che; Ka-ya was absorbed into the Shil-la state; Ko-ku-ryŏ was pushed north of the Han River Basin. Everywhere Shil-la expanded and with this political expansion went the extension of Buddhism. In the year 544, the Hŭng-nyun Temple was finally brought to completion. In the tenth year of Chin-hŭng (549), an envoy was sent from Liang to convey some relics to the king. Accompanying the

envoy was a Shil-la monk, Kak-tŏk, who had studied for a number of years in Liang. The company was met at the gates of the Hŭng-nyun Temple by court officials at the express order of the king. Kak-tŏk is considered to be the first Shil-la monk who went abroad to study Buddhist doctrine. In the year 565, another Chinese state of the time, Ch'ên, sent a gift of some seven hundred rolls of sūtras and works on Buddhism. As before, the envoy was accompanied by a Shil-la monk, Myŏng-gwan. Temple construction was also continued during this time. The king had ordered the construction of a new palace in the year 553 to the east of the one in which he resided. However, because of the sighting of a yellow dragon on the spot, the king decided to change the building from a palace to monastery, which was given the name of the Hwang-yong Temple, the Temple of the Yellow Dragon. In the year 566, two more temples were constructed, the Chi-wŏn Temple and the Shil-che Temple. The names of these temples are of particular interest. Chi-wŏn stands for Jetavana, which is the name of a grove in Srāvastī, in which the Buddha dwelt. Shil-che is the translation for the Sanskrit term bhūta-koti, which Franklin Edgerton defines as "having reached the end, perfection, salvation, the true goal", that is, the attainment of nirvāṇa.⁶

During Chin-hŭng's reign, new ceremonies were introduced. One of these was the P'al-kwan Hoe, which was performed as a memorial for the spirits of officers and soldiers who had fallen in battle. This was held in the tenth lunar month of the year 572 and lasted for a period of seven days. In the year 574, an enormous golden image of the Buddha was cast and placed in the Hwang-yong Temple. It is also during this period that the first Shil-la monk was said to have returned from India, bringing with him a large number of sūtras.

This was the monk Ūi-shin who re-entered Shil-la in the year 554. He is credited with the construction of the Pōp-chu Temple, a major Buddhist institution.⁷

At the very end of the reign of Chin-hŭng, we may note two further events which are important in understanding the growth of Buddhism. In 565, Hyōn-kwang returned from Ch'ên, where he had studied the T'ien-t'ai doctrines under the tutelage of the Chinese monk Hui-szu, and become the first known teacher of this doctrine in Shil-la.

In this period, we find the first mention of the Hwa-rang Troop. Apparently, this was an early attempt to organize the youth of that time into a troop which would instil certain moral virtues and a feeling of patriotism. The Hae-tong Ko-sŭng Chōn says that these youths "instructed each other in the Way and in righteousness, entertained each other with songs and music, or went sightseeing to famous mountains and rivers". Such concepts as these, however, seem more Taoist than Buddhist. In the last years of his life, King Chin-hŭng "shaved his head and became a monk", giving himself the Buddhist name of Pōp-ŭn. A grateful people buried him with great ceremony on a hill north of the Ae-kong Temple, where King Pōp-hŭng had also been laid to rest.⁸

In surveying his reign, we note that temple construction increased considerably, that it was increasingly common for monks to go to foreign lands to deepen their knowledge of Buddhism, that sūtras were brought back to Shil-la, presumably for translation, that relics were venerated, that certain state ceremonies were performed according to Buddhist practice, and that the king like his predecessor had seen his role to be that of the wang-sōn. As Kim correctly

states, it was the king's desire that the state should become a Buddhist state.⁹

Chin-hŭng was succeeded by Chin-chi (576 to 579) who was succeeded by the great king Chin-p'yŏng (579 to 632). One of the first actions of his reign was the promotion of Buddhist missionary work. In the year of his accession, he sent a Buddhist statue to Japan. His reign is dominated by one figure in particular, the monk Wŏn-kwang. Lee informs us that in the early part of Chin-p'yŏng's reign, three monks left for study in China, Chi-myŏng in 585, Wŏn-kwang in 589, and Tam-yuk in 596. Of these three, Wŏn-kwang was the greatest. He first went to study in Chin-ling in the state of Ch'ên. Later, having received the permission of the lord of Ch'en to travel about, he went to several monasteries to study the Nirvāna Sūtra and the Prajñā Sūtra. Soothill tells us that there were two forms of the Nirvāna Sūtra, one which had a Hīnayāna interpretation, and another which had a Mahāyāna stress. There are several Chinese translations of both forms. The complete translation of it was done by Dharmarakṣa in 423. A school grew up around this sūtra which in the Ch'ên Dynasty became merged with the T'ien-t'ai School. The sūtra teaches the four transcendental realities of nirvāna, viz. eternity, bliss, personality, purity. It seems probable that Wŏn-kwang knew the Dharmarakṣa version of the sūtra, and came into contact with the school which grew up around it. The Prajñā Sūtra is actually part of a group of sūtras dealing with Buddhist wisdom, interpreted as 明, clear, or 智慧, understanding. Soothill says that the teaching of prajñā is "the principal means . . . of attaining to nirvāna, through its revelation of the unreality of all things". The most famous translation was by

Hsüan-tsang, but Wŏn-kwang would not have known this. He returned to Shil-la in the year 599 at the request of King Chin-p'yŏng and began the work of explaining the esoteric nature of Buddhist doctrine to the royal court. In 608, he was requested to act as a diplomatic envoy from the king to the imperial court of Sui. In the year 613, the Hae-tong Ko-sŭng Chŏn records that he held a Paek-chwa Hoe or an Assembly of One Hundred Seats, which was the second to be held in Shil-la, and at which he expounded on the scriptures before a select assembly. At some unspecified time, he was approached by two young men who desired to know the precepts suitable for the life of a Buddhist layman. He expounded to them the five precepts which have become known as the Five Principles for Life or the Law of the Hwa-rang, the spiritual foundation for the reorganization of the Hwa-rang Troop. It is also recorded in the Hae-tong Ko-sŭng Chŏn that the king called Wŏn-kwang to his side during an illness. By reciting the sūtras, it was believed that Wŏn-kwang had cured the king's illness. When he was nearing the end of his life, Wŏn-kwang was called again to the palace, and was personally tended by the king until his death. He died in 631 and was buried with the rites which befitted a king.¹⁰

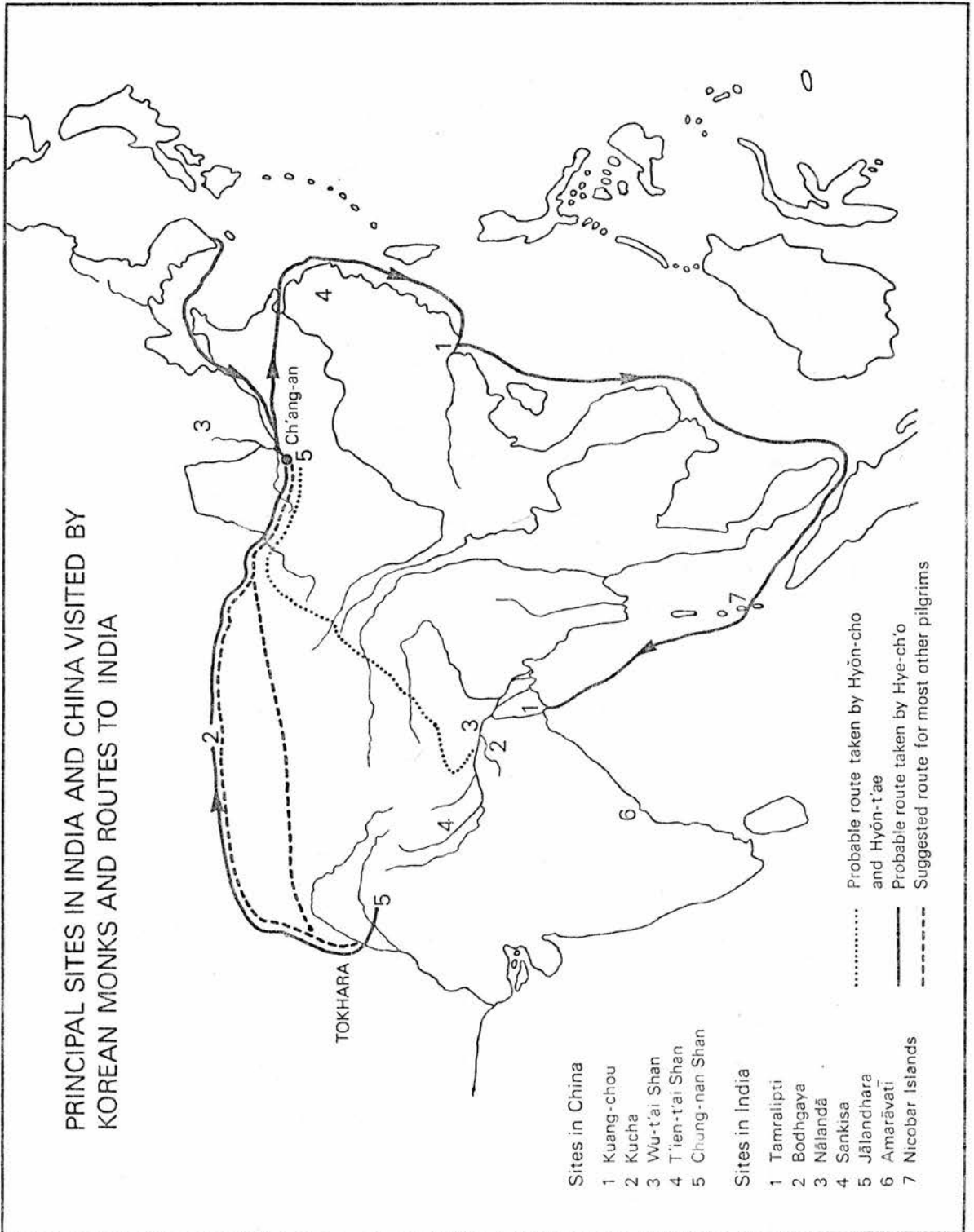
Whilst it may be said that Wŏn-kwang dominated Buddhist affairs during the reign of King Chin-p'yŏng by the force of his personality and by his scholarship, his accomplishments were not solitary ones. During the latter years of King Chin-p'yŏng's era, there began one of the most remarkable events in the history of Shil-la. Although there had been in the past a few monks such as Kyŏm-ik from Paek-che and Ŭi-shin from Shil-la who had gone to India, the number rose to become virtually a stream of scholarly monks who went to see the

sacred sites of Buddhism. Sometime during the Chên-kuan period (627 to 649) of the Emperor T'ai-tsung of T'ang, a Korean monk, Chon-nyun (also known by his adopted Indian name, Āryavarman), arrived in Ch'ang-an to pursue Buddhist studies. After some unspecified period of residence in China, he decided to go on to India where he settled in at the famous Nālandā University. Chon-nyun is said to have emphasized the study of the vinaya texts and passed away at Nālandā University at the age of seventy. He was followed to India by two monks, Ku-pon about whom little else is known, and Hyōn-kak who was said to have been a monk of fervent Buddhist convictions. Hyōn-kak became ill during his studies and died at the age of forty at Nālandā University.¹¹

The Korean monk Hye-ōp who was resident in T'ang set out for India during the same period. He passed through Central Asia staying for a while at the P'u-ti Temple. After this, the Hae-tong Ko-sŭng Chōn tells us that Hye-ōp went on to India, first stopping off at Bodhgaya to see the sacred sites, and from thence to Nālandā University. He is said to have expounded on the Vimalakīrtinirdeśa Sūtra. He died at Nālandā University in his sixties without ever having returned to his homeland. It is stated that he died at the same time as Chon-nyun.¹²

Of the monks who went to India perhaps the greatest was Hyōn-cho. Certainly, he was the most peripatetic. Hyōn-cho, like many of his compatriots, had been a resident of T'ang who had decided to go to see the sacred places of Buddhism for himself. He took a different route from that used by other monks. Instead of going through Central Asia, he entered India by coming through Tibet. While in Tibet, he apparently cured a princess of some disease. He

PRINCIPAL SITES IN INDIA AND CHINA VISITED BY
KOREAN MONKS AND ROUTES TO INDIA



Sites in China

- 1 Kuang-chou
- 2 Kucha
- 3 Wu-t'ai Shan
- 4 T'ien-t'ai Shan
- 5 Chung-nan Shan

Sites in India

- 1 Tamralipti
- 2 Bodhgaya
- 3 Nalanda
- 4 Sankisa
- 5 Jalandhara
- 6 Amaravati
- 7 Nicobar Islands

..... Probable route taken by Hyon-cho
and Hyon-t'ae
———— Probable route taken by Hye-ch'o
- - - - - Suggested route for most other pilgrims

entered first into northern India, where he stayed for four years at Jālandhara. From Jālandhara he went to the Mahābōdhi Vihāra in Bodhgaya, where he spent another three years studying the Abhidharma-kośa-sāstra, and the rules and ceremonies which composed the discipline of the Vinaya School. From Bodhgaya he went to Nālandā where he spent another three years studying the Prānyamūla-sāstra-ṭīkā and the Śatasāstra. He returned to Lo-yang, but the Emperor Kao-tsung sent him back to India. He returned to Nālandā University and is reported to have had an interview with I-tsing. He left Nālandā University and went south to Amarāvātī, where he is said to have died at the age of sixty. Hyōn-cho was accompanied to Amarāvātī by his student Hye-ryun, who stayed there at the Cincā Vihāra and studied the Abhidharma-kośa-sāstra. From there he moved to the Gandhārachanda monastery where many of the monks from Central Asia are supposed to have resided, according to the Hae-tong Ko-sūng Chōn. Hye-ryun was also known by the Indian name of Prajñāvarman.¹³

The Korean monk, Hyōn-t'ae left Ch'ang-an for India sometime during the Yung-hui period (650 to 655) of the Emperor Kao-tsung. He came through Tibet and Nepal (尸波羅) and entered into Central India where he studied a variety of texts. From Central India, he went to the Mahābōdhi Vihāra, where he studied for a while before returning to T'ang. In T'u-ku-hun, he met the Chinese monk Tao-hsi who convinced him to return to Bodhgaya, which he did. He returned to T'ang and died there. He was known also by the Indian name Sarvajña-deva. Finally, the monk Hyōn-yu went to Ch'ang-an and studied under the Ch'an master Chê. When his master went to India, he accompanied him there, and died in India.¹⁴

The reader will recall that in the middle half of the seventh century, Korean history was dominated by the wars for peninsular unification, which involved all of the Korean states and the T'ang Empire. During this time we have seen the great deepening of the understanding of Buddhist doctrine and the spread of Buddhism throughout the land. Principally, these actions have been symbolized by the great increase in temple construction and the large numbers of monks who went to China and India for further study. During this same period, following the death of Wŏn-kwang, the course of Korean Buddhist history was determined by three great figures, Cha-chang, Wŏn-hyo, and Ŭi-sang. The work of these three men spans the golden epoch of Shil-la, the reigns of the two queens Sŏn-tŏk (632 to 647) and Chin-tŏk (647 to 654) and the two kings who were the architects of peninsular unification, Mu-ryŏl and Mun-mu. We shall begin by considering Cha-chang. Though the exact date of his birth is not known, it is known that Cha-chang was a member of the royal family, and that he was of chin-kol rank. His father was a very devout Buddhist believer who had vowed that if he had a son he would offer him up to the service of the Buddha. However, the son growing up in a devout Buddhist home came to reject the world on his own initiative, and a small hermitage was built for him where he began to develop his powers of meditation. He gained such fame as a recluse that King Chin-p'yŏng desired to give him an official appointment. Cha-chang flatly refused to return to the world of things. The king was furious and stated that anyone disobeying his orders was worthy of death. Cha-chang replied that it was better to live according to the dharma for one day and die than to live for a hundred years by avoiding the duties of the dharma. Eventually, the king backed down

and gave his permission for Cha-chang to lead the life of a monk.¹⁵

To extend his knowledge of Buddhist doctrine, Cha-chang went to T'ang in the fifth year of Queen Sŏn-tŏk (636). He went with ten disciples and attendants to Wu-t'ai Shan in northern Shan-si Province. Whilst sojourning there he had a vision of Mañjuśrī who taught him a cryptic phrase in Sanskrit. The following morning a strange monk explained the mystery to him and gave him some precious relics. It was then that Cha-chang is supposed to have realized that he had met Mañjuśrī. Returning to Ch'ang-an from Wu-t'ai Shan, Cha-chang so favourably impressed the emperor that he was given permission to study in the Shêng-kuang Pieh-yüan in the capital. Cha-chang disliked the splendour of such a great monastic establishment and retired to a small hut near the Yün-chi Temple on Mount Chung-nan. He stayed there for three years and is reported to have taught a large number of Chinese students who sought him out. In 643, Queen Sŏn-tŏk sent a request to the Emperor T'ai-tsung that Cha-chang be given permission to return home to Shil-la. Before leaving he was given a magnificent banquet at imperial expense, and a large number of sūtras and Buddhist ritual implements to take back to Shil-la as gifts.¹⁶

The queen had Cha-chang settled in at the Pun-hwang Temple from where he ventured out to expound on the Buddhist sūtras at the royal court and at the Hwang-yong Temple. In the same year in which he returned to Shil-la, Cha-chang went to what is now O-tae San in order to have an encounter with Mañjuśrī in Shil-la. Failing in that attempt due to the misty weather, he returned to the Wŏn-nyŏng Temple where he did encounter this Bodhisattva. It is said that Cha-chang was the first to claim that O-tae San was an abode of this

Buddha, and was the first to call a Korean mountain after a more famous one in China. He was given the further honour of being styled tae kuk-t'ong, or supreme cleric. This in effect put Cha-chang in charge of all of the monks in Shil-la. During the later years of Cha-chang's life, Buddhism began to spread from the aristocratic class to the general populace. At the same time there was a marked increase in the number of people presenting themselves for admission to the Buddhist order. Cha-chang used his new position of influence to reorganize some aspects of Shil-la Buddhism by issuing four commands:

- (i) intensified study of the sūtras by all members of the Buddhist orders,
- (ii) twice yearly seminars on doctrine, following which monks and nuns were to be thoroughly examined,
- (iii) the establishment of the T'ong-do Temple as the only place where Buddhist ordination would be permitted to be performed, and
- (iv) the creation of a government department to oversee the maintenance of temples, images, and other Buddhist property.

The foundation of the T'ong-do Temple is said to have been the beginning of the Yul or Disciplinary Sect. Cha-chang donated the home in which he had grown up as a temple which was known as the Wŏn-nyŏng Temple. He also built another temple at Kang-nŭng, the Su-ta Temple, to which he eventually retired and where he died. Cha-chang was influential far beyond the confines of the Buddhist world. He urged and was responsible for the acceptance of the T'ang Dynasty style of dress and for the acceptance of the T'ang

calendar during the reign of Queen Chin-tök.¹⁷ We presume that he passed away some time before the close of her reign as there is no mention of his activities during the reign of the succeeding king, Mu-ryöl.

Wön-hyo, greatest of all Shil-la monks, was born in the thirty-ninth year of King Chin-p'yöng (617) in what is now Yang-san County, South Kyöng-sang Province. His family name was Söl, and his childhood name Sö-tang. While he was a novice, he resided at the Pan-ko Temple, where he studied the Saddharma-pundarika Sūtra (the Lotus Sūtra) under the monk Yang-ji. Later he studied the Nirvāṇa Sūtra under a Ko-ku-ryö monk resident in Shil-la, Po-tök. When he was thirty-two, he and his friend Ŭi-sang decided to go to T'ang to study more fully the Buddhist scriptures. Before reaching there, however, a most curious incident took place which greatly influenced the later formulation of Wön-hyo's thought. Towards the end of one evening, a great rain storm arose, which caused the two monks to seek shelter in a nearby cave. During the night, Wön-hyo arose to seek some water to quench his thirst. Fortunately, he found what he supposed was rain water in a stone container. He drank this and went back to sleep. In the morning the monks awoke and saw clearly that they were not in a cave but a tomb, which must have been opened by grave robbers. What Wön-hyo had drunk from was not a stone with a hollow centre, but a human skull. The thought of having done this so revolted Wön-hyo that he felt nauseous immediately. Suddenly he gained enlightenment. From this incident Wön-hyo learned the relativity of all things. Everything is really in the mind. We know what things are by what we perceive them to be. Possessing this great

insight, he decided that there was no need for him to go to T'ang to study and returned to Shil-la. His friend Ŭi-sang continued on to China.¹⁸

Wŏn-hyo was a unique figure in Shil-la Buddhism. He was not a member of any particular party or sect, and he did not feel that one could achieve enlightenment solely through the study of particular texts, or through meditation in a monastery. Because he felt strongly that Buddhism must take root amongst the common people, he devoted the rest of his life to non-sectarian evangelism amongst the general populace. It is said that he would play a six-stringed instrument called the kŏ-mun ko in front of local shrines for the entertainment of the farmers, frequented wine shops, practised meditation in the mountains, sang songs with a Buddhist import as he passed through the countryside, and in all ways lived a life very little different from the ordinary man. Some of the songs which he composed became so widely known that even non-Buddhists were known to sing them. Later in life, he had a relationship with a princess of the royal house, Princess Yo-sŏk Kung. The issue of this union was Sŏl Ch'ong, who was one of the great scholars and literary figures of Shil-la. Wŏn-hyo died in the year 687 at the age of seventy. His life work included five books, the Pŏp-hwa Kyŏng Chong-yo, the Tae Yŏl-pan Kyŏng Chong-yo, the Kŭm-kang Sam-mi Kyŏng-non, the Tae-sŭng Ki-shin Non So-ki, and the Yu-shim An-nak To. The first three of these works were commentaries on or summations of the essential points of the Lotus Sūtra, the Nirvāna Sutra, and the Diamond Sūtra respectively. The fourth work was a commentary on the Mahāyāna Śraddhotpāda Śāstra, an important introduction to Mahāyāna

Buddhism, while the last work is a guide for members of the laity who are seeking the path to the Buddhist paradise.¹⁹

The third of the three great Buddhist monks of the seventh century was Ūi-sang. He was born in the year 625 to Kim Han-shin. When he was nineteen he took up the vocation of a Buddhist monk, residing at the Hwang-bok Temple. Some time after becoming a monk, he resolved to go with his friend Wōn-hyo to T'ang to study Buddhist scripture. Because of the peculiar experience described above, Wōn-hyo did not go to T'ang. Ūi-sang, who had continued on, was prevented by Ko-ku-ryō border guards from going any further than the Liao-tung Peninsula and was forced to go back to Shil-la. In 650, he set out again, travelling in the entourage of the T'ang emperor's envoy who was returning to Ch'ang-an. Ūi-sang travelled with the envoy as far as Yang-chou where he was feted by the commandant. He travelled on to Ch'ang-an and studied the Hua-yen Ching under Chih-yen at the Chih-hsiang Temple on Mount Chung-nam, the same place where Cha-chang had been a few years before.²⁰

Chih-yen was the second master of the Hua-yen School. Studying with him at that time was Fa-tsang or Hsien-shou with whom Ūi-sang became very friendly. This friendship continued long after Ūi-sang had returned to Shil-la, and after Fa-tsang had become the third patriarch of the Hua-yen School. The Sam-kuk Yu-sa records that Fa-tsang sent a letter to Ūi-sang some twenty years after their parting praising Ūi-sang's great understanding of the Hua-yen Ching, and in addition praising his efforts to propagate Buddhism amongst all the people of Shil-la.²¹

In the year 670, Ūi-sang heard through a Shil-la envoy detained in T'ang that the Emperor Kao-tsung planned to attack Shil-la. He

returned immediately to Shil-la and made a report to the court. After completing this duty, Ūi-sang retired to the Sŏr-ak Mountains for meditation. He spent six years in the Kwan-ŭm Cave near the present day Nak-san Temple. In the year, 676, Ūi-sang received permission to construct the Pu-sŏk Temple which subsequently became the centre for the Hae-tong Hwa-ŏm Sect. Aside from this temple, Ūi-sang was responsible for the construction of nine other temples, among them being the Pi-ma-ra Temple in Wŏn-chu, the Hae-in Temple on Mount Ka-ya, the Pŏm-ŏ Temple on Mount Kŭm-chŏng, and the Hwa-ŏm Temple on Mount Chi-ri. He died in the year 702 at the age of seventy-eight.²²

Before passing on to the next section, two lesser figures of importance must be mentioned. The first of these monks is Wŏn-ch'ŭk. He was born in the year 613, a member of the royal family of Shil-la. His given name was Mun-a. Tradition would have it that he entered the Buddhist order at the age of three. While this may be doubted, it is a fact that he went to T'ang in 627 at the age of fourteen. He must have been a very bright child for it is recorded that he had the ability to recall verbatim anything which was said in his hearing. This linguistic ability did not desert him in later years. He is credited with speaking Chinese with flawless pronunciation, as well as having a good grasp of written Sanskrit. He stayed initially at the Yŭan-fa Temple where he studied the Abhidharma-sāstra and the Abhidharma-kośa-sāstra.²³

There is a curious story told about Wŏn-ch'ŭk. As a student of Hsüan-tsang's, he was not adverse to using the master's special knowledge to further his own ecclesiastical standing. According to a traditional story, Hsüan-tsang had composed the Wei-shih Lun

especially for his student K'uei-chi. However, whilst Hsüan-tsang was explaining this new treatise to his premier disciple, Wǒn-ch'ŭk was listening in secret. When he had heard it all, he went over quickly to the Hsi-ming Temple in Ch'ang-an where he began his own exposition on the topic. Because of this incident, it is said that Hsüan-tsang wrote the Yü-chia Lun for K'uei-chi, which was supposed to be a more profound work than the Wei-shih Lun.²⁴

In the year 676, when the Indian monk Śivahara arrived in Ch'ang-an, Wǒn-ch'ŭk was one of five select monks who participated in the translation of the large number of Sanskrit sūtras which this monk had brought with him. It is also supposed that Wǒn-ch'ŭk took part in the translation of the Ta-ch'êng Hsien-shih Ching. His translation activities continued up to the end of his life. In 693, he assisted in the translation of the P'u-yü Ching brought by an Indian monk known as Po-che-yu-chi in Korean and again, in 695, assisted with the translation of the Hua-yen Ching brought by the Khotanese monk Śīlananda. Throughout his days he found himself in contention with the school of K'uei-chi. Although it is recorded that he never returned to Shil-la, some scholars feel that a cryptic passage in the Sam-kuk Yu-sa indicates that at some point he may have paid a visit to his home village. Wǒn-ch'ŭk died in China at the Fu-yüan-chi Temple in 696. He was eighty-three. His disciples gathered up the sari which remained from his cremation, and placed them within a specially built pagoda on the grounds of the temple. In the Hsing-chiao Temple in Sian, there are commemorative pagodas to Hsüan-tsang, Wǒn-ch'ŭk and K'uei-chi.²⁵

We now turn to one of the more mysterious figures of this early epoch of Korean Buddhism. Myǒng-nang was the son of a Korean

nobleman, Chae-ryang, who held the rank of sa-kan. His mother was Lady Nam-kan who was the sister of the monk Cha-chang. Thus, Myōng-nang was not only born into a noble family but one with a strong interest in Buddhism. In 632, he went off to T'ang for further Buddhist studies, returning in the year 638. Whilst in T'ang, he studied the occult practices of the Yogācāra School.²⁶

In 668, when it seemed that T'ang would invade Shil-la, the king requested Myōng-nang to protect the nation through magical practices. At first the monk recommended that a temple to the Four Heavenly Kings be erected. As the T'ang navy and army were pressing in upon Shil-la, Myōng-nang had to act more quickly. He decided to gather together twelve monks familiar with the practices of the Yogācāra School to perform an esoteric rite (文豆婁秘密法). It is stated that after this a great wind arose causing the T'ang navy to be sunk. This occult rite was supposed to have been repeated in the following year with the same result. In 679, the Sa Ch'ōn-wang Temple which Myōng-nang had recommended to be erected was constructed in the capital of Shil-la. In fulfillment of a vow which Myōng-nang had made to the Sea-Dragon which he is supposed to have encountered on his way back from T'ang, Myōng-nang turned his own home into a temple called the Kūm-kwang Temple. Myōng-nang is recognized as the founder of the Shin-in Sect, a special branch of the Chên-yen School. The date of the death of Myōng-nang is unknown.²⁷

Before closing this section, we must survey some of the changes which have taken place during the century and a half which separates the reigns of the kings Pōp-hūng and Mun-mu. While it is quite true to say that Shil-la was rapidly absorbing Chinese civilisation, it was not the Confucian model of a state which was adopted but the

Buddhist model. During the first two hundred years of Buddhist influence in Shil-la, the state was made to conform as closely as possible to the Buddhist ideal. Firstly, the names of members of the royal house were frequently composed from Buddhist concepts. We have already discussed how the reign names of the kings of Shil-la were altered to conform with Buddhist ideas. This practice of giving Buddhist names was not confined solely to the naming of kings. The sons of King Chin-hŭng were called Tong-nyun and Kŭm-nyun. The wheels of copper and gold to which these names refer are the wheels of the various vehicles in which the cakravartī-rāja, the ever-victorious king, will ride. This is a clear reference to the desire to establish a state based on Buddhist principles. The grandson of Chin-hŭng was known as Paek-chŏng which is the Chinese for Śuddhodana, the father of the Buddha. The wife of Chin-hŭng was Lady Ma-ya, the name of the mother of the Buddha. In such ways, the royal family made themselves to resemble figures derived from Buddhist history and mythology.²⁸

In the second place, Buddhism, especially after Wŏn-kwang, began to have an influence on the aristocracy. This is well exemplified by the Hwa-rang Troop. This would appear to have been a prime means for moulding the minds of young aristocrats, for instilling in them the doctrines of Buddhism, and for creating patriotic fervour. For example, a certain Hwa-rang known as Mi-ri-rang was thought to be an incarnation of Māitrēya. Kim Yu-shin gathered around himself a number of Hwa-rang who were known as the Yong-hwa Hyang-do. This troop took its name from the yong-hwa or nāga-puṣpa tree. When Māitrēya descends to this world, it is thought that he will expound his doctrine beneath this tree.

In these examples one can see that the practice of modelling oneself on some figure from Buddhist history or mythology was to be found beyond the confines of the royal house.²⁹

In the third place, Buddhist influence on the Shil-la state may be seen in the type of ceremonies which were performed. All of these ceremonies had as their purpose the protection of the state and the royal house. During this period, two sūtras in particular had enormous popularity. These are the Chin Kuang-ming Ching and the Jen-wang Ching. Both of these sūtras contain a pledge of protection to the ruler who reads them. In the first instance, it is given by the Four Heavenly Kings, and in the latter case by the Buddha himself. The Paek-chwa Hoe was created for the purpose of reading and expounding these sūtras. Altogether, nine of these assemblies were known to have been held in Shil-la, the first in 551, the second given by Wŏn-kwang in 613, then again sometime after 779, 876, 886, twice in 887, and finally in 924. Prayers were also offered for the illness of the king, the repose of the dead and especially for the late monarch, and for the prosperity of the nation. Another ceremony of this type which is known to have been performed several times is the P'al-kwan Hoe. In this ceremony, Buddhist laymen vow to keep the Eight Prohibitions for a night and a day. Cha-chang is believed to have vowed to Mañjuśrī that upon his return to Shil-la, he would construct a nine-storey pagoda and hold a P'al-kwan Hoe. The ceremony's performance was supposed to ensure the safety of the nation. The occult rites which Myŏng-nang performed would also fall into this class of protection ceremonies.³⁰

Fourth, one can see that Buddhist temples were constructed for reasons of state. For example, Cha-chang argued that a nine-storeyed

pagoda should be built at the Hwang-yong Temple in order to defend the nation and to help unify the three kingdoms. Underlying this statement is a belief that merit accrued through the performance of acts of piety would aid in the accomplishment of one's desires.

Similarly, Myōng-nang ordered the construction of the Sa Ch'ōn-wang Temple in the belief that this would help to defend Shil-la against T'ang. King Mun-mu desired to be buried in the East Sea (Sea of Japan) in order that he might become a dragon and so defend the shores of the kingdom. His successor, Shin-mun (681 to 692), acceded to Mun-mu's wishes and placed his ashes in a rock in the East Sea. The great Sōk-kur Am Buddha overlooks the same sea from its position in an artificial grotto on the top of Mount T'o-ham, and is in alignment with the rock in which King Mun-mu's remains were placed. Thus, both the king and the Buddha would be ever vigilant in their protection of the nation.³¹

A fifth type of Buddhist influence over Shil-la may be seen in the names which were given to the important mountains of the kingdom. When Cha-chang returned to Shil-la from Wu-t'ai Shan in China, he recreated this sacred area in Korea when he named a range of mountains in Kang-wōn Province O-tae San. Wu-t'ai Shan was known as the abode of Mañjuśrī, and was interpreted as being one indication that in the distant past China had been a Buddhist nation. In styling the mountains O-tae San, Cha-chang was indicating his belief that Shil-la in remote antiquity had also been a Buddhist country. North of O-tae San is Sōr-ak San, which is the name for the Himālaya Mountains. Going still further north one encounters the Kūm-kang Mountains. The word kūm-kang refers to the diamond, a Buddhist concept of hardness and indestructibility. In the southwest of the

Korean peninsula is Chi-ri San on which is situated the Hwa-ōm Temple. As the character chi in Chi-ri San is one of the three virtues of the Buddha, one notes again a reference to an important Buddhist belief. Lastly, one must mention the T'ae-paek Mountains. We have seen how the ancient Koreans spoke of the sky or Heaven as brilliant, or shining white. The place where Tan-kun was born was called Paek-tu San or T'ae-paek San. 大白 is a reference to the guardian goddess of the Himālayas which protects all with her great snowy umbrella. It would seem obvious that in calling the mountain T'ae-paek San, the Koreans were attempting to express an indigenious idea through Buddhist terminology.³²

Buddhism first made contact with Shil-la during the reign of King Nul-chi. Initially persecuted, it found favour at the royal court and after some difficulty slowly gained acceptance amongst the aristocracy and élite strata, until it finally attained popularity amongst the masses. By the time of King Mun-mu it was the principal source for Shil-la's culture and was seen by many to be the spiritual protector of the state. During our period, architecture and the arts, scholarship, and missionary endeavour all flourished. One thing which was not yet typical of Buddhism in Shil-la was sectarianism. Buddhism in Shil-la was comparatively undifferentiated. Towards the end of our period, and during the early part of the next, there was a trend towards the creation of sects, which came to full flower after the peninsular wars for unification were concluded and peace had been established over substantial portions of the Korean peninsula.

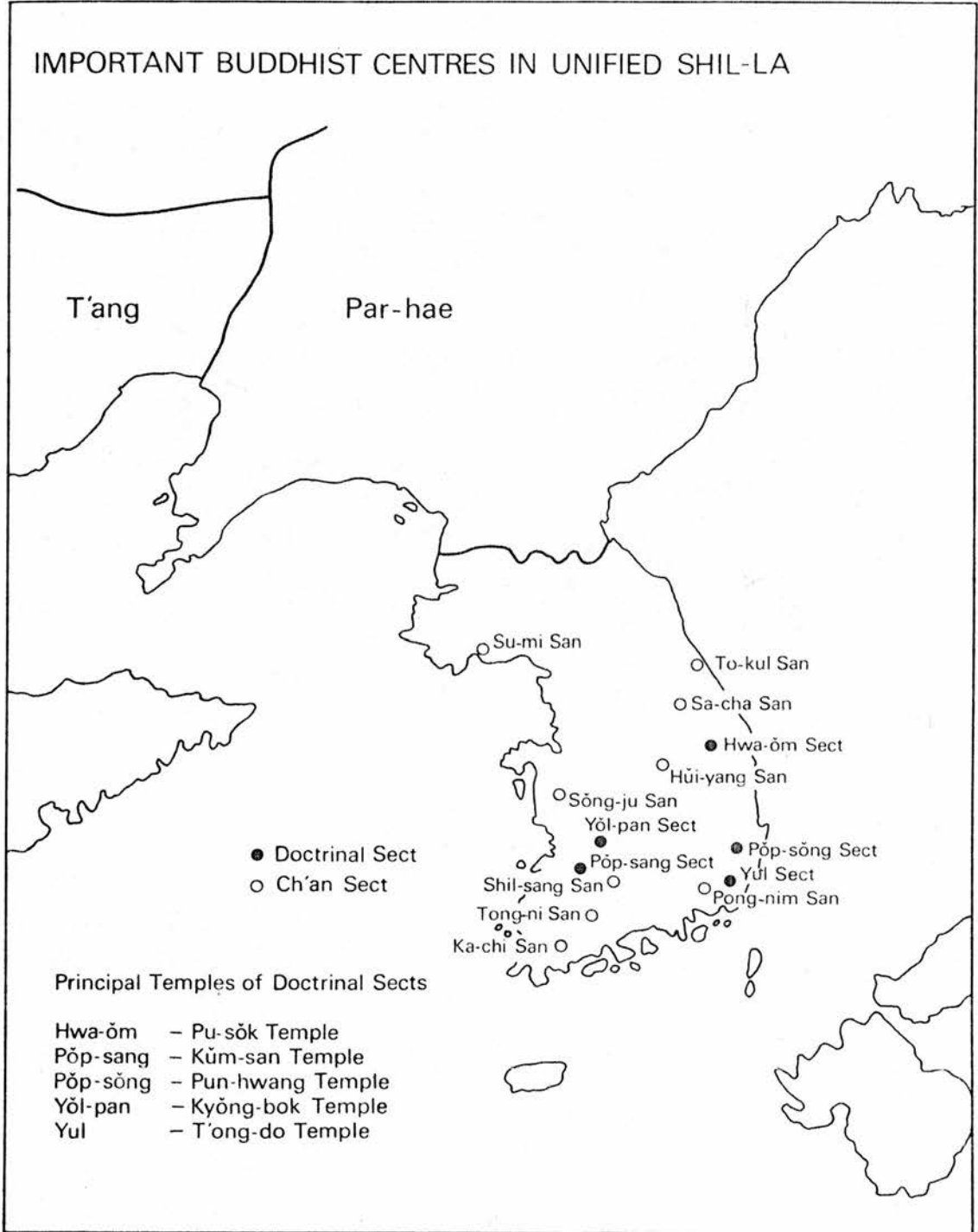
2. The Period of the Establishment of Doctrinal Sects

During the one hundred and fifty year period from the ascension of King Mun-mu to the end of the reign of King Hōn-tōk, Shil-la consolidated the cultural gains which had been made under the initial period of growth and expansion. Indeed, some of the greatest gains of early Shil-la Buddhism took place in the latter part of that first period so as to overlap with the early part of the second period. We think here particularly of the Korean monks who went abroad in great numbers to study in China and India, and of the movements for the popularization of Buddhism. From the middle of the eighth century onwards, however, Shil-la society began to show great strains, particularly in regard to the struggle for political supremacy between local aristocrats and the royal court. During the last quarter of this century there were two major rebellions against the central authority by conservative aristocrats, the last of which resulted in the assassination of King Hye-kong (765 to 780). It is from this period that we may discern the decline of central authority and the gradual disintegration of Shil-la's society. However, for the eighty year period following the unification of most of the Korean peninsula under Shil-la's administration, we may say that Buddhism flourished. At this time, the diffuse nature of early Buddhism began to change into a more defined structure. In Shil-la, Buddhism tended to be divided into five sects (O-kyo), all of which represented schools or doctrines known in T'ang. However, those schools which were most prominent in T'ang were not necessarily those which were most common in Shil-la. The Five Sects of Shil-la were the Disciplinary or Yul Sect, the Hwa-ōm Sect, the Pōp-sang Sect, the Nirvāṇa Sect, and the Hae-tong Sect. This list is not exhaustive of

the organized types of Buddhism in middle Shil-la. There were in addition to the above sects two sects of Esoteric Buddhism and the T'ien-t'ai Sect, called Ch'ŏn-tae in Korean. These latter groups were seen, however, to be beyond the pale of Buddhist orthodoxy.¹

In China the Disciplinary Sect, or Lü Tsung, was founded by the eminent seventh century monk Tao-hsüan (596 to 667). The sect is also known as the Nan-shan Tsung because Tao-hsüan resided in a monastery situated on a mountain by that name which is located to the south of Ch'ang-an, the T'ang capital. As the name suggests, this order based itself upon the strict adherence to a rigid code of monastic behaviour. This code was derived from the Ssu-fen-lü, or Vinaya in Four Parts, which is divided into a separate series of 250 rules for monks and 348 rules for nuns. Ch'en says that broadly speaking these rules may be divided into two types, positive rules for the organization of monastic life and negative rules, such as prohibitions against taking life. Although the vinaya is largely a Hīnayāna tradition, the Disciplinary Sect would be classified as Mahāyāna. It does not seem to have been an influential sect in China.²

The Hua-yen Sect, known in Korean as the Hwa-ŏm Sect, was a truly indigenous Chinese school which had no Indian predecessor. This school based itself upon a most abstruse scripture called the Avatamsaka Sūtra (Hua-yen Ching) which is supposed to represent the teaching of the Buddha immediately after his enlightenment. It was a school which appealed primarily to the intellect, and claimed that its founder was a mysterious figure known as Fa-shun (557 to 640). There are a number of miraculous happenings attributed to him and he is said to have found great favour with the Chinese emperor. He was



succeeded by Chih-yen (602 to 668) who was the teacher of both Ūi-sang and his friend Fa-tsang, the third leader of the sect. The fourth patriarch was Ch'eng-kuan. He is supposed to have lived to a very great age, and was given accolades by successive emperors. Later followers of the Hua-yen School looked upon him as a Bodhisattva, an incarnation of Mañjuśrī. The fifth master was Tsung-mi, a man of great intellectual stature, who died in the year 841. Immediately after this, the great suppression of Buddhism began under the Emperor Wu-tsung. With no great masters to guide the school, the sect declined to insignificance. The doctrine of this school was particularly esoteric. According to the belief of the school, the dharms of this world developed at the same moment, which meant that the universe was self-created. As a consequence, all is ultimately emptiness, which is understood in a static way, principle, and in a dynamic way, phenomena. This in turn meant that ideas and phenomena are inter-related and that all phenomena are manifestations of principle. Everything points to the central principle which is the Buddha. Because of its totalitarian overtones, it was enthusiastically received by the Empress Wu the usurper and by the emperors of Japan.³

The Fa-hsiang School, known in Korean as the Pōp-sang School, traces its origins back to two Indian monks who were brothers, Asaṅga and Vasubandhu. It developed in T'ang under the leadership of Hsüan-tsang and his disciple K'uei-chi. Hsüan-tsang studied this doctrine at Nālandā University under Śīlabhadra who had been a disciple of Dharmapāla. Dharmapāla was a disciple of Dignāga, who in turn had been a disciple of Vasubandhu. The school declined after the suppression of 845 and under the criticism of the Hua-yen

Sect. It will also be recalled that Wǒn-ch'ŭk was a disciple of Hsüan-tsang but came to have considerable disagreement with his successor K'uei-chi. As he was a permanent resident in T'ang, Wǒn-ch'ŭk's exact influence on the Pōp-sang School in Shil-la is unclear. The central thesis of this sect revolves around its use of the concept of ālaya-vijñāna, the great storehouse of consciousness. In this great storehouse, all pure and impure ideas exist intermingled. These then enter into this world and become manifest in phenomena. The pure ideas lead the impure to a state of truth in which there is no distinction between subject and object. A concept of Mind is the core of the doctrine of the Fa-hsiang School. All phenomena are the creation of our consciousness, and consequently illusory. Because of this philosophy, the sect is also known as the Ideational School.⁴

The Nirvāna Sūtra exists in two principle Mahāyāna translations in Chinese, one by Fa-hsien and Buddhahadra which was completed in 418, and another by Dharmarakṣa which was completed in 423. The essential point of the Nirvāna Sūtra is that all beings possess the Buddha nature and can attain to nirvāna. Nirvāna is eternal, full of joy, and is personal. The Buddha possesses an eternal self, the sūtra claims, and enjoys bliss eternally in the state of nirvāna. As every being likewise possesses an eternal self, they too can enjoy the bliss of nirvāna without end. All beings as participants in the Buddha nature from the beginning of the world are seen to be the children of the Buddha. The Nirvāna Sūtra was held in high esteem by a disciple of Hui-yüan called Tao-sheng (?360 to 434). In later years, he became an ardent proponent of this sūtra and its

doctrines, which often embroiled him in controversy with other monks. He spent his last years on Lu Shan where he gathered a school of likeminded monks around him. This school continued to exist until the sixth century when it was absorbed into the T'ien-t'ai School.⁵

Although there are predecessors to the T'ien-t'ai Sect, one may say that its founder is the great sixth century monk Chih-i (538 to 597). He studied for a while in Nan-ching, but eventually settled at Mount T'ien-t'ai. The school which he created borrowed its name from the residence of the master. During the fifth and sixth centuries, Buddhist scholars in China had been increasingly perplexed by the bewildering number of contradictory Buddhist scriptures. Questions were asked as to how one man, the Buddha, could have preached so much and in such a contradictory manner. Several scholars had attempted to answer these questions by reducing the mass of the Buddhist sūtras into a systematically arranged body of material. Chih-i is credited with the creation of the p'an-chiao system, which was up to that time the most detailed attempt to organize the Buddhist sūtras. Because of its thoroughness and systematic nature, it was readily accepted by all. The system which was devised by Chih-i stated that the Buddha's teachings may be divided into five periods and eight types of instructions. The first system of organization is of course a chronological one, that is, the teaching of the Buddha as represented by the sūtras may be arranged according to the history of the changing circumstances under which he worked. However, some of the teachings suitable for one chronological period were taught in another, in accommodation to the specific requirements of the time. Consequently, the scriptures were also organized according to an arrangement of doctrines. There

are eight of these which are broadly divided into two types. One type divides the sūtras according to the nature of the method of the Buddha's teaching, while the second type divides them according to the nature of the content of the teaching. Chih-i is also said to have demonstrated the relationship between the eight doctrines and the five periods. The T'ien-t'ai School thus represents a prodigious attempt to create a comprehensive form of Chinese Buddhism, one in which all the known forms and schools could be subsumed. The school, however, did emphasize two major points, first, that all parts of the universe are interconnected, and second, that Mind encompasses the entirety of the universe. Thus, the T'ien-t'ai School came to proclaim that the Buddha nature could be found anywhere, even in a particle of dust. The school used primarily the Lotus Sūtra, the Nirvāṇa Sūtra, and the Mahāprajñāpāramitā Sūtra.⁶

The first of these Chinese sects to be established was the T'ien-t'ai School. While the founder of the sect was Chih-i, Hui-wen and Hui-szu are often considered to be his predecessors. In fact, Chih-i was a student of the latter monk. During his period of discipleship under Hui-szu, a monk from Paek-che, Hyōn-kwang, came to study under the same master. Upon his return to Paek-che, Hyōn-kwang brought with him the teaching of Hui-szu. He established a temple on Ong San near Ung-ju, now modern Kong-ju, which was his native area. This order was an entirely independent grouping of monks which, while intellectually linked to T'ien-t'ai, was not derived from it. The tradition established by the Paek-che monks continued after the state was absorbed by Shil-la and helped to lay the foundations for the growth of the T'ien-t'ai Sect in Unified Shil-la. This sect did not actually emerge until the reign of King

Hye-kong. During that period, a number of Shil-la monks went to T'ang to study under the ninth T'ien-t'ai patriarch, Chan-jan (711 to 782). The sect did not become a strong force in Shil-la.⁷

The Hua-yen or Hwa-ŏm Sect first became popular in Shil-la after Ŭi-sang returned from T'ang. The reader will recall that Ŭi-sang established ten monasteries which became the centres for the dissemination of this doctrine. The names of his disciples are recorded for posterity, though little else is known about them. Through their efforts the sect took deep root in the soil of Shil-la. The names of these men are O-chin, Chi-t'ong, P'yo-hun, Chin-chŏng, Chin-chang, To-yung, Yang-wŏn, Sang-wŏn, Nung-in, and Ŭi-chŏk. During the last quarter of the seventh century the monk Sŭng-jŏn went to T'ang, returning to Shil-la in the first year of King Hyo-so (692 to 702). He brought with him a large number of commentaries on the Hua-yen doctrine and presented them to Ŭi-sang, who used them for the task of evangelism. Sŭng-jŏn was followed to T'ang by another monk, Pŏm-su. The historical records are largely silent on this sect after its initial success. However, it is known to have existed in one form or another through to the early part of the Yi Dynasty in the fifteenth century.⁸

In connection with the rise of the Shil-la Hwa-ŏm Sect, one must also make reference to a related school, the Hae-tong or Pŏp-sŏng Sect, founded by Ŭi-sang's friend Wŏn-hyo. While it is often classed as a part of the Hua-yen school, it is distinct and is an indigenous order. Whilst Ŭi-sang insisted on the exclusiveness of the Hua-yen Ching for salvation, Wŏn-hyo only said that it was the greatest of all the sūtras, and was not the only path to salvation. The central temple of this sect was the Pun-hwang Temple. Recently,

some scholars have argued that the Hae-tong Sect and the Pōp-sang Sect were not the same but different schools.⁹

The Fa-hsiang or Pōp-sang School owes its origin to Wōn-ch'ūk. The reader will recall that this monk was a student of Hsüan-tsang who was the founder of the Fa-hsiang Sect. Although Wōn-ch'ūk never returned to Shil-la permanently, he did have an influence on developments in that country through his students. Wōn-ch'ūk had in addition to his Chinese students a number of students from Shil-la who had come to study Buddhism in T'ang. Among these students, two are of some importance. The first is Sŭng-jang who went to T'ang some time in the first half of the seventh century, studied with Wōn-ch'ūk, and then went to the Ta Chien-fu Temple before returning to Shil-la. The second monk was To-chŭng who, after a long sojourn in T'ang, returned to Shil-la in 697 and helped to establish the Pōp-sang Sect. Both of these men wrote prolifically. A third figure during this period, who did not seem to be influenced by Wōn-ch'ūk, is Kyōng-hŭng. He entered the monastic life at the age of eighteen, and decided to go on to T'ang for further study in the year 666. Upon his return, he worked vigorously for the establishment of this sect in Shil-la, and is credited with the establishment of the first monastery dedicated to its doctrines. This was the Sam-nyang Temple in the capital, Kyōng-ju. During the reign of King Shin-mun, he was granted the title of kung-no.¹⁰

Some scholars, such as Sō, feel that the Pōp-sang Sect did not become established in Shil-la until a much later date. Sō refers to the school as the Yu-ka Sect and traces its origins to a monk called Chin-p'yo (fl. during the reign of King Kyōng-dōk, 742 to 765). He is styled a yul-sa or a teacher of doctrine, rather than as a

pōp-sa or an evangelist. Chin-p'yo was born in Wan-san Chu (present day Chōn-chu). At the age of twelve, he left his family and entered a monastery, studying under the Ch'an master Sung-je at Kūm-san Temple. Some time after this, he is supposed to have undergone a strenuous series of ascetic practices which culminated in a vision of Māitrēya. At the end of this vision, Chin-p'yo received the man-pun-kye or the complete set of commandments for monks, a copy of the Chan-ch'a Ching (a book of divination) and 189 divination sticks. Returning to the Kūm-san Temple, he erected a statue of Māitrēya and set into practice the monastic commandments he had received. More interestingly, he initiated an annual service of divination. Chin-p'yo had a number of disciples who in turn erected monasteries which followed his doctrines and practices. Among these temples were the Song-ni Temple and the Tong-hwa Temple.¹¹ Whether Chin-p'yo represented a continuation of the school founded by the disciples of Wōn-ch'ūk or whether his school was another branch of the Fa-hsiang School is not clear. Certainly his interest in the yogācāra type of practices is in line with what we know of some of the interests of Hsüan-tsang.

The Lü Tsung finds its counterpart in Shil-la with the Yul Chong. The concepts of the Lü Tsung were first introduced to Shil-la through the monk Chi-myōng. He went to the state of Ch'ên in 585 and returned during the last days of the Sui Dynasty in 602. He made great efforts to establish the disciplinary practices of this sect, but to no avail. As the reader will recall, the sect arose in China under the influence of Tao-hsüan. Cha-chang must have come under the influence of this monk's ideas when he was sojourning in China, for when he returned to Shil-la, he reconstituted the Buddhist

practices in that country into a more disciplined system. This was done with complete government approval. Particularly important was the creation of the T'ong-do Temple as the central national temple, and the erection of an ordination platform at this temple, the only place in the kingdom where such ceremonies could be performed. Another monk who was in T'ang at the same time as Cha-chang was Wŏn-sŭng. Whilst in Ch'ang-an, he studied both the doctrines of the various sects and the practice of Ch'an. His efforts aided greatly in the success of Cha-chang's reforms. Sŏ wishes to demonstrate that the Yul Chong established by Cha-chang was completely independent of the Lŭ Tsung in China, but I do not think that this is tenable.¹²

The fifth of the Five Sects of Shil-la is the Yŏl-pan or Nirvāṇa Sect. It became established in Shil-la during the middle of the seventh century through the efforts of the Ko-ku-ryŏ monk, Po-tŏk. He had been sent from his abode in P'yŏng-yang to T'ang to collect Taoist materials for the last king of Ko-ku-ryŏ, Po-chang (642 to 668). Learning of the collapse of Ko-ku-ryŏ, Po-tŏk entered the Korean peninsula in the former Paek-che area and established a monastery at Ko-tae San known as the Kyŏng-bok Temple. Eight more temples of this sect are known to have been established. The insights of the Nirvāṇa Sūtra were used by Wŏn-hyo, Ŭi-sang and Kyŏng-hŭng.¹³ The sect itself does not appear to have been strong.

Besides the standard doctrinal sects, as has been pointed out before, the esoteric sects known as the Shin-in and Chin-ŏn Sects existed alongside their more orthodox brethren. The Shin-in Sect owes its origins to the practices of Myŏng-nang, and undoubtedly his success must be attributed in no small measure to the fact that he was a royal. At the same time that Myŏng-nang was investigating these

practices, another monk, Mil-pon, was also studying this esoteric knowledge. He is said to have cured Queen Sŏn-tŏk and her Prime Minister through the use of occult rites. Little else is known of this sect. The Chin-ŏn Sect, better known as the Shingon Sect in Japan, was also established in this era, primarily through the efforts of one monk, Hye-t'ong. He is known to have studied the doctrines of this school for several years under a master called Wu-wei San-tsang. Hye-t'ong was so highly regarded that he was called upon by the Emperor Kao-tsung to cure the illness of his daughter which success greatly increased his reputation. After his return to Shil-la, he is said to have cured the illness of the daughter of King Hyo-so. The hagiographers have not neglected to include various tales about this mysterious monk. One of the more interesting concerns his escape from arrest. When soldiers came to seize him, it is said that he climbed up to the roof of his monastery clutching a bottle in one hand. With a brush held in the other, he painted a red line around the bottle's neck, and instantly, a red line appeared around the necks of each of the soldiers. Hye-t'ong then threatened to break the neck of the bottle and in so doing, to break the necks of the soldiers. Another figure of importance in this period was Myŏng-hyo. After spending a number of years in T'ang, he returned to Shil-la to spread the doctrines of the Mahāvāirōcana Sūtra, a principal Chin-ŏn document. He would appear to have been influenced by Vajrabodhi.¹⁴ The appeal of these esoteric sects was due in no small measure to their similarity to shamanistic practices. One important parallel to the shaman and his rites is the magical approach in the curing of disease.

Toward the end of this period, Korean monks continued to go to India. One of the most important of these men was Hye-ch'o (704 to

787). In 723, when he was nineteen, Hye-ch'o went to study in T'ang and eventually journeyed to Kuang-chou where he made the acquaintance of the Indian monk Vajrabōdhi (d. 732) and his disciple Āmōgha (or Āmōghavajra, 704 to 774). He so impressed Vajrabōdhi that he recommended that the Shil-la monk go to India to further his knowledge of Buddhism. Hye-ch'o made the sea journey to India, stopping off on the way at the Nicobar Islands (裸身國). Hye-ch'o toured widely in India, and travelled back to T'ang via Central Asia, arriving in Kucha in 727. He wrote a record of his travels in India upon his return called Wang O-ch'ōn-ch'uk-kuk Chōn. Among the places which Hye-ch'o visited are the Magadha region on the Ganges, Kuśinagara, Banaras and its famous Deer Park, Bodhgaya, and Rājāgrha. On his way back to China, he kept records of all of the Central Asian states through which he passed, in particular Tokhara. While sojourning there, he picked up some knowledge of Persia and the Byzantine Empire and added this knowledge to his record. After his return to Ch'ang-an, he began to study with Vajrabōdhi in the Chien-fu Temple. In 732, he undertook with his master the study of an esoteric yogācāra sūtra which dealt with Mañjuśrī. In 740, he assisted Āmōgha in the translation of this sūtra into Chinese. Āmōgha's will tells us that Hye-ch'o was counted among the six major disciples of the master.¹⁵

All of these sects had a great appeal amongst the aristocracy. However, amongst the masses, a new movement appeared which quickly became the most important force in Shil-la Buddhism. This new force was Pure Land Buddhism. The sudden development of Pure Land thought was due primarily to the efforts of Wōn-hyo's evangelism during his later years. Towards the end of his life, this great monk was

passionately concerned with the unification of Buddhism in Shil-la, and its dissemination amongst the common people. Pure Land places emphasis neither on scriptural study nor on a life of good works, but simply in faith in the grace of Amitābha. The movement toward Buddhist unity was known as Il-sūng Pul-kyo (Buddhism of the Single Vehicle), or as T'ong Pul-kyo (Unified Buddhism). Though there was a development of sects, Shil-la monks tended to be more eclectic in their use of scripture than did their Chinese counterparts. The development of Pure Land within Shil-la was aided by and strengthened by this trend towards unity and eclecticism, and in its turn ensured the widest appeal of Buddhism amongst the ordinary people, those who had no time for concentrated study or meditation.¹⁶ One may say with confidence that by the mid-eighth century in Shil-la, Buddhism had taken firm hold of the minds of members of all classes of the society. It was no longer a foreign religion but an integral part of Shil-la's culture.

3. The Growth of Ch'an Sects in Shil-la

Under the reign of King Kyōng-dōk, Shil-la attained the zenith of her economic prosperity and cultural achievement. From the beginning of the reign of the next king, Hye-kong, Shil-la society entered into a long period of social decline, typified by incessant political struggle. One Korean scholar has aptly said that the last period of Shil-la's history was a record of the gradual loosening of the glue which had held together the various components of the social structure. Up to the middle of the eighth century, the kings of Shil-la had worked to increase the power of the central government according to the Confucian pattern, and thus to enhance royal

authority. This increased the contradictions inherent in the society, which had been organized originally on the basis of clans controlled by an aristocratic leadership. Onto this system, the kings imposed a centralized Confucian polity. During the reign of Hye-kong, a group of conservative aristocrats joined cause with a group of ninety-six clan chiefs who rose in revolt against the central government. Social advances made during the reign of Hye-kong's predecessor Kyōng-dōk were rescinded as an act of appeasement. This proved to be unsuccessful. Rebellion and dissension continued until the king himself was murdered and a more malleable man ascended the throne. Within the royal clan two branches were now vying for power, one being the Mu-ryōl branch which had provided all of the rulers of Shil-la since the peninsular wars of unification, and another faction which claimed descent from King Nae-mul (356 to 402). King Hye-kong's successor, Sōn-tōk (780 to 785) came from this latter branch, as did most of the remaining kings of Shil-la.¹

From this point onwards Shil-la society rapidly began to divide into various competing factions. On the aristocratic level, there was the faction related to Mu-ryōl line of the royal clan which was associated with a more liberal Confucian policy. Set against this policy was the faction associated with the Nae-mul line of the royal clan which pursued a more conservative policy which was designed to enforce the Bone Rank system and the power of the great aristocrats. With the latter clan and its associates holding on to the central authority, the lower level aristocrats became alienated from the government. This malaise was paralleled by the disenchantment felt by a number of Chinese trained Confucian scholars who were disgusted by the autocratic and non-Confucian manner of governing. These two

lower factions formed an important anti-government block which created an increasing state of social instability. Members of the Mu-ryŏl line finally rose in revolt against the authoritarianism of the king. Kim Hŏn-ch'ang, the pretender to the throne from this branch, was sent down from the capital as a result of various intrigues at the court, and perhaps as an effort at appeasement, he was created governor of Ung-ch'ŏn Province. However, he used this position as a base for increasing his power. In 822, he revolted against the central government and established an independent kingdom called Chang-an. Although he was killed in the ensuing conflict, his son, Kim Pŏm-mun, continued the rebellion. This rebellion was the first of many which characterized the political situation in ninth century Shil-la. They were directly responsible for the collapse of the central government and the creation of small states which carved up the land area of the kingdom.²

At the same time that members of the aristocratic classes were vying with each other for power, the power of the merchant class steadily increased. As the central power was less and less able to control trade, especially international trade, individual merchants conducted trade on their own authority with foreign governments. Korean ship building and navigation became increasingly sophisticated as a consequence of this flourishing of commerce. In addition, Koreans were able to establish extra-territorial rights for themselves in various Chinese ports. The Japanese, as is evidenced by Ennin's diary, availed themselves both of the Korean shipping fleet and the extra-territorial rights of the Koreans. The economic power of these Shil-la merchants in turn gave them considerable political power at home as well. The most notable of these merchants was Chang Po-ko

who rose to power as a merchant and guardian of the shipping lanes against piracy. The power of his private army encouraged him to take an increasing interest in court affairs. In 839, he was able to place his candidate, King Shin-mu (839), on the throne. However, he over-reached himself at one point and was killed in the resulting scuffle.³

The weakness of the central authority throughout the area of the Shil-la kingdom meant that locally powerful groups became able not only to dominate affairs in their areas, but to act independently of the capital. There were three types of these groups, all of which enlarged the area of their estates, and withdrew their taxes from the support of the central government. First, there were those aristocrats who had been left out of or banished from the ruling court circle. These tended to increase their family holdings in the area of their family seat. Local headmen were a second group who took advantage of the chaotic conditions to increase the land directly under their ownership. The Buddhist monasteries constituted the third group. In the beginning, land and slaves had been donated to the temples as an act of piety by members of the laity. Now, however, these holdings were aggressively expanded. These three groups either bought out poor farmers or seized land by sheer force. Tax revenues and the local administrative apparatus were withdrawn from the control of the central government. Increasingly, these great landed estates took on the appearance of the feudal demesnes of mediaeval Europe. The squeeze which these estates placed on the ordinary man became so intolerable that many farmers began to turn to banditry as a means of survival. By the close of the ninth century, farmer's revolts had become quite common.⁴

The crumbling authority of the central government, beset by challenges from dissident aristocrats, scholars, landholders, merchants, and peasants received a disastrous blow when certain powerful figures in the provinces began to form alternative central governments. A rebel leader, Kung-ye (? to 918), controlling large sections of northern Shil-la felt strong enough by the year 901 to declare the establishment of the state of Later Ko-ku-ryǎ. He was an illegitimate son of King Hǎn-an (857 to 861) who had pretensions to the throne of Shil-la. However, his attempt to maintain within his group the Bone Rank system and other marks of Shil-la aristocracy led to a revolt against his rule. He was succeeded by a lieutenant, Wang Kǎn. In the area of the old Paek-che state, another leader Kyǎn Hwǎn (? to 936), arose and established the state of Later Paek-che in 892. This king was most successful in international relations, establishing diplomatic ties with the states of Wu and Wu-yǎeh in southern China, and entered into cordial contact with Later T'ang in northern China. Thus by the end of the ninth century and the beginning of the tenth century, the central government in Kyǎng-ju had control over barely more than the land which immediately surrounded the city. The peninsula itself was consumed in a war of dynastic succession between Later Ko-ku-ryǎ and Later Paek-che. In 927, Later Paek-che sacked the Shil-la capital of Kyǎng-ju, murdered the king and his courtiers at play in the P'o-sǎk Pavilion, and carried away slaves and booty. Kyǎn Hwǎn then placed a king of his own choice on the throne of Shil-la, King Kyǎng-sun (927 to 935). Later Ko-ku-ryǎ was able to skillfully counteract the diplomatic and military advantages of Later Paek-che by instilling dissension within the court circle which eventually led to the collapse of the state.

With the eventual capitulation of the royal court in Kyōng-ju in 935, a new central government was established over all of the area formerly administered by Shil-la. This state took the name of Ko-ryō and ushered in a new period of dynastic history.⁵

The growth of the Ch'an (in Korean Sōn) sects must be set against this historical background if one is to understand why the last phase of Shil-la Buddhism was dominated by this form of Buddhist philosophy. The roots of this sect may be traced back as far as Tao-an and Hui-yüan in fourth century China, but the beginning of significant Ch'an influence in Chinese society is usually dated to the Indian or Central Asian monk Bodhidharma who arrived in China in the first quarter of the sixth century. The sect was guided by a patriarch who received his authority from his predecessor. In the eighth century a dispute arose over whether the monk Shen-hsiu (600 to 706) or Hui-neng (638 to 713) had been the actual sixth patriarch. This caused a split into a Northern and Southern School of Ch'an. The latter school placed emphasis on the instantaneous and complete nature of enlightenment while the former argued for a more gradual understanding of enlightenment. The Southern School was ultimately victorious and came to dominate Ch'an philosophy. From the eighth century onwards there were five branches of Ch'an of which two were by far the most important. These were the Lin-chi and the Ts'ao-tung Sects. The latter took its name from the names of the two mountains which contained its principal temples. The founder of the former branch of Ch'an was the monk I-hsüan (? to 867) and of the latter, the monks, Liang-chieh (807 to 869), and Pên-chi (840 to 901). The principal differences between these two branches

were the methods used to attain enlightenment. Ch'en says that the Lin-chi branch preferred the Buddhist equivalent of shock therapy, a shocking statement, a blow with a stick or a non-sensical reply to a question. The Ts'ao-tung branch on the other hand preferred the method of silent introspection under the guidance of a master.⁶

The basic concepts of the Ch'an school stressed freedom and spontaneity in behavior. As the short historical survey given above would indicate, this philosophy did not have much appeal until the late seventh century and the early eighth century. Ch'en traces the cause of its growth in popularity directly to the prevailing social conditions. Up to the end of the reign of the Emperor Hsüan-tsung (712 to 756), T'ang enjoyed great economic prosperity and a flourishing in all the arts. In the last year of the reign of Hsüan-tsung, the stability of the empire was shaken by a rebellion against the imperial authority. The increasing weakening of the central government was mirrored in the development of intellectual trends which stressed freedom of expression and spontaneity. Characteristic of this trend is the great T'ang poet, Li Po (701 to 762) whose emphasis on following the whim of the moment is legendary. The fact that Ch'an was not a speculative philosophy such as was expounded by the T'ien-t'ai and Hua-yen Sects, but stressed spontaneity, made it fit in well with the spirit of the age. It also had much in common with Taoist thought.⁷ Thus one can readily see that there is a parallel both in the prevailing social conditions of the late T'ang Empire and Shil-la, and in the intellectual and religious reaction to it. With the loosening of social and political constraints, a more inward looking, individualistic, and spontaneous form of religion found great appeal.

In the reign of Queen Sŏn-tŏk, the Shil-la monk Pŏm-nang went to T'ang to study Ch'an under the fourth patriarch Tao-hsin (580 to 651). He was the first Shil-la monk who is known to have gone to T'ang for this purpose. Precisely when he returned to his homeland is not known, but it is recorded that he settled on Mount Ko-ho (or Mount Ho-ko). Shin-haeng sought him out there, studying Ch'an with him for some three years. Leaving Pŏm-nang, Shin-haeng went for a further three years of study in T'ang under the monk Chih-k'ung. He returned to Shil-la, and died after a very long life at the Tan-sok Temple in 779. The form of Ch'an which these men propagated was neither Northern or Southern Ch'an. Southern Ch'an was brought to Shil-la by To-ŭi. He left Shil-la for T'ang in 784 studying at first in the K'ai-yŭan Temple in Hung-chou, going on to Mount Pê-chang for further study with the great monk Huai-hai. He returned permanently to Shil-la in 821 and established himself at the Chin-chŏn Temple in the Sŏr-ak Mountains. He passed away in 844.⁸

The influence of these three men was more circumscribed than their successors. They left no school behind them, and few disciples. The first Korean monk who founded a branch of Ch'an Buddhism in Shil-la was Hong-ch'ŏk (or Nam-han Cho-sa). He went to T'ang some time during the reign of King Hŏn-tŏk (809 to 826) and returned to Shil-la in the first year of the reign of King Hŭng-dŏk (826 to 836). Upon his return he established a monastery on Mount Chi-ri called Shil-sang Temple which rapidly became a well-known centre of Ch'an teaching and attracted a large number of students. As Shil-la Ch'an sects often took the name of the mountain upon which they were situated, Hong-ch'ŏk's sect became known as Shil-sang San. There were eight other Ch'an sects founded during late

Shil-la times.⁹

The second of the nine mountains of Ch'an was Tong-ni San. The patriarch of this branch was the monk Hye-ch'öl who went to T'ang to study in the year 814. He studied in several places in T'ang and was last known to have been at Fou-sha Temple in Hsi-chou. He returned to Shil-la in 839 and established a monastery on Tong-ni San near Mu-chu.¹⁰

The next branch of Ch'an Buddhism to be established in Shil-la was Ka-chi San, founded by the monk Che-ching. Che-ching was a student of Yöm-kö who in turn had been a student of To-üi. In 837, Che-ching went to T'ang for further study, but becoming convinced that the Chinese Ch'an masters had nothing to offer him which his Shil-la teachers had not already taught him, he returned to Shil-la in 840. He established a monastery near Mu-chu which became known as Ka-chi San. Though he is historically the founder of this order, the sect traditionally styled him the Third Patriarch after To-üi and Yöm-kö.¹¹

The Söng-ju San order was founded by Mu-yöm who was originally a member of the Hwa-öm Sect. However, when he went to T'ang, he determined to study Ch'an and subsequently became an ardent proponent of this philosophy. He first studied in Lo-yang at the Fo-kuang Temple and went from there to P'u-chou. He became so famous as a teacher amongst the Chinese that he was termed Tung-fang Ta P'u-sa, the Great Bodhisattva from the East. He returned to Shil-la and established the Söng-ju San order on a mountain near Ung-ch'ön. He had a profound influence on the thought of the people of his time and is alleged to have had hundreds of students.¹²

In the year 831, the monk Pöm-il went to T'ang to study under Ch'i-an and Wei-yen, but was forced by the persecution of Buddhism

under the Emperor Wu-tsung to return to Shil-la in 846 or 847. He established the To-kul San order at Kul-san Temple near modern Kang-nŭng, where he was reputed to have lived for forty years after his return from T'ang. Among his students were the monks Nang-wŏn and Nang-gong.¹³

The Sa-cha San order has a more complex origin. The monk To-yun or Ch'ŏl-kam, went to T'ang to study under the Chinese monk Nan-ch'uan. He returned to Shil-la in 847, and gathered about himself many students, among whom was Ch'ŏl-chung, who became To-yun's principal student. Later on, Ch'ŏl-chung established himself at the Sok-san Temple. His fame was so great that a monk living on Sa-cha San came to invite him to change his location, which Ch'ŏl-chung did, taking his disciples with him to this new location. The principal monastery for the order was established there and gave its name to the sect.¹⁴

The Hŭi-yang San order was the work of the monk, Chi-shin who, in the year 863, established himself at Mount Hyŏn-kye. His disciple Ch'im-ch'ung during the reign of King Hŏn-kang (875 to 886) moved the sect's location to Hŭi-yang San. This sect traced its origins back to the first Koreans to bring Ch'an to Shil-la, Pŏm-nang and Shin-haeng, and thus laid claim to a more authentically Shil-lan ancestry than the other orders.¹⁵

The founder of the next Ch'an order, the Pong-nim San sect was the monk Hyŏn-uk (or Hyŏn-yuk). He was born in 787, took the tonsure at an early age and is said to have gone to T'ang in 824, returning in the year 837. He went to the Shil-sang Temple where he established himself as a master of great repute. He passed away in the year 870, at the age of eighty-three. His disciple was Shim-hŭi who most

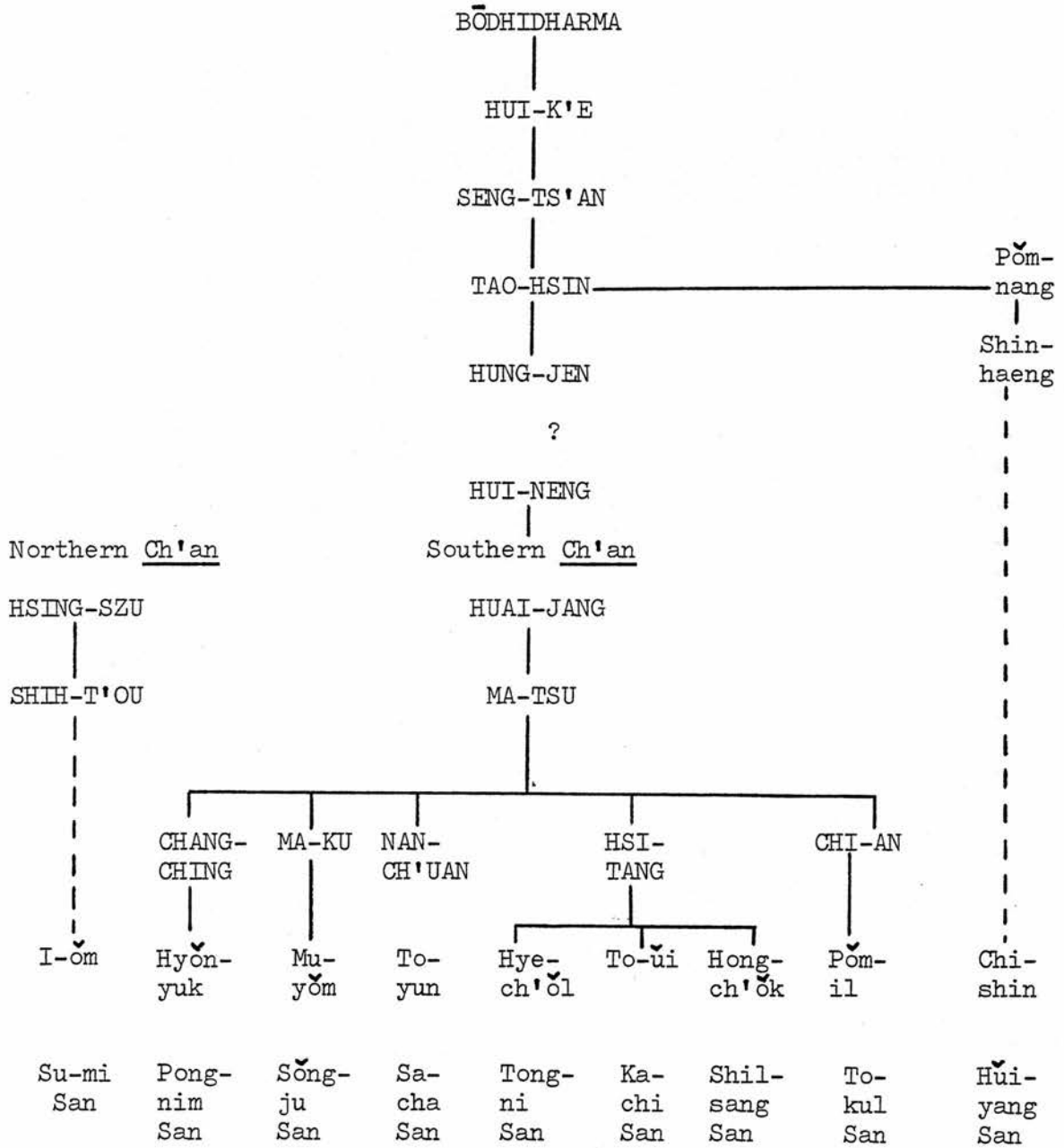
assiduously avoided contact with the profane world. It is said that Queen Chin-sǒng (887 to 897) called him to the royal court, to which Shim-hŭi replied by fleeing to a more secluded spot. Eventually, he settled near modern Kim-hae where he built the Pong-nim Temple which became the centre of the sect of the same name. He is reputed to have had a large number of disciples.¹⁶

The last of the nine sects of Ch'an Buddhism in Shil-la was the Su-mi San order. In fact its founding is so late that it is probably more proper to place it in the Ko-ryŏ period. The founder was the monk I-ŏm, who was born in 870 and entered the monastic life at the age of twelve. In the year 894, he went for further study to T'ang, and returned to the Korean peninsula in 911. He settled in the Sŭng-kwang Temple in Na-chu in the state of Later Paek-che. However, in the year 931, he was called by Ko-ryŏ T'ae-cho to the new state of Ko-ryŏ, where he established the Kwang-jo Temple on Su-mi San near modern Hae-chu. As with the other teachers, it is recorded that he was a popular and influential Ch'an master. What is more interesting perhaps for our study is that his decision to locate a new monastery was greatly influenced by the political trends of the time. Shil-la's sun was setting while Ko-ryŏ's was rising.¹⁷

Chart 5-3 indicates the development of Ch'an sects in Korea as they are related to the main trends of Ch'an in China. From this it becomes readily apparent that there are three sources for Ch'an in Shil-la. One is a strand from the period prior to the split into Northern and Southern Ch'an. The second and third sources are influences from the Northern and Southern Schools of Ch'an. In the northern Ch'an stream the line of influence descends through Hui-neng (638 to 713) and his disciple Hsing-szu (d. 741) to Hsing-szu's

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disciple Shih-t'ou (d. 791 aged ninety-one) and his disciples. By far the most important line of influence, however, comes from the Southern Ch'an School. Another student of Hui-neng was Huai-jiang (d. 744) whose great disciple was Ma-tsu (d. 788). From him came a number of eminent monks who were directly responsible for the training of monks from Shil-la who went back to their homeland to emplant the new philosophy. Although the most famous of the disciples of Ma-tsu was Nan-ch'uan (748 - 834), Hsi-tang seems to have been of more importance to Shil-la, judging by the number of Shil-la monks whom he trained.¹⁸

One should not end a discussion of this period with the implication that the only feature of late Shil-la Buddhism was the establishment of Ch'an sects. Right up to the end of the dynasty, Shil-la had direct contact with India through its scholarly monks who continued to make the arduous journey to the subcontinent. The last Shil-la monk who is known to have made the journey to India is Wŏn-p'yo (ninth century). Unfortunately, there is very little reliable information about him. He is said to have gone to T'ang for study and then went on to India, toured the sacred sites, and returned to T'ang. On the way, he is said to have had an experience of Shim Wang. He is known to have been in China during the years 841 to 846, but the exact date of his death is unknown. Both Wŏn-p'yo and his more famous predecessor Hye-ch'o represent a continuation of the esoteric sect of Buddhism. Hye-ch'o's teachers were both members of the esoteric faction of Chinese Buddhism. Wŏn-p'yo's experience of the Shim Wang is one further indication of the influence of this occult doctrine. Shim Wang refers to Tae-il Yŏ-rae or

Mahāvāirōcana which was a central figure in the belief of the esoteric orders. These facts demonstrate that the field was not entirely held by Ch'an philosophy however important it was.¹⁹

E. Summary of Early Korean Buddhism

1. The history of Buddhism in Korea from the fourth century to the early tenth century is summarized in Chart 5-4 from which we may draw the following general conclusions. First, in two cases, those of Ko-ku-ryō and Shil-la, Buddhism existed prior to the date of official acceptance. This is a reflection both of the nature of the cultural and political ties of the Korean states with the political entities in the great continent to the west, and to the missionary zeal of the early Buddhist missionaries. The third case, Paek-che, which apparently did not have a Buddhist presence prior to official acceptance is, however, no exception to these points. Missionary zeal led Mālānanda to Paek-che; the political relationships of the time provided him with the opportunity to carry out his task. Second, official acceptance meant that Buddhism became the cult of the court, not the dominant religion of the society. This is true in all three cases. Third, the strength of Buddhism seems to be in direct proportion to its ability to become the dominant philosophical mode of the state. One measure of this strength would surely be the sending out of missionaries to foreign lands as emissaries of the new religion and of the cultural power of the state. In all three cases we find that the kings actively pursued a policy of expanding their cultural influence as a means to enhance international political relationships. The role played by Japan here is an important case in point. Fourth, political influences at the court could hinder the

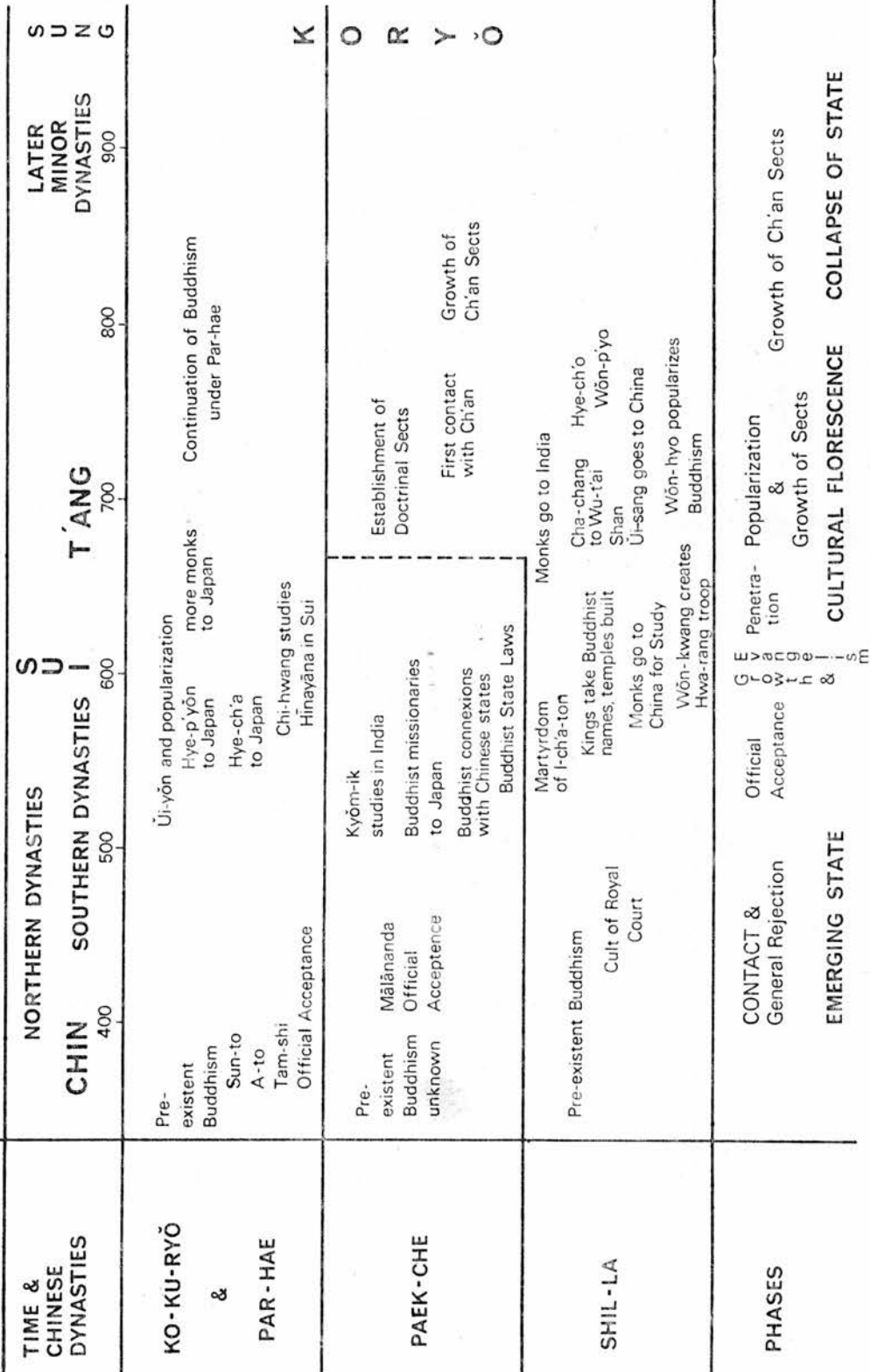
influence of Buddhism. Thus, the turning away from Buddhism by the royal court in the last days of Ko-ku-ryō did not mean the end of Buddhism there, but rather signalled a weakening of its influence in important circles. Fifth, Buddhism became a means for the 'modernization' or increased cultural sophistication of the Korean states, not only through sustained contact with China, but with Central Asia and India as well.

2. As there is considerably more information on Shil-la, we shall consider this state in depth. First of all, one must say that the tripartite division of Shil-la's Buddhist history into a Period of Evangelism, a Period of the Establishment of Doctrinal Sects, and a Period of the Development of Ch'an Sects is far too simple. In place of this we suggest the following stages:

- (i) Contact and General Rejection, c. 410 to 529
- (ii) Official Acceptance, 529 to 540
- (iii) Growth and Evangelism, 540 to 599
- (iv) Penetration, 599 to 631
- (v) Popularization and the Growth of Doctrinal Sects,
631 to 742
- (vi) Growth of Non-Doctrinal Sects, 742 to 936.

The peculiar and garbled accounts of Chōng-bang, Myōl-ku-pi, Hūk-ho-cha, and A-to give witness to some sort of early Buddhist contact with Shil-la. There is an indication that in the latter part of the fifth century the new religion had made inroads into the royal court, but had not been able to convince a majority of the nobility and the populace. This would be the first stage. The second stage is that of the martyrdom of I-ch'a-ton, and the reigns of kings

Schematic Diagram of Early Korean Buddhism



Pōp-hūng and Chin-hūng. Now not only was Buddhism practised privately by members of the royal family, it was given royal sanction. This enabled it to begin to expand its influence within all segments of Shil-la's society. This steady growth in influence is indicated by the adoption of Buddhist names by the king and members of the royal family, the bringing of sūtras and specific Buddhist doctrines to Shil-la, and the sending out of Buddhist liturgical materials and evangelists to Japan. The third stage of penetration, when Buddhism first became an integral component of Shil-la society may be confidently dated to the year 599 and after. In that year Wōn-kwang returned from Sui and established the Hwa-rang Troop in its classic form. Through the agency of this troop, the élite youth of Shil-la were first systematically trained in the tenets of Buddhism and from this period forward there was a dramatic change in the fortunes of the Indian religion.

With the firm establishment of Buddhism amongst the élite circle, we enter into the fourth stage. During this period two general processes occurred. First, primarily due to the efforts of Wōn-hyo, Buddhism became popular amongst the masses. Second, genuine sects, stemming largely from intellectual trends in T'ang, became established in Shil-la. Thus, Buddhism took hold of all strata of the society. In addition, other social processes occurred concurrently with these events. First, Buddhism came to be seen not only as the dominant religious and philosophical mode of the state, but as its protector as well. Second, the effect of outside cultural influences on the budding culture of the state greatly increased. This is witnessed to by the large numbers of Shil-la monks who went off to T'ang and even to India to study. Third, Buddhism adapted itself to the

shamanistic substratum of Shil-la's religious life. This is evidenced by the association of the kings with the Bodhisattvas, and by the correlation of important Korean mountains with mountains sacred to various Bodhisattvas, such as Wu-t'ai Shan. It must have been in this period when the practice of associating shrines to the mountain god with Buddhist temples became firmly established. The growth of esoteric orders which used magical formulae and sacred diagrams, and which venerated Mahāvairōcana as the Great Sun (大日), so similar in conception to the ancient Korean belief in the Lord of Heaven, give further evidence for the accommodation of Buddhism with shamanism. By this point, Buddhism was no longer an important foreign doctrine, but an indigenous component of Shil-la's life and society.

The final stage of Buddhism in Shil-la saw the rise of non-doctrinal sects with a philosophy of spontaneity which appealed to the people of that time who lived in increasingly chaotic conditions. In fact in these last two periods we see a fine correlation between the contemporary social and political conditions and the predominant form of Buddhism. As Shil-la grew and expanded culturally and politically, doctrinal and intellectual Buddhism flourished, but when the social and political structure began to come unhinged, a more inward looking and individualistic form of Buddhism became fashionable. Throughout the two periods, a popular form of Buddhism, based on simple faith in the grace of Amitābha and mixed with shamanism, took firm hold of the masses.

UNIT IV
CHRISTIANITY

CHAPTER 6 CHRISTIAN CONTACT WITH EAST ASIA
PRIOR TO THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

A. The Nestorian Church in the T'ang Dynasty

Christianity is the second of the two great world religions which have been emplantated in Korea. Before we discuss the emplantation and growth of that religion in the peninsula, a few words are in order about the contacts which the Christian faith had with East Asia prior to the nineteenth century. There were three distinct periods in which Christianity had sustained contact with the Far East; Nestorian contact with T'ang China, contact between the mediaeval Roman Catholic Church and the Mongol Empire, and the mission of the Jesuit order to Ming and Ch'ing China.

After the armies of T'ang had routed the Turkish tribes in Central Asia in 630, the east-west trade routes which had been closed during the early seventh century were re-opened. Among the many merchants who again flocked to Ch'ang-an were Persians, some of whom are known to have been Nestorian Christians. In 635, partly for the purpose of overseeing the spiritual life of this growing community, and partly for the purpose of developing missionary work in the great eastern empire, the Patriarch of the Nestorian Church sent the priest A-lo-pên to Ch'ang-an. He was received by the Chinese government with the highest marks of diplomatic respect, and as a special favour was granted the use of the imperial library. In 638, A-lo-pên produced the first exposition in Chinese of the Christian faith, which was a condensation and reworking of the Gospel According to Saint Matthew. A-lo-pên's work stressed that Christianity was neither incompatible with loyalty to the Chinese state nor inconsistent with

filial piety. The work of this missionary priest was rewarded by the granting of imperial permission to erect a Nestorian monastery in the quarter of Ch'ang-an in which the Persians and Central Asians resided.¹

The late seventh century was both a period of growth and trial for the Nestorians. New monastic establishments were erected in Lo-yang, Tun-huang, Ling-wu (modern Ling-chou), and in the area of modern Sze-chuan Province. Certain growth seemed to be threatened when the imperial throne was usurped by the Empress Wu in 684. Buddhist clergy at the court attempted to influence the Empress, a great patron of Buddhism and an ardent believer, against the Nestorians. The protestations by the latter of their loyalty to the new dynasty gained them favour in the imperial eyes and the assurance that the central government would not interfere in their activities. In the eighth century, the Taoists tried to persuade the government to persecute the church in 712 and again in 713, but this was short-lived. Throughout the century, the church was held in high regard, which is indicated by two facts, the use of the Nestorian clergy for diplomatic purposes, and the high popular regard in which the Nestorian laymen were held. On at least two occasions, priests of the Nestorian Church were used as members of diplomatic missions between Persia and China. In 732, Bishop Gabriel accompanied a Persian delegation to Ch'ang-an, which was followed up by another mission to the T'ang capital in 744 accompanied by Bishop George. Nestorian laymen were likewise prominent in the affairs of their time. One of the most prominent of these men would have been the barbarian general I-ssu, who gained fame for his role in the suppression of a rebellion. He also gained a considerable reputation for his

patronage of the Nestorian Church and for many charitable activities.²

This favourable situation changed dramatically in the middle of the ninth century. In 845, the Emperor Wu-tsung (840 to 846) set out to suppress Buddhism and all foreign religious cults. Chinese monks were to be laicized, and foreign monks were to be deported. The effect of these acts of suppression on the Nestorian Church was disastrous. During the reign of the Nestorian Patriarch Theodosius (852 to 860), no mention is made of a metropolitan bishop in China, which is a sure sign that the number of Christian adherents was insufficient to justify one. Later, in 987, when Abu'l Faradj of Baghdad was in China, he mentions an encounter with a Persian Nestorian priest who had been sent out in 982 to supervise the Christian community. This priest claimed that he had no work to do as there were no Christians in the Empire and that he only wished to go back to Persia as quickly as possible. Nestorianism, while practically absent from China after the late ninth century, survived amongst the barbarian peoples who fringed the empire on the north.³

This brief survey indicates that whilst Nestorianism found favour at certain periods, it was never a widely practised religion. Most scholars are agreed in attributing its downfall to four factors:

- (1) Nestorianism in China was primarily a religion practised by foreigners, and never took deep root amongst the Chinese themselves.
- (2) Nestorianism entered China during a period of self-confidence, when there was little searching for new religious or metaphysical ideas.
- (3) The dependence of the Nestorian Church on clergy from a distant country made it vulnerable in times of national and

international crisis. Assistance to the beleaguered church would not be forthcoming readily.

(4) The Nestorian Church became too dependent on imperial patronage. When this patronage was withdrawn, it is not surprising that the church collapsed.⁴

What may we say of Nestorian relationships with the Korean states? Very little. We may assume on the basis of the close political and mercantile ties which existed between T'ang on the one hand and Par-hae and Shil-la on the other that there may have been a few Nestorian merchants who found their way to the capitals of these states. There is not any good evidence to indicate that there ever was an indigenous Nestorian Church in either Par-hae or Shil-la. Recent discoveries in the former Shil-la capital, Kyōng-ju have led O Yun-t'ae to the opposite conclusions. His case is based on the discovery of a small statue of a woman holding a child on her knee, and certain cross-shaped objects. This kind of material, of course, is not unequivocal evidence for the presence of an established Nestorian Church. If they are indeed Christian objects, they only indicate the presence of Christian believers, who could have been merchants in transit from one market to another. Moreover, the Nestorian Church in China is not known to have used any images such as the one described by O. It is important to take into consideration A. C. Moule's opinion that cross-shaped objects are not necessarily Christian in origin. Certain cross-shaped objects found in North China and dated to the mediaeval period, he says, are classified as Christian only because the location of their discovery is close to the tribal area of the Christian Ongut Turks. O also bases his conclusion on certain literary evidence, most of which is drawn from the

Sam-kuk Yu-sa. He begins his analysis by saying that the differences between Mahāyāna and Theravāda Buddhism must be attributed to Christian, especially Nestorian, influence on the former. This idea, which is not unique to the author, does not take into account the more probable possibility of parallel development. The examples which he cites, the gift of a jade belt to a Korean hero by the Lord of Heaven, and a voice heard speaking from Heaven, are not conclusive proof of Christian influence on Korean thought, much less of the presence of the Nestorian Church in Shil-la. Until there is more conclusive evidence brought forward, we must state that Christianity in its Nestorian form was not known to have been present in the peninsula during the Unified Shil-la Period.⁵

B. Contacts of Mediaeval Christendom with East and Central Asia

As was mentioned in the previous section, although Nestorian Christianity disappeared from China proper, it continued to survive amongst the barbarian peoples to the north and west of the empire. The attitude of the Mongols, who were the dominant power in East and Central Asia during the twelfth through the fourteenth centuries, was particularly important for the survival and growth of Nestorianism. The Mongols practised a general policy of tolerance toward the gods of the peoples whom they had conquered. This was done in the hope that these gods would look favourably toward the Mongol state, as well as to prevent the gods from wreaking vengeance for the non-performance of essential rites. In the case of the Nestorians, there were two further reasons for this tolerance. First, many of the Mongol tribal leaders had intermarried with members of the surrounding Christian tribes, such as the Uighur, Maiman, Ongut, and Kerait Turks. The son

of GenghisKhan, Tuli, was married to Sorocan, a Christian Kerait, who was the mother of Mangu, Hulagu, and Kablai. The wife of Hulagu was Dokuz Khatun, a Nestorian who was so famed for her Christian zeal that she has been compared with Saint Helena. In the second place, in western Asia, the Mongol rulers came to depend on the loyalty of non-Islamic peoples in order to maintain their authority. This meant that in Persia and Mesopotamia, the Nestorians became valued allies. They were also valued emissaries between the Mongol courts and the princes of Europe when attempts were made to forge an alliance between East Asia and Western Europe against the common Islamic threat.¹

The Mongol conquests which had re-opened the commercial routes between East and West, caused the rulers of Western Europe to wonder what ambitions the new rulers of the East held toward the Far West. The thirteenth century in particular was a time of considerable diplomatic and mercantile contact between the West and the Mongols. Fear of past and future Mongol invasions of Western Europe led Pope Innocent IV to send at least three separate delegations to the Mongol khans, headed by Friar Laurence of Portugal, the Italian Franciscan John of Plano Carpini, and the Dominican Anselm of Lombardy, respectively. The most important was the mission conducted by John of Plano Carpini which left in 1245. All three were rebuffed for their impertinent attitude. In the winter of 1252, William of Rubruck was sent as the emissary of Louis IX of France to the court of the Khan Mangu. It seems likely that William had been prepared for his mission in part by John of Plano Carpini. Unlike his predecessors, William seems to have made a good impression on the khan, as he was asked by the Mongol ruler to represent Christianity in a religious debate in place of a Nestorian priest. During the

sixties and seventies of the thirteenth century commercial ties between the East and West grew considerably, such as the mercantile activities of the brothers Maffeo and Nicolo Polo, and Nicolo's son, Marco. Some time in 1278 or 1279, two Uighur Nestorians, Rabban Sauma and his disciple Marcos set out on a journey to the Holy Land. On arriving in Baghdad, the Patriarch decided that they could be better put to use as Vicar General of the Congregation of the East and Metropolitan Bishop of Khanbaliq (Pei-ching) respectively. In 1281, Marcos was installed as Patriarch under the style of Mar Yabhallaha III (1281 to 1317) in part because the Nestorians felt that they needed to have an East Asian as Patriarch to act as an intermediary with the Mongol rulers. In 1287, Khan Arghun sent Rabban Sauma as his emissary to the princes of Europe, in order to forge an alliance against the Islamic state. He visited the Byzantine Emperor Andronikos II, Pope Nicholas IV, King Philip IV the Fair of France, and King Edward I of England. Although Rabban Sauma's mission failed to interest any Western ruler apart from Edward in an alliance, it did bear fruit in the favourable impression which the Western church made on the Nestorian emissary, which he must have conveyed to his disciple, the Patriarch. Mar Yabhallaha III wrote a letter to Pope Benedict XI in 1304 in which he explicitly recognized the primacy of the Roman pontiff as head of the entire Christian Church.²

The kinds of contact which have been discussed above were all political or mercantile. The first missionary from the Western church to the East was the Franciscan, John of Montecorvino. He was sent by the Pope in 1291 to the court of Kublai Khan, arriving in Khanbaliq in 1294, shortly after the Khan's death. By 1300, a church

was erected and it was claimed that in 1305 there were some six thousand converts. John baptized 150 boys and took personal charge of their schooling, instructing them in Latin and Greek, and teaching them to chant the liturgy. He used eleven of these boys to assist in the performance of the Mass. He also translated the New Testament into the 'Tartar' language, but not into Chinese. The most spectacular result of John's work was the conversion of George, Prince of the Ongut Turks, who were traditionally Nestorians. Prince George was the first East Asian to take minor orders. The Onguts, however, were led back to the Nestorian fold by his successor. John was joined by Arnold of Cologne in 1305, and a second church was constructed on land donated by a European merchant, Peter of Lucalongo. In 1307, John of Montecorvino was made Archbishop of Khanbaliq, and was joined by three more missionaries. A new episcopal see was created in Zaitun (Chuan-chou) in 1313. In 1318 a second church was built there. John of Montecorvino is supposed to have died sometime between 1318 and 1333.³

After John's death, the continuance of the mission became more tenuous. A successor was appointed, but appears to have died before he reached China. The situation was critical for the young church. When an embassy arrived from the Mongol emperor at the papal court in 1338, it bore two letters, one addressed to the Pope from a Christian tribe, the Alan, and a second from the emperor himself, endorsing the claims of the Alan for priestly oversight. The request for priests was responded to quickly, but only one of the priests actually survived the journey to Khanbaliq, John of Marignolli. He arrived in 1342, stayed three or four years and arrived back at the papal court in 1353. During his stay, he had visited Hang-chou, Ning-po, and Chuan-chou. By the sixties, the Mongol Empire had collapsed in China

to be succeeded by the new Ming Empire. Rising xenophobia and resentment at the special favours which had been granted to the Catholics and Nestorians meant that the survival of these communities was precarious at best. James of Florence, Bishop of Zaitun, was martyred in 1362, and the Christians were expelled from Pei-ching in 1369. Eventually, both the Catholic and Nestorian churches vanished.

The reasons for the disappearance of the Catholic Church at this time are much the same as the ones deduced for the disappearance of the Nestorian Church in the T'ang Dynasty. These are:

- (1) the Catholic Church was dependent on the favour of the ruling dynasty,
- (2) the Church was likewise too dependent on a mother church which was too distant from the mission in time of need,
- (3) the Church was founded in the foreign rather than in the Chinese community.⁴

As in the previous section, we must ask what contacts the Catholic Church may have had at this time with Korea. After considerable resistance, the Ko-ryŏ state had been incorporated into the Mongol Empire. Princes of the royal family were kept as hostages at the imperial court, and forced to marry Mongol princesses. In spite of this situation of sustained Mongol-Korean contact, there does not seem to have been any contact between the Koreans in Khanbaliq with either the Nestorian or Catholic Christians. Ch'ung-sŏn (1275 (1308 to 1313) 1325) who was a retired king of Ko-ryŏ, established a notable salon in Khanbaliq, which acted as a meeting point for Chinese and Korean scholars. Through Ch'ung-sŏn's salon, eminent Chinese such as Chao Meng-fu (1254 to 1322) came to exercise considerable influence on Korean letters. In spite of this, Ch'ung-sŏn and his

group appear not to have heard of John of Montecorvino, who surely must have been a curiosity. We may conclude that during the Mongol period, neither the Nestorians nor the Catholics had any influence on Korea.⁵

C. Roman Catholic Missions in China after the Mid-Sixteenth Century

The intellectual and cultural trends which were re-invigorating Europe during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries left their mark on the missions of the Roman Catholic Church. Curiosity about exotic parts of the world, and new intellectual knowledge, combined with a new found missionary zeal to produce in the Jesuit order a missionary force without parallel. Although Francis Xavier had attempted to gain entry into China, the first Western missionary to actually do so since the Middle Ages was Michael Ruggerius, who arrived in 1579. He was joined shortly afterwards by the great missionary Matteo Ricci. The policy which had been adopted by their society was to gain the respect and favour of the upper classes so that evangelism might proceed unhindered amongst the lower classes. Through their work in explaining western scientific knowledge, they gained very rapidly a reputation for scholarship, an important characteristic in a society dominated by a literati class. This policy paid off well with the conversion of two leading intellectuals, Hsü Kuang-ch'i (1562 to 1634) and Li Chih-tsao. The respect gained for them by this method of mission work resulted also in the granting of imperial permission to take up residence in Pei-ching in 1601. While Ruggerius and Ricci were engaged in this indirect method of missionizing, they did not neglect the necessary work of Christian apologetics. In 1581,

Ruggerius had written a catechism, revised by Ricci and a Chinese convert, which came to be known as the T'ien-chu Shih-lu (True Account of the Lord of Heaven). It was revised in 1637 as the T'ien-chu Shêng-chiao Shih-lu (True Account of the Holy Catholic Religion). It discussed revelation, immortality, the Ten Commandments, the doctrine of the Trinity, and baptism. It also suppressed anything which was offensive to Chinese morals or which might suggest to the government that Christianity was a political movement. In 1601, Ricci published his influential T'ien-chu Shih-i (True Doctrine of the Lord of Heaven).¹

Until the last third of the seventeenth century, the history of the Church was characterized by unprecedented growth, although there were also sporadic persecutions, notably in 1616 and 1623. By the middle of the century there were 40,000 converts, and thirty-six Jesuit missionaries at work. The mantle of Matteo Ricci had fallen on Johann Adam Schall von Bell, who quickly gained a reputation as a worthy successor to his famous predecessor. The Jesuit missionaries were well established now in various positions of influence, most notably the Bureau of Astronomy which had responsibility for the imperial calendar and Schall was honoured by being created director of this important bureau. Political difficulties were on the horizon. As the Ming Dynasty began to crumble under the advance of the new Manchu Dynasty, the missionaries adopted a policy of associating themselves with both imperial courts. By 1664, the Manchus were firmly in control of all China. The growth of the church came to an abrupt end in that year when Schall and his colleagues became embroiled in a factional feud at court. Schall was imprisoned; missionaries in the provinces were sent to and confined in Canton.

There were no executions at this time of native or foreign Christians, although Schall died shortly after his release from prison. The situation for the Church improved greatly when the young Emperor, Kang-hsi, set aside the regents in 1669. The Jesuits' ability to demonstrate their clear superiority in knowledge of astronomy again brought them imperial favour. Schall's successor Ferdinand Verbiest found personal favour with the young emperor, and was often seen in his company, giving him instruction in mathematics. The favourable position of the Jesuits enabled them in 1682 to request and to obtain an imperial decree which granted Christians the right to worship, and which guaranteed imperial protection for existing church buildings. This decree gave the Church fifteen years of peaceful growth. By the turn of the seventeenth century, it is estimated that there were seventy priests in China and some 300,000 Catholics. A significant change, however, had taken place in the composition of the Christian community, as Christians were now drawn from the lower classes.²

The bright prospects of the eighteenth century were shattered by a storm which had been brewing throughout the seventeenth century. Although the Jesuits were the dominant mission in China, during the latter part of the century, they had been joined by several other orders. Feuds began to break out between the different orders and even between members of the same order who were of different nationalities. Aside from petty disputes, the principal dispute which consumed the mission community in China revolved around the proper method of missionary endeavour and centred on two issues which became known as the Term Question and the Rites Controversy. The first issue concerned the proper Chinese term to use in translating God. Should it be Shang-ti, T'ien, or T'ien-chu? The second issue

was whether it was permissible or not for Christians to participate in the Confucian ceremonies for deceased ancestors. An ancillary issue to the latter question was whether it was permissible for Christians to participate in rites for certain local dieties. The Jesuits inclined to the position of accepting Chinese customs when not in opposition to the essence of Christian doctrine. The Dominicans took the opposite view.³

The Dominican Jean Baptiste Morales obtained a papal decree in 1645 prohibiting certain practices condoned by the Jesuits. In response, the Jesuits sent Martin Martini to Rome to present their case. In 1656, the papacy approved those practices described by Martini, which caused the Dominicans to demand which decree was correct. In 1669, it was declared that both were as they dealt with different issues. From that time until the close of the century both groups tried to allign support from the other missions in China. The first Chinese bishop, the Dominican known as Gregory Lopez, came out in favour of the Jesuits. In 1693, the Vicar Apostolic of Fu-kien, Charles Maigrot forbad the performance of the ancestral rites and the use of the terms Shang-ti and T'ien. In 1701, the Chinese Jesuits pulled what they hoped would be the ultimate coup on the question of correct terminology and the rites. They obtained the opinion of the Emperor Kang-hsi himself, and of several eminent Chinese scholars, and forwarded these comments to Rome. In 1704, the Inquisition firmly rejected this position, and sent a special envoy, Charles Maillard de Tournon, to deal with the Rites Controversy in China. His ineptness only angered the emperor who had him deported. In 1706, Kang-hsi then decreed that only those missionaries who adhered to the principles of Matteo Ricci would be given a permit

which would allow them to function in China. The choice was quite clear, one either had to accept the papal ruling, or the imperial decree. More fuel was placed on the fire in 1715 by the papal bull, Ex illa die, which infuriated the emperor. A papal representative sent to Pei-ching in 1719 failed in his mission as the emperor was aghast at the idea of foreigners attempting to judge on matters of Chinese culture, and was frankly tired of the whole matter. After a long re-examination of the subject, Benedict XIV issued the Bull Ex Quo Singulari in 1745, which reviewed the controversy, revoked any permissible variations in the rites, and required all missionaries who had been disobedient to the papal decrees to return to Europe for punishment. This was the final act in a drama which had consumed the better part of a century, weakened Catholic representation at the imperial court, shaken the single witness of the Church, and made it less able to adapt to Chinese customs.⁴

The century and a quarter beginning with 1700 has been characterized as a period of retarded church growth. It is during this period that one finds the first severe persecutions of Catholics. Although there were scattered outbreaks of anti-Christian hostility in 1714, 1716, and 1717, the first severe repression of the Church began in the reign of the Emperor Yung-chêng (1723 to 1736). It is thought that this was undertaken because the emperor's right of accession had been challenged by a brother who had the backing of a branch of the imperial family which was in part Christian. All missionaries but those at the astronomical bureau were to be deported, and all Church property confiscated. Yet in spite of this harassment, twenty-six new Jesuit priests began to work during this emperor's reign.⁵

The hope for an improved position under the reign of the Emperor Ch'ien-lung (1736 to 1796) who succeeded Yung-chêng was not realized. The anti-Christian edicts remained in force. In 1747, harsh treatment began with executions and prison sentences being meted out. The Vicar Apostolic of Fu-kien was executed in Fu-chou at this time. There were further sporadic executions in 1754, 1756, 1757, 1768, and 1769. In the face of these difficulties, missionaries continued their work. Baptisms in the provinces continued to be recorded. Curiously, the priests in Pei-ching were allowed to continue their scientific work for the government without interference.⁶

Two events from the outside sapped the strength of the Church. The first was the papal decision to disband the Jesuit order in 1773. Priests could remain at their work, but they would have to join another order. The second event was the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars. As long as Europe's attention was concentrated on itself, little assistance could be given to younger churches overseas. At this sensitive period, a revolt broke out amongst Islamic Chinese in 1784 in Shen-si Province which caused the government to issue a decree to suppress any seditious sect. Some twenty-six priests were imprisoned under this edict. Growth is indicated nonetheless. For example, in 1801, the number of Christians in Sze-chuan had increased tenfold within a fifty year period. It is unquestionable, however, that the number of priests declined in the same period. Those priests who died were not replaced.⁷

The relative calm of the previous twenty years was broken in 1805 with a persecution of Christians in the capital. An Augustinian priest, Adeodat, had sent to Rome a map which indicated the location

of certain Christian villages in the vicinity of Pei-ching. When this was intercepted, the government naturally thought it was part of an invasion plot. In 1811, an imperial edict sparked off a nationwide persecution, but this was the last in which a general edict was issued for the suppression of the Church. Sporadic and local persecutions of the Church did continue, a result of the Chinese government's concern with seditious groups. The number of these seditious groups increased in the nineteenth century as the power of the central government withered, and the Church as a closed group was often confused with them. By the close of the first third of the nineteenth century, the best estimates lead us to think that there were Christians in virtually every part of the Empire, and that they numbered between two hundred and two hundred and fifty thousand persons. Although the Church had suffered greatly, had lacked adequate priestly supervision, and had not shown dramatic increases for decades, it had not gone under but had stood firm. It was during the more difficult years of the history of the Church in China that her teachings began to spread to Korea. We shall now turn to an examination of the Church in the peninsular kingdom.⁸

CHAPTER 7 THE HISTORY OF THE LATE YI DYNASTY, FROM THE HIDEYOSHI
 WARS TO THE OPENING OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

A. Political Developments

The history of the Yi Dynasty, which began in the late fourteenth century and lasted until the beginning of our own century, may be conveniently divided into two segments, the date dividing one era from the other being the year 1600. The last decades of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth century saw the advent of two terrible series of wars which had important long-range influences on the development of political and cultural trends in Korea. In the final decade of the sixteenth century, the Japanese Shōgun Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536 to 1597) invaded Korea under the pretext of using that nation as a staging area for a full scale invasion of the Chinese Empire. The Japanese invaded Korea twice during the course of the decade, once in 1592, and again in 1597. On both occasions the army laid waste large portions of the countryside. This wanton destruction of the rural areas so adversely affected agricultural production that it was impaired for years afterwards. The Japanese also looted and burned a number of non-military buildings and destroyed valuable items of cultural interest. The collection of rare books at the Hong-mun Kwan was destroyed, including copies of the shil-lok, the dynastic histories of the Yi kings. Two other valuable cultural items were taken back by the invaders to their homeland, large quantities of Korean printing type, and Korean potters. These losses, added to the devastation of a decade of war, left the nation prostrate.¹

Although the Japanese menace had retreated, both Ming China and her Korean vassal Cho-sŏn were threatened again by the rise of a new power in Manchuria. The leader of the Jurchen or Manchu tribes, Nurhachi, had felt strong enough by 1589 to declare himself king. By 1616, he threw aside the pretence of subordination to the Ming emperor by declaring himself Emperor of the state of Later Chin. Korea was vulnerable to the Manchu threat on three counts; one, her suzerain, Ming, was weakened by the Hideyoshi wars and was incapable of coming to the aid of her vassal, two, Korea herself was devastated by a decade of war, and, three, the Korean government was rent with factional quarrels. It was becoming impossible for the government to govern with impartiality. This confusion worsened when a military commander, Yi Kwal (1587 to 1624), who felt that he had not been adequately rewarded for his services, rose up in rebellion against the royal government. Although this revolt was eventually quelled, Yi Kwal fled to Manchuria and appealed to the Manchus to support his cause. They responded in 1627 by sending an army of 30,000 men which very quickly over-ran most of north Korea. A peace treaty and a very substantial tribute in kind was imposed as the prerequisite for peace with the Manchus. In 1636, Nurhachi's son and successor, Abahai, styled himself Emperor of Ch'ing, and demanded that Cho-sŏn make herself a tributary state to Ch'ing. The refusal to do so prompted swift retaliation. Manchu forces quickly over-ran the country, and the Korean government submitted. She now owed loyalty to the Ch'ing state and broke her relations with Ming. To guarantee Korea's compliance with the new diplomatic relationships, Crown Prince So-hyŏn (1612 to 1645) was taken to the Manchu court as a hostage. Thus, within a generation, Korea had been laid prostrate by two series of

foreign invasions, which altered her political relationships, significantly weakened her economy, and changed her intellectual outlook.²

Internally, the political scene in Korea was dominated during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by the development of factions at court which feuded with each other for supremacy. These groups took the names of the general area within the capital in which the leader of the faction lived, hence Westerners, and tended to be subdivided into yet smaller contending groups, hence Great Northerners. This feuding had two overall effects on the way in which government was conducted. First, the monopoly of power by one group at court tended to reduce the authority of the king himself. He became trapped in the web of court intrigue. Second, this monopoly of power tended also to undermine the successful operation of the Confucian examination system. In theory the Confucian state exams were meant to be a force for democracy in the society, as only those persons would be selected who showed the greatest merit. Selection according to membership within a particular political faction, of course, vitiated the intent of this system. The feuds in the seventeenth century were primarily between the Southern and Western factions. By 1694, the latter had decisively defeated the former and thus eliminated them forever as a serious contender for political power. However, no sooner had the Westerners defeated their rivals than they split up into two factions, the No-ron and the So-ron. By the time of the ascension of King Yŏng-jo (1724 to 1776) in the early eighteenth century, the No-ron subfaction had managed to eliminate all of their rivals and to establish a base of power from which they dominated Korean politics for many years. One side effect of this subsidence

of political feuding was the emergence of a genuine cultural renaissance under King Yǒng-jo and his successor King Chǒng-jo (1776 to 1800).³

B. Intellectual and Cultural Developments in the Seventeenth Century

Partly as a reaction to the political intrigues of the time, and partly as a reaction to the seeming sterility of Neo-Confucian thought, profound intellectual changes began to take place during the seventeenth century. In this period many of the literati turned from an examination of the thought of the Ye-hak P'a, which had been the dominant mode of Neo-Confucian thought in Korea, to pure scholarship. Because they were eager to break out of the mould of past ideas, scholars in this period were unusually open to foreign influences. The scientific treatises which the Jesuits in Pei-ching had been translating into Chinese found their way into the peninsula and constituted a prime stimulus for those scholars who were embarking on new avenues of research.

One of the earliest exponents of this new school, which came to be called the Shir-hak P'a was Yi Su-kwang (1563 to 1628). He is known by two works which bear his pen-name, the Chi-pong Yu-sŏl and the Chi-pong Chip. The former is an encyclopaedic work in twenty chüan which covers topics ranging from astronomy to art, morals, and systems of government. It contains an important section which deals with foreign nations, including such European nations as England and France, and makes passing reference to Catholicism. The description of Catholicism is based on information contained in Ricci's T'ien-chu Shih-i. The geographical information derives apparently from a map presented to Yi Su-kwang by Yi Kwang-jǒng (1552 to 1627), who obtained

it on a trip to Pei-ching in 1603. Both the T'ien-chu Shih-i and the map must have been obtained at the same time. Yi Su-kwang's mention of the Catholic Church is the first mention of it in the Korean language. His encyclopaedic work became a model for later scholars who, like him, had tried to break free from the constraints of the Ye-hak School.⁴

In 1630, the scholar Chǒng Tu-wǒn (1581 to ?) was able to go as a member of the diplomatic mission to the Ming court where he became acquainted with the Italian Jesuit Johannes Rodriguez. From him Chǒng Tu-wǒn received a telescope, a striking clock, a cannon, and several books. Among these books were Ricci's work on astronomy, the T'ien-wên Shu, a five chüan work on world geography by Giuleo Aleni entitled the Chih-fang Wai-chi, a descriptive book on Europe the Hsi-yang-kuo Feng-su Chi, an astronomical map entitled the T'ien-wên T'u, and a work on Western ballistics, the Hung-i-p'ao T'i-pên. It was through men such as Yi Su-kwang and Chǒng Tu-wǒn that knowledge of Western science and religion first began to seep into Korea.⁵

Scholars who visited the Chinese court were not the only avenue through which knowledge about Western science and Europe was diffused into Korea. The Jesuits had high hopes of influencing members of the Korean court to look favourably upon the new teaching. During his confinement in Pei-ching, Crown Prince So-hyǒn was often in the company of Adam Schall, conversing with him on a variety of topics. Upon his return to Sǒ-ul in 1644, the prince brought with him an astronomical treatise, the T'ien-wên Li-suan Shu, several books on other scientific subjects, theological treatises, and a Catholic statue. He was accompanied back to Korea by five court eunuchs and three Chinese

court ladies who were all baptized Christians. The eunuchs were Li Pang-shao, Chang San-wei, Liu Chung-lin, Ku Feng-teng, and Tou Wên-fang. Unfortunately, within sixty days of his arrival at home the Crown Prince was dead. A letter which he had addressed to Adam Schall indicates the high regard in which the prince held Catholicism, but he was not permitted the opportunity to act on his convictions.⁶

In addition to the encyclopaedic works of the type written by Yi Su-kwang, there were important socio-economic studies such as that done by Yu Hyŏng-wŏn (1622 to 1673), the Pan-kye Su-rok. This consists of twenty-six chüan which deal with questions of the correct distribution of land, land tax, irrigation, matters of education, and the structure and functioning of the government. He was passionately concerned for the welfare of the peasantry, and advocated tax reform to relieve them of their burden, not only for their own sake, but because he saw that the stability and security of the nation demanded such measures. The Pan-kye Su-rok is a detailed outline of his ideas, but unfortunately it was not acceptable to the establishment of his time.⁷

The emergence of a modern literature was another aspect of the intellectual trends of the seventeenth century. Most notable among the authors of these new works was Hŏ Kyun (1569 to 1618) who wrote the Hong Kil-tong Chŏn. Hŏ Kyun was deeply troubled by the fractious political situation of the time, the depressed condition of the peasantry, and the tradition of discriminating against the sons of concubines. All of these concerns emerge in this romantic critique of Korean society. The hero is the son of the concubine of a nobleman who first turns to banditry in the style of Robin Hood, but eventually goes off to some mysterious island to establish a utopian society.⁸

Another somewhat later author who was noted for his critical and satirical use of the novel was Kim Man-chung (1637 to 1692) who wrote the Sa-ssi Nam-chǒng Ki and the Ku-un Mong. The first novel was written as a criticism of the manner in which King Suk-chong (1674 to 1720) had set aside his legitimate queen in favour of a concubine who had given him a son. The novel put its case so forcefully that Suk-chong repented of what he had done and reinstated his legitimate queen. The latter novel had a more fanciful theme and drew freely upon Buddhist, Taoist, and Confucian themes in examining the meaning of human existence. The Hong Kil-tong Chǒn, the Sa-ssi Nam-chǒng Ki and the Ku-un Mong were all written in Han-kǔl, the Korean alphabet, an important indication of the nationalistic and popular interests of these authors.⁹

Parallel with these developments in literature was the development of realism in art, most notably associated with the work of Chǒng Sǒn (1676 to 1759). His interest in painting only what he had actually seen was picked up and followed by later artists in the eighteenth century, such as Shin Yun-pok (1758 to ?), Kim Tŭk-shin (1754 to 1822), and especially by Kim Hong-do (1745 to ?) who was noted in particular for his depiction of genre scenes.¹⁰

C. Intellectual and Cultural Trends in the Eighteenth Century

In the next intellectual generation from the first Shir-hak scholars, the most prominent figure was Yi Ik (1681 to 1763) whose great encyclopaedic work, the Sǒng-ho Sae-sǒl, took as its model the Chi-pong Yu-sǒl while his political and social thinking would appear to have been influenced by Yu Hyǒng-wǒn. This work in turn had a great influence on later scholars such as Pak Chi-wǒn (1737 to 1805),

and Chong Yak-yong (1762 to 1836). The sections concerned with the sciences contain more information gleaned from Western sources than does the Chi-pong Yu-sŏl. Yi Ik's father had been an envoy to Pei-ching and had brought back with him many books to which his son had ready access. Yi Ik seems to have been acquainted with the books which Chŏng Tu-wŏn had brought back, as he was familiar with the works of both Adam Schall and Matteo Ricci which were found in the latter's collection.¹¹

During this century, historical studies proliferated as they had never done before. Three scholars in particular were of importance in this revival of historical studies, An Chŏng-bok (1712 to 1791), Yu Tŭk-kong (1749 - ?), and Han Chi-yun (1765 - ?). An Chŏng-bok, a disciple of Yi Ik and a Shir-hak scholar, is most famous for his work Tong-sa Kang-mok which is a fresh examination of Korean history from the ancient period to the end of the Ko-ryŏ Dynasty. A work in twenty chŭan, including three chŭan on source material, the book is a systematic discussion of Korean history using maps, charts, and genealogical diagrams. Published in 1778, it made an important contribution to the scientific study of history. Yu Tŭk-kong, also a Shir-hak scholar, completed a study of the ancient state of Par-hae called the Par-hae Ko in 1784 which was also a thorough examination of the material available on the subject. Several other works on Par-hae followed by other authors, which is one indication of growing nationalism in historical studies. The last of these three scholars, Han Chi-yun, wrote the Hae-tong Yŏk-sa, an analytical work on Korean history from the origin of the state to Ko-ryŏ times with a consideration of various items of contemporary interest. It was critical of

positions put forward in earlier historical works, and used foreign as well as Korean historical sources.¹²

Geographical studies also benefitted during the eighteenth century. The pioneer work in this area was written by Yi Chung-hwan (1690 to ?) and was called the T'aeng-ni Chi. More than a simple descriptive geography, this work deals critically with the Korean people and their country from a social and historical point of view. Yi Chung-hwan influenced several younger scholars to take up geographical studies, including Shin Kyŏng-jun (1712 to 1781) who helped to complete the P'al-to Chi-to and the Tong-guk Yŏ-chi-to, and Chŏng Yak-yong. The Yŏl-ha Il-ki by Pak Chi-wŏn was not only a diary with extensive notes on a trip through China in the year 1780, but formed a trenchant critique against the corruption which seemed endemic in Korean society at the time.¹³

A principal concern of scholars in this era was the modernization of Korea, the effort to bring Korea up to the same technological level enjoyed by Ch'ing China. Scholars who felt that it was necessary to learn from their powerful northern neighbour were known as the Puk-hak P'a, or the School of Northern Learning. Among the men who were the first to advocate this approach toward the 'barbarian' Ch'ing Dynasty was Hong Tae-yong (1731 to 1781). In 1765, he had the opportunity to accompany his uncle on an embassy to Pei-ching. During his stay there, he made the acquaintance of three Chinese scholars and visited the Bureau of Astronomy where he met the Jesuit priests Augustinius von Hallerstein and Antonius Gogeisl.¹⁴

Another figure who made the journey to Pei-ching was Yi Tŏng-mu (1741 to 1793) who visited the Ch'ing capital in 1778, and had very broad discussions with several Chinese scholars. Upon his return to

Korea, he became one of the founding members of the Puk-hak P'a. Pak Che-ka (1750 to ?) also visited the Ch'ing capital and was very impressed by the state of the Chinese economy. Upon returning to Korea, he wrote the book Puk-hak Ŭi in which he discussed building construction, commerce, medicine, and improved agricultural techniques. Elsewhere he urged the development of an international commercial trading network, and the involvement of the nobility and scholarly class in trade. As this latter position was contrary to established tradition, it earned him enmity amongst the members of the literati class. It is perhaps an interesting sidelight on this period to note that many of these progressive scholars were sons of concubines who were traditionally barred from the paths of advancement open to legitimate sons. Pak Che-ka, Pak Chi-wŏn, Yi Tŏng-mu, and Yu Tŭk-kong were all illegitimate sons who had come under the special patronage of King Chŏng-jo. This enlightened monarch formed the Kyu-chang Kak as a special centre for intellectual discourse and research, as well as a place to preserve certain royal documents. Many of the illegitimate sons were given posts in this institute.¹⁵

For our interest, the most important scholar of the late eighteenth century is Chŏng Yak-yong. After reading the works of Yi Ik at the age of sixteen, he became a member of the Shir-hak School. He began to acquire books on Christianity, astronomy, mathematics, and to collect clocks and maps. In 1801, during the great persecution of Catholics, Chŏng Yak-yong was exiled for nineteen years during which time he wrote prolifically. Through daily contact with the farmers in the district in which he was exiled, he analyzed the corrupt nature of the society which imposed such hard burdens on the ordinary man. He worked out a thorough system of national

reorganization, including an equitable system of land redistribution, a fairer system of taxation, and a more efficient organization of the government and the military. He also stressed the abolition of slavery and the need for technical education.¹⁶

Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, one can discern a marked tendency to move away from the intellectual framework of the received Confucian tradition. This trend was due to three sorts of factors:

- (1) an awareness of the weakness of the Korean state, which was made evident during the Japanese and Manchu invasions;
- (b) a feeling of disgust toward the continued feuding which took place at the royal court;
- (3) a realization that Neo-Confucian philosophy could not confront the social, economic, and political problems of the day.

Clearly Western science and knowledge, as it was presented to Korea by the Jesuits at the imperial court in Pei-ching, had a very profound influence on the intellectual class in Korea during this critical period. Through the efforts of the Jesuits, Korean scholars came also to know of Catholic doctrine, and latterly some of these men even became Christians. We must look now in more depth at the history of the Catholic Church itself in Korea.

CHAPTER 8 THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN KOREA

A. Catholic Influence in Korea to the Mid-Eighteenth Century

Although there is no record of missionaries in Korea before the late eighteenth century, and no mention of an organized body of Catholic believers before the middle of the same century, Catholicism did have a significant impact on Korea well before that time. We have already mentioned in the previous chapter the impact which Western learning had on the Korean intelligentsia during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The origins of religious influence may be dated back to that period as well.

The first person who is known to have attempted mission work in Korea was a Jesuit missionary in Japan, Father Gaspar Vilela. One of the first Jesuits to go to Japan in 1556, Father Vilela drew up plans for the evangelization of Korea sometime in 1567, but was unable to put them into effect. He died in 1570 in Malacca on his way to India. The first Christians to come to Korea came in the train of the armies of Toyotomi Hideyoshi when they invaded the peninsular kingdom. One of the divisions of this army was headed by Konishi Yukinaga (? to 1600) who was a Roman Catholic. In his entourage there were four Christian dai-myos and a large number of Christian troops. Because it was necessary for these men to have some spiritual oversight, Konishi requested and obtained from the Jesuits the services of a Catholic priest. Father Gregorio de Cespedes arrived in early 1594 in the company of a Japanese brother, Foucan Eion. Due to a dispute between Konishi and the other commander of the Japanese forces, Katō Kiyomasa (1559 to 1611) who was not a Christian, the two Jesuits were withdrawn within two months.

Although they performed their duties diligently amongst the Japanese soldiers, there is no evidence to indicate that their stay had any effect on the Korean populace.¹

One result of the Hideyoshi Wars in Korea was the enslavement of many Koreans who were captured and sent back to Japan. These slaves came to the attention of the Jesuits in Japan who began to instruct many of them in the essentials of Christianity. Some indication of the number of slaves who became attracted to Christianity is provided by a letter written by Father Louis Fröes. He stated that in the year 1599, three hundred Korean slaves were taught Catholic doctrine in Nagasaki alone. This success amongst the Koreans gave the Jesuits great hopes that once Christian missions began in their homeland, it would penetrate rapidly into the nation. Out of this captive community of Koreans in Japan came Vincent Kwōn who is believed to have been the young son of a Korean general. Captured in 1593 when he was thirteen, he was transported back to Japan, where he was pitied by his captor, and sent on to the Jesuit seminary in Kyōto. He was baptized in 1603. Between the years 1614 and 1620, he attempted to enter his homeland to begin missionary work there, but found every avenue blocked. He finally returned to Japan and settled down to work amongst the Korean community in Nagasaki. He died on June 20, 1626, a victim of the Tokugawa persecution of the Christian church.²

At the same time that Vincent Kwōn was attempting to enter Korea, the Dominicans in the Philippines were creating plans to begin the evangelization of Korea. Father Juan de Domingo was selected to begin this work in 1611. His first attempt to enter the country was unsuccessful, and he returned to Manila. He made a second attempt in

1616, to enter Korea from Japan, but as before was unsuccessful. He settled in at the home of a Korean Catholic in Nagasaki, Cosme Takeya. He was taken captive in 1619, and died in the same year in the jail in Omura.³

Two further attempts to begin mission work in Korea are worthy of note. In 1620 and 1621, the famous convert of Matteo Ricci, Hsü Kuang-ch'i petitioned the Ming Emperor to grant him permission to enter Korea to assist with certain political and military matters. On both occasions, he was refused. It is known that Hsü had intentions of propagating Christian doctrine while he was in Korea. Amongst the preparations which Hsü made for his trip, we learn that he gathered together a large number of pamphlets which explained Christian belief, and that he asked the Jesuit, Father Sambiasi, to accompany him on the proposed journey. Before the end of the eighteenth century, the last known attempt by a Christian missionary or evangelist to enter Korea was made by Father Antoine de Sainte-Marie in 1650. The unstable political conditions of the time prevented him from doing so, and he spent the rest of his ministry in Shan-tung.⁴

Before closing this section, we must say something about the witness made by the Korean Catholics in Japan during the suppression of Christianity by the Tokugawa Shogunate in the early seventeenth century. Amongst the 205 martyrs *beatified*, nine of them are known to have been Koreans. They were Cosme Takeya, his wife Ines and their son Francisco, aged twelve, a catechist named Anthony, his wife Maria, and their two sons, John, aged twelve, and Peter, aged three, another catechist known as Gajo, and Vincent Kwön, mentioned above. Another martyr, Caius Jinyemon is also thought to have been a Korean.

In addition to these, Yu Hong-nyŏl would add Casper Wasu, to which Dallet adds several other names, including a poor labourer named Michel who worked for the lepers, and a slave named Pierre Djincours who bore up under great torture. Though the Church had not yet been emplanted in Korean soil, there were already Koreans who had paid the ultimate price for their faith, martyrdom.⁵

Finally, there is the curious story of Antonio Corrêa. In 1594, a Florentine Catholic named Carletti left his native city to make a world tour of Catholic missions, arriving in Japan in 1597. Before leaving there in March of 1598, he became so disgusted with the sale of Koreans into slavery, particularly children, that he bought five young boys, brought them to Goa and set them free. One of the five, who must have seemed unusually promising, he brought back with him to Florence and educated him there. This boy, known as Antonio Corrêa, spent his later life in Rome. It is not known if he took holy orders.⁶

The dynastic histories or shil-lok of the Yi Dynasty kings and the unofficial records of the time provide us with two mysterious clues as to the position of Catholicism during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. For the twelfth year of the reign of King Suk-chong (1686), there is a veiled reference to the spread of Catholic doctrine and a mention of an order to apprehend any foreigners who were illegally in the country. More strange is a reference in the Chŏng-jong Tae-wang Shil-lok to events which took place during the reign of the preceding king. It states that in the thirty-fourth year of the reign of King Yŏng-jo (1758) many of the inhabitants of Hwang-hae and Kang-wŏn Provinces had ceased the performance of the che-sa rites, or memorial rites for deceased

ancestors. As Catholics were forbidden to perform the che-sa rites, it is possible that the cessation of their performance may have been due to Catholic influence. If so, it is an indication that Catholicism may have been practised in Korea a full generation prior to the time when it was first believed to have begun.⁷

B. The Formative Period of the Korean Catholic Church
(1770 to 1801)

Although we have already seen that by the middle of the eighteenth century Catholic religious ideas had probably begun to seep into certain provinces, it is not until the last quarter of that century that we have definite knowledge of particular people who took up the practice of Catholicism. Some time around 1770, a former student of Yi Ik, Hong Yu-han (1736 to ?) first came into contact with Catholic literature and began to read it avidly. Not having a Western calendar, Hong set aside the seventh, fourteenth, twenty-first, and twenty-eighth days of the lunar month as a time for worship and prayer. Later he spent thirteen years on Paek San as a monastic recluse, eventually returning to his home of Ye-san where he died. He was the first Korean Christian solitary, but he left behind neither converts nor disciples.¹

At the same time as Hong began his solitary practice of Christianity, there was a group of young literati who gathered to study Catholic teaching. In the winter of 1777, a group of young Shir-hak scholars was called together by Kwŏn Ch'ŏl-shin (1736 to 1801) to examine the scientific and mathematical treatises written by the Jesuits, and to consider the religious tracts which had come into their hands. Among the works considered was Ricci's T'ien-chu Shih-i.

Besides Kwŏn Ch'ŏl-shin, the two most prominent men at this ten-day conference were Chŏng Yak-chŏn (1758 to 1816), eldest brother of Chŏng Yak-yong, and Yi Pyŏk (1754 to 1786). As had Hong Yu-han, these men set aside every seventh day of the lunar month for prayer and meditation. We hear nothing further of these men until 1783. In that year, Yi Pyŏk, who had been instructing Chŏng Yak-yong in Western science since 1776, had a long conversation with the two Chŏng brothers on their way back to Sŏ-ul, which rekindled his determination to find out all that he could about this Western religion. In the winter of that same year, he learned that one of the members of the Korean embassy to Pei-ching, Yi Tong-uk (1739 to ?) was taking his son Yi Sŭng-hun (1756 to 1801) with him to the Ch'ing capital. As Yi Sŭng-hun was brother-in-law to the Chŏng brothers, Yi Pyŏk felt bold enough to request him to visit the Catholic missionaries in Pei-ching to learn everything he could of the new religion.²

Upon his arrival in Pei-ching, Yi Sŭng-hun sought out the priests at the Nan T'ien-chu Tang, received instruction from them, and was baptized by Father Louis de Grammont. Returning home in the spring of 1784, he sought out Yi Pyŏk to share with him the books and religious articles which he had received. Among the books which he brought back were an explanation of the Seven Sacraments, commentaries on the Gospels, catechisms, prayer books, and hagiographies. Soon after this, Yi Pyŏk and Yi Sŭng-hun began to evangelize amongst their friends and neighbours, thus laying the foundation for the Catholic Church in Korea. Among the early believers were Ch'oe Ch'ang-hyŏn (1759 to 1801), Ch'oe In-kil (1765 to 1795), Kwŏn Il-shin (? to 1791), Kwŏn Ch'ŏl-shin, Chŏng Yak-chŏn, Chŏng Yak-yong, Chŏng Yak-chong (1760 to 1801), Kim Pŏm-u (? to 1787), and Yu Hang-gŏm (1756 to 1801).

It is important to note that the three Chǒng brothers, the two Kwǒns, Yi Pyǒk, Yi Sǔng-hun and the Christian solitary Hong Yu-han were all disciples of the thought of Yi Ik. Given the very rapid spread of Catholicism within this intellectual circle, it is not surprising to learn that the first known opposition to it came from another member of the same circle. Yi Ka-kwan (1742 to 1801), a disciple of the thought of Yi Ik and a paternal cousin of Yi Sǔng-hun, became convinced that the doctrine which Yi Pyǒk was attempting to spread threatened the basis of a Confucian society and tried valiantly to dissuade his cousin and his mentor from advocating the strange creed.³

This was not the only opposition to the young church. Kim Pǒm-u, an official interpreter for the government, was arrested and imprisoned by a magistrate zealous to prevent the spread of unorthodox ideas. He was released through the intervention of Kwǒn Il-shin, and was banished to Tan-yang. He died on his way there from the wounds inflicted on him during his imprisonment, the first Christian martyr in Korea. Kim was not a member of the aristocracy but of the chung-in class from which were drawn all the petty officials of the government. During this same time, the students at the Confucian college, the Sǒng-kyun Kwan, wrote anti-Christian tracts urging families with Christian members to force them to give up the new faith. This was successful in two important cases. Yi Sǔng-hun yielded to great family pressure and wrote a defence of his reasons for accepting Christianity. Yi Pyǒk's father threatened suicide unless his son gave up his foolish ways. Yi recanted, but it is said that he bewailed his fate night and day until he became so weakened that he died from the plague in 1786.⁴

Sometime in 1787, after the initial clamour against the church had begun to subside, the early leaders began to think of a more formal organization for the church based upon what they knew of the Roman Catholic Church in China. Kwŏn Il-shin was elected bishop, the repentant Yi Sŭng-hun, Yi Tan-wŏn (? to 1801), Yu Hang-gŏm and Ch'oe Ch'ang-hyŏn were made priests. They preached the Gospel and administered the sacraments for some two years, until some reading raised doubts as to the validity of what they were doing. In 1789, Yi Sŭng-hun addressed a letter on the matter to Bishop Gouvéa of Pei-ching and sent it on to him through the hands of Yun Yu-il (1765 to 1795), a disciple of Kwŏn Il-shin. Yun received baptism from M. Raux, head of the Lazarist mission in China and took back the bishop's response. This letter both rebuked the Koreans for the temerity in doing what they had not received authority to do, and praised them for their work in spreading the Gospel. In 1790, a question arose concerning the che-sa ceremonies, and another letter was sent to the Bishop of Pei-ching through the agency of Yun Yu-il. The bishop's reply, that it was impossible for a Christian to participate in these rites, caused many who had been attracted to Catholicism to drift away. Shortly thereafter, two cousins, Yun Chi-ch'ung (1759 to 1791) and Kwŏn Sang-yŏn (? to 1791), were arrested and interrogated for their refusal to perform the che-sa. The records of the interrogation show that the principal concern of their questioners was not political sedition, but social propriety, filial piety, and the protection of traditional practices. Against his will, King Chŏng-jo was forced to give the royal assent to their execution on the thirteenth of the eleventh lunar month in 1791. At the last minute, the king issued a pardon, but the special

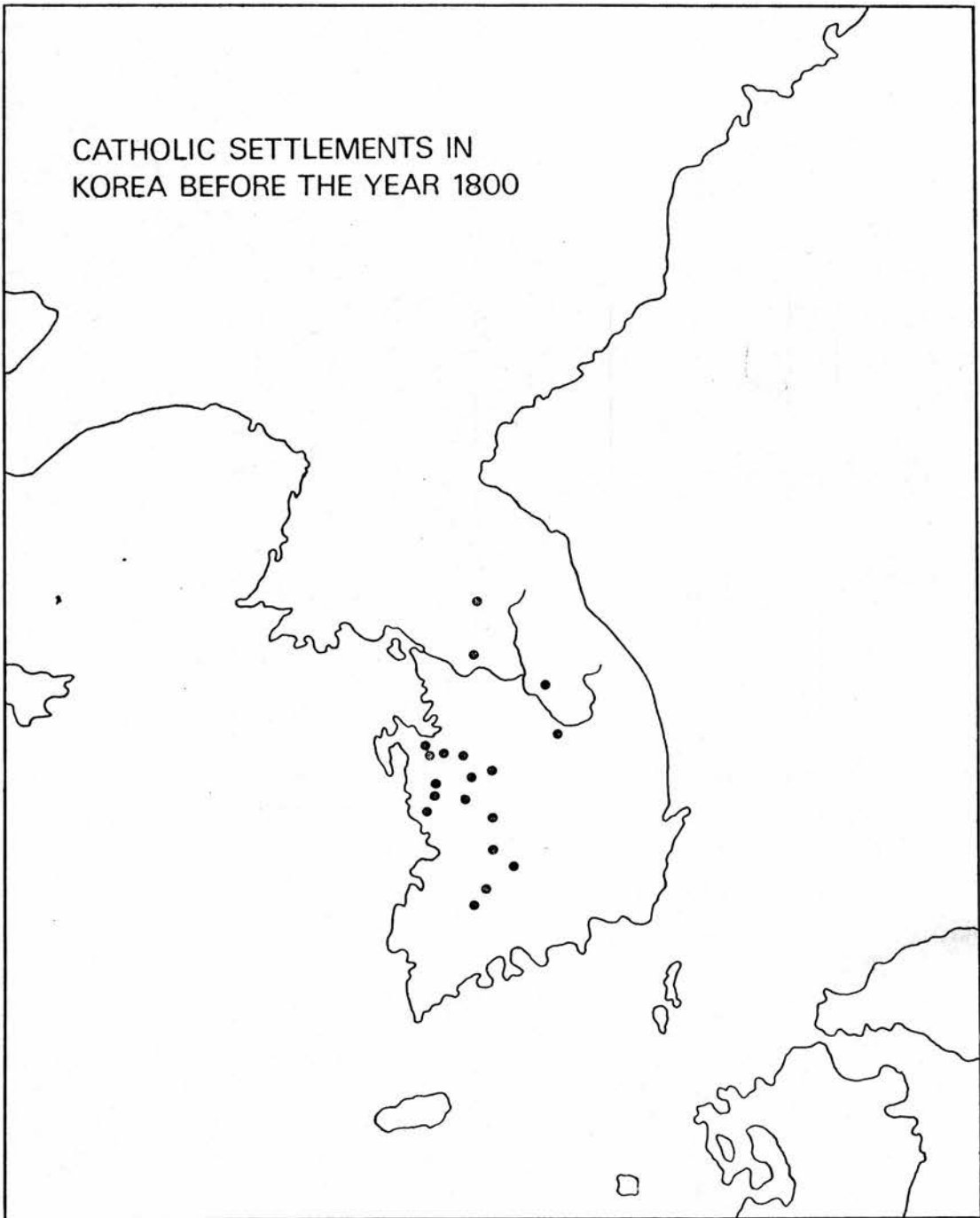
messenger arrived too late to stay their execution. These executions set the legal precedent for the suppression of Christianity which King Chǒng-jo rightly saw would lead to further bloodshed.⁵

During this same time, Kwǒn Il-shin was denounced and banished to a remote area, but died en route from wounds suffered during his interrogation. Yi Tan-wǒn, Chǒng Yak-chǒn and Chǒng Yak-yong all recanted their faith in this same period, and other members underwent considerable tortures. From this period onwards, we hear less of the leadership of men from the aristocratic class and more of the rise of men from the chung-in class. These men, such as Ch'oe Ch'ang-hyǒn and Ch'oe In-kil, saw as the most essential problem of the church the obtaining of a priest. Bishop Gouvéa received the Korean's petition with concern and sent a Chinese priest, Chou Wên-mu (? to 1801), to care for the infant church. Father Chou arrived in Sǒ-ul in the early part of 1795 and began immediately to hear confession, perform the Mass, and to prepare the Church for Easter. It is recorded that Father Chou was surprised that ten years after the 'introduction' of Christianity to Korea, and in spite of all the problems which the Church had had to face, there were some four thousand believers. Father Chou's life in Korea was not easy. Within six months of his arrival, he had been denounced to the authorities and had to go into hiding. He eventually found refuge at the home of an aristocratic woman, Kang Wan-suk (1761 to 1801). As her high social station protected her against investigation, this remarkable woman went about proclaiming Catholic teaching quite openly, and began to gather together groups of young girls in her home for the purpose of instructing them in Catholic doctrine. With the assistance of people

such as Kang Wan-suk, the church increased in the five years of Father Chou's ministry from four to ten thousand persons. Even two royal princesses were baptized during these early years. Thus, it seemed as if the Church could expect a long period of quiet growth.⁶

The hopes for a period of quiet growth were shattered by the death of Prime Minister Ch'ae Che-kong (1720 to 1799) in 1799, and that of King Chǒng-jo in the following year. The king in particular had been disinclined toward the large scale persecution of Christians. As his son, King Sun-cho (1800 to 1834) came to the throne as a minor, his mother ruled as Queen Regent in his place. Immediately after the end of the five month period of official mourning for the deceased king, the Queen Regent issued an edict which stated that all who continued to hold to the 'evil learning' were to be treated as if guilty of high treason. In addition, the head of every family was to be made responsible for denouncing those members of their family who persisted in following the treasonous doctrine.⁷

This edict began the Shin-yu Persecution of 1801, which was to take the lives of at least three hundred Catholic martyrs. Among the notables who died in this year are Kwǒn Ch'ól-shin, Chǒng Yak-chong, Yi Sǔng-hun, the two royal princesses, Father Chou Wên-mu, Kang Wan-suk, Hwang Sa-yǒng (1775 to 1801), Hwang Shim (? to 1801) and Yi Ka-hwan who at first had tried to persuade members of the circle of Yi Ik from accepting Christianity. Dallet records the tradition that the government intended to pursue a policy of annihilating families with any members who were Catholic. This plan came to the attention of the boy king Sun-cho, who, being revolted by the bloody suppression of the Church, personally forbade the implementation of the new orders. The Queen Regent was able, however, to issue another edict which was



somewhat milder, but which did provide the legal basis for the continued persecution of the Church until the end of the nineteenth century.⁸

Part of the ferocity of the latter part of the Shin-yu Persecution was due to an indiscreet letter written by the young scholar Hwang Sa-yŏng. He was a brilliant scholar who had passed the chin-sa (chin-shih) exam at the early age of seventeen. He was well-connected, being the son-in-law of Chŏng Yak-hyŏn, another of the famous Chŏng brothers. As he was a recognized leader in the Church, a warrant for his arrest was issued and he fled to the mountains near Che-ch'ŏn. He became despondent over the situation of the Church and, after consultation with his fellow refugee Hwang Shim, wrote a lengthy letter to the Bishop of Pei-ching. In this letter, he gave a thorough description of the Church and its martyrs, the work and martyrdom of Father Chou, and concluded with a specific plea for help. The help which he demanded was the intervention of a Western navy and army to protect the Church and to further its work of evangelism. This letter was intercepted and its surprising contents digested. This was all the proof which the government needed to demonstrate that Christianity was a subversive, treasonous creed. To the distrust of an exotic, foreign doctrine, and the embroilment with court politics were added genuine fears of invasion by a foreign power. We conclude by noting that the Church at this time was not found throughout the entire nation. Of the eighteen place names given as the home areas of the accused Christians, fourteen are in the Ch'ung-ch'ŏng and Chŏl-la provinces.⁹

C. Catholicism in the Nineteenth Century to the Persecutions of the Tae Wŏn-kun (1801 to 1871)

We have no certain knowledge of the church for a decade after the Shin-yu Persecution, which is an indication that during that time the Church went underground to avoid further tribulations. In 1811, with the return of a feeling of security, the church leadership wrote two pseudonymous letters, one to the Bishop of Pei-ching, and the other to the Pope. The first letter vividly recounts the trials of the Church and ends with an implied request for missionaries and religious books. The second letter is more specific. After recounting the condition of the Church, the writer makes some very specific suggestions as to how missionaries should enter Korea in the future. As the land route is too hazardous, only the sea route should be used. Any representative of the Pope should come with a translator who is skilled in writing Chinese. Any requests made to the king should be clearly for the purpose of obtaining religious liberty, and should further emphasize that the Church has no intention of encroaching upon the territory or political independence of the Korean state. The letter closed with a request for a bishop and a priest.¹

In the second decade of the nineteenth century, as the Church was beginning to recover from the Shin-yu Persecution, it was not altogether free from the threat of persecution. Sporadic outbreaks of localized persecution may be noted for the years 1811, 1812, 1813, and 1814 in Kong-ju, Kwang-ju, Su-wŏn, and Kae-sŏng. The most severe trial came in 1815, the Ŭl-hae Persecution which was largely confined to Kyŏng-sang Province. The principal targets were Catholic refugees from the Shin-yu Persecution who had fled to the remote mountainous regions of this province. As their farms had prospered at a time of

famine and hardship, their prosperity aroused the jealousy of their neighbours, and their Catholicism provided the pretext for their removal. Some were dealt with in important regional centres such as Kyŏng-ju and An-tong, but the more serious cases were sent on to the provincial capital, Tae-ku. At one time, it is said that as many as one hundred were incarcerated there. Compared with the previous persecution, the Ŭl-hae Persecution was confined to those areas in which Christians were known to be, was a matter of religious persecution, and not a matter of political rivalry, and affected believers irregardless of sex or social station. The number of martyrs drawn from the lower classes in this persecution is most remarkable.²

The next major attempt to suppress the Church came in 1827, the Chŏng-hae Persecution. As with the Ŭl-hae Persecution, the Chŏng-hae Persecution was confined largely to one area, in this case Chŏl-la Province. It was also short, showed no signs of the intervention of the central government, and was notable for the leniency of its sentences. Dallet seems to feel that it was this leniency which caused mass apostacy from the Church.³

In this period, the son of Chŏng Yak-chong, Chong Ha-sang (1795 to 1839), came into prominence as a church leader. He was concerned particularly with the obtaining of a priest for the Korean Church. Between 1816 and 1825, he made ten trips to Pei-ching to implore the bishop there to send assistance to the endangered community. The Church in China was also beleaguered, and was unable to spare a single man for Korea until 1826. Unfortunately this priest died en route to the Korean border. In 1826, realizing the desperate situation of the Chinese Church, the Koreans had written directly to the Pope pleading

for help. In September of 1831, Korea was created a Vicariate Apostolic with Bishop Barthelemy Bruguière as its first Vicar Apostolic. Although he died in China en route to his appointment, a Chinese priest assigned to work with him, Father Liu Fang-chi went on into Korea. In 1836, he was joined by Father Pierre-Philibert Maubant and in 1837 by Father Jacques-Honoré Chastan. In the same year Father Laurent-Joseph-Marie Imbert was consecrated as the successor to Bishop Bruguière, arriving in Sŏ-ul on the last day of the year. The life these men led was extremely harsh and austere. They had to travel about wearing the capacious Korean mourning dress which hid their Western features, ate only the simplest of foods, roots and vegetables, and had to conduct all of their work at night to avoid detection. It was not possible for them to stay in one place as the presence of strangers might make local villagers suspicious. There were signs of hope. The Church which had numbered 3,000 in 1836, had grown by 1839 to 9,000 members. With a view to the future, Father Maubant had sent three young Koreans to study theology in Macao. Two of these boys became priests, Kim Tae-kŏn (1822 to 1846) and Ch'oe Yang-ŏp (1821 to 1861).⁴

The hopes raised by this sudden growth and the presence of foreign clergy were shattered by the Ki-hae Persecution of 1839. It was the presence of illegal foreigners on Korean soil which seemed to have concerned the court most when it became known that there were missionaries in Korea. A proclamation was issued in April which authorized the use of force to root out the presence of the 'evil teaching'. One hundred and thirty persons are believed to have died as a result of this persecution. More striking, however, is the fact that the head of virtually every Christian household had been killed,

had died of starvation or had been sent into exile. Among those who were executed were Bishop Imbert, Fathers Maubant and Chastan, Chŏng Ha-sang and another important church leader Yu Chin-kil. To many of the believers, it was as if the terror of the Shin-yu Persecution had returned.⁵

The continuance of the church was the result of the efforts of three men, Hyŏn Sŏng-mun (1799 to 1846), Yi Shin-kyu (1793 to 1868), and a Peter Chŏng. Each of these men had been a lay assistant to one of the French priests. It is also interesting to note that Yi Shin-kyu was the third son of Yi Sŏng-hun. Hyŏn Sŏng-mun has left us a valuable record of this persecution in a short history called the Ki-hae Il-ki. The Soci t  des Missions  trang res which had been given the responsibility for oversight of Korea, assigned two more priests to work in the peninsula, Father Jean-Ambroise Maistre, and Father Jean-Joseph Ferr ol who was consecrated bishop on 31 December 1843. Father Maistre tried to gain entrance into Korea from the year 1842 with the assistance of one of the Koreans who had been sent to Macao to study theology, Kim Tae-k n. Kim Tae-k n, entered Korea via southwest Manchuria to see if it was possible for Father Maistre to come that way undetected. It was too dangerous. Bishop Ferr ol then sent Kim Tae-k n to the east to the market towns on the Manchurian-Korean border, Hun-chun and Ky ng-w n. Although he encountered some Christians there, they told him that it would be too difficult for a foreigner to enter there in safety. By 1845, Kim Tae-k n had succeeded in bringing both Bishop Ferr ol and another French priest Father Daveluy into Korea via the sea route from Shang-hai. Further attempts to bring in Father Maistre and the other Korean deacon, Ch'oe Yang- p, via the land route were unsuccessful.

When he attempted to take them in via the sea route, Kim Tae-kŏn was picked up, arrested, and executed in September of 1846. Shortly after his execution, Hyŏn Sŏng-mun also died for his faith.⁶

Although the nine persons who lost their lives for adhering to Catholicism could not be said to constitute a major persecution, the events of 1846 did frighten a number of the newer converts. It was through the efforts of Bishop Ferréol and Father Daveluy that the Church began to grow again. In the first year of their work in Korea, they visited every area where Christians were known to be in order to hear confession and say Mass. Ch'oe Yang-ŏp, like Kim Tae-kŏn before him, was made a priest in 1849. Politics again entered into the course of the growth of the Korean Church at a critical point. The ascension of King Ch'ŏl-chong (1849 to 1863) meant that there would be a period of comparative peace for believers in the new doctrine as the king's family numbered Christians among its members. During Ch'ŏl-chong's reign eleven French priests entered Korea between the years 1852 to 1863, all of whom came in by the sea route.⁷

After the demise of Bishop Ferréol from exhaustion in 1853, his place was taken by Bishop Siméon-François Berneux, who first reached Korea in March of 1856. His first action was to establish a seminary on a secluded mountain called Pae-ron San near Che-ch'ŏn. In his first year, the Bishop could report to the Vatican that in 1857 there were 15,206 Catholics, of whom 9,981 had made confession and received communion, and that 518 adults had received baptism. In spite of incredible persecuion, the Church by mid-century had not only survived, but had been able to grow. In 1858, Bishop Berneux was able to report the baptism of Kim Mun-kun (1801 to 1863), father-in-law of the king. The future seemed bright.⁸

In December of 1863, King Ch'ŏl-chong died, and for the third time in the nineteenth century the succession went to minor, a boy called Yi Myŏng-bok who came to the throne as Ko-chong (1863 to 1907). As the new king was a minor his father ruled in his place as the Prince Regent or Tae Wŏn-kun. This change of ruler did not portend immediately a more stringent policy towards the Church. There were now eight foreign clerics in the country, and over 18,000 believers, one of whom was the nurse of the new king. The only apparent problem seemed to be that the Bishop and his fellow priests were worn out from the strain placed upon them by the unusual conditions under which they worked. Not much hope could be placed in the expectation of raising an indigenous clergy rapidly enough to eliminate the need for foreign assistance.⁹

The problems which were to bedevil the church were not the result of internal political events but were the result of external pressures on Korea at this time. With the collapse of China's ability to assert herself and her suzerainty over East Asia, the West began to carve up the Orient into pieces of various empires. Japan, which had existed for so long in a state of isolation, had been opened to commerce by the 1850s. It seemed only a matter of time before the Hermit Kingdom, Korea, should also be drawn into this web of Western influence. Though there had been various attempts by Western powers to have diplomatic or commercial contact with Korea in the first half of the nineteenth century, it was not until the 1860s that Korea's isolation was to be endangered. Between the years 1866 and 1871, Korea faced invasion from three military powers in the Far East, the Russian Empire, France, and the United States of America. The Russian Empire, which by 1860 had been able to eject the Chinese from

the northern side of the Amur River, began to move southward to make themselves master of the Northeast Asian coastline. In 1866, they invaded the northern part of Ham-kyŏng Province, and demanded concessions from the Korean government for its military and commercial use. At this juncture, certain Catholics felt that they should make the bold suggestion to the Tae Wŏn-kun that he should consult on the proper course of action with the foreign bishop who was already secretly resident in the kingdom. At first the Prince Regent seemed amenable to this, but he changed his mind and ordered the arrest of the bishop. The anti-foreign faction in the State Council then pressed for the execution of the leader of the 'evil learning'. Bishop Berneux was executed in March of 1866, which signalled the start of the Great Persecution which persisted for the next five years until 1871.¹⁰

The persecution may be divided into four distinct periods. The first is connected with the Russian incursions of 1866, and their subsequent occupation of Korean territory. The second wave of persecutions was in the autumn and winter of the same year and followed upon the appearance of the French fleet off the coast of Korea. The third wave of persecutions was the result of the attempt by several Westerners to desecrate the tomb of the father of the Tae Wŏn-kun in 1868. The fourth and final phase of this great persecution resulted from the appearance of the American fleet off the coast of Korea in 1871.

After the retreat of the Russians, a suppression of the Church began as we have indicated with the decapitation of Bishop Berneux. By the middle of 1866, only three missionaries were still alive, Father Félix-Clair Ridel, Stanislas Féron, and Alphonse Nicolas Calais.

The former was selected by their number to escape to Chih-fou and from thence to T'ien-tsin to find Admiral Roze who commanded the French fleet in the Far East. Admiral Roze did attempt to seek satisfaction for the lives of the Catholics and Frenchmen who had died in this most recent persecution. However, his eventual withdrawal and seeming defeat only increased the ardour of the government for the total suppression of the Church. Incentives for magistrates who arrested more than twenty Catholics were offered. At the height of the persecution in the autumn of 1866, Fathers Féron and Calais escaped to China.¹¹

The third phase of the great persecution, which occurred at the end of 1868, was the result of a farcical attempt by a group of Westerners to abscond with the body of Prince Nam-yŏn (? to 1822), father of the Prince Regent, in order to force the Tae Wŏn-kun to open Korea to foreign commerce. The persecution seemed to be confined to the Provinces of Ch'ung-ch'ŏng and Kyŏng-sang during the fourth lunar month. It is estimated that some two thousand persons lost their lives in this wave of the Great Persecution. Among those who were martyred were Yi Shin-kyu, son of Yi Sŭng-hun, and Kwŏn Pok, great grandson of Kwŏn Ch'ŏl-shin. The adopted son of Yi Shin-kyu, Yi Chae-kyŏm, was also exiled at this time. Many more persons are supposed to have died by starvation and exposure as they fled from place to place in an attempt to avoid detection.¹²

The fourth phase began with the appearance of an American fleet off Korean waters commanded by Rear Admiral John Rogers on the first of June 1871. He had been instructed to obtain satisfaction for the loss of American lives on a ship which had been fired on while taking soundings off Kang-hwa Island. Although there were some skirmishes

in which the Americans were successful initially, Admiral Roger's withdrawal led the Korean government to the same conclusion of victory over foreign invasion that it had with the French fleet. This apparent victory gave the impetus to continue the suppression of the Church. Three Catholics known to have gone with Father Ridel on his voyage to Chih-fou were tried for high treason. Later two grandsons of Yi Sung-hun, Yi Yŏn-ku and Yi Kyun-ku, who had attempted to guide the American warships were beheaded on the 20 June. There were many others of less reknowned families who died for their faith. In most cases the circumstances had political overtones for the government as the accused were seen to be assisting a foreign power. The attempt at complete suppression of the Church might have continued until total success was achieved but for the removal of the Tae Wŏn-kun by the State Council on 22 December 1873. King Ko-chong was now king in his own right. The future for the Church was still uncertain, but not nearly so precarious as under the Prince Regent.

Up to this point, we have said nothing about what doctrines the early Catholics believed, nor about how they practised their Christian life. In part these questions may be answered if we can know what materials were available for the instruction of the laity. There were five classes of books available to the believer, liturgical works, hagiographical and martyriological works, guides to Christian living, expositions of the Christian faith, and Biblical commentaries. Under the first category we find the following works: a prayer book compiled by Bishop Imbert in 1838 entitled Ch'ŏn-chu Sŏng-kyo Sa-cha Kong-kwa, two works of preparation by Bishop Daveluy for baptism and for the act of penance entitled the Yŏng-sei Tae-ŭi and the Sŏng-ch'al Ki-ryak, an ecclesiastical calendar for 1866, and a catechism in

tetrameter by an unknown author entitled Ch'ŏn-chu Sŏng-kyo Sa-cha Kyŏng-mun. The principal martyrology which was available to Catholics would have been the collection of the lives of the martyrs of the Ki-hae Persecution by Hyŏn Sŏng-mun which was mentioned above. There was also a hagiography which was a translation or a reprint of a work by the eighteenth-century Chinese Jesuit Father de Muilla called Shêng-nien Kuang-i. Under the category of guides for Christian living, we have placed two works, one a book of maxims called Kyŏng-sei Kŭm-sŏ, and a translation of The Imitation of Christ done by the missionaries in Korea entitled Ch'ŏn-chu Sŏng-bŏm which was published in 1853. There were three expositions of the Christian faith, two of which were translations or reprintings of Chinese missionary works. The earliest known work was by Chŏng Yak-chong, the Chu-kyo Yŏ-chi of 1801. Two other works were the Korean versions of Father Jules Aleuis' Wan-wu Chên-yuan and Father Thomas Ortiz's Shêng-chiao Ch'ieh-yao. The latter was published in Korea in 1837. The final category is represented as far as we know by only one book, the anonymous Sŏng-kyŏng Chik-hae Kwang-ik which was supposed to have been compiled in 1866 whilst the author was in hiding in a cave. As L. G. Paik has remarked, the most curious fact about these books is the absence of the Bible itself. There seems to have been no attempt during this time to translate the Bible. Emphasis was placed on the authority of the institutional church and its teaching rather than on the authority of Holy Writ.¹⁴

A Catholic scholar, Min Kyŏng-suk, looking at this period has remarked that the popular theology of the time had two main characteristics, firstly, a pre-occupation with impending divine judgement, and secondly a devaluation of the things of this world and an emphasis on

the separate nature of the body and the soul. This he says created a longing for heaven, and an emphasis on virginity. Prayers for example often stressed the Passion of Christ or the Sorrows of Mary.¹⁵ Min Kyōng-suk concludes by saying that the Church selected

"out of the treasures of Catholicism . . . only those aspects which were most consoling . . . to the psychology of a suffering and persecuted Church".¹⁶

Paik offers three criticisms of the Catholic Church of this period:

- (1) the laity were untutored in Scripture
- (2) too great an emphasis was placed on the ecclesiastical structure
- (3) the Catholics became involved in political activities which were seen to be traitorous to the Korean state.¹⁷

These were harsh times and perhaps the most amazing thing about the Catholic Church is that it survived at all. Probably the strongest criticism which may be made against the Church is that it allowed itself to become entangled with foreign powers, and thus ran afoul of strong feelings of national pride and independence. One may criticize these early believers for such a reckless course of action, and yet, strangely, understand what it was that compelled them to take such action. Such criticism as the author has made of their behaviour in no way diminishes his profound respect, and even awe, for the tenacity with which these Christians clung to their belief.

Before closing this section on nineteenth-century Catholicism, we must take note of a syncretic religious movement, Ch'ōn-to Kyo, which was influenced by Catholic teaching. Some time around 1860, Ch'oe Che-u (1824 to 1864) came to learn about Catholicism and to

study its doctrines. One day, as he was recuperating from an illness, he heard a spirit who identified himself as Sang-je (Shang-ti), command him to go forth and preach a doctrine which was suited to the Korean people. The teaching which grew out of the vision of Ch'oe Che-u was a melange of Confucianism, Buddhism, Christianity, and Mu-kyo or Korean shamanism. In particular, Ch'oe used the term Ch'ŏn-chu (T'ien-chu) for God, and adopted the Catholic practice of using candles during worship. The shamanistic element in Ch'ŏn-to Kyo may be found in the emphasis on incantations, magical practices and curative rites. His teaching became known as Tong-hak or Eastern Learning to contrast it with Catholic teaching or Sŏ-hak, Western Learning. It quickly became popular amongst the lower classes of Korean society. As the government was suspicious of large gatherings of people, Ch'oe was arrested as a Catholic sympathesizer. Although he defended his doctrine as being distinct from Christianity, the authorities decided otherwise and had him beheaded in Tae-ku in 1864. Even though this is before the beginning of the last great persecution of Christianity in the Yi Dynasty, the execution of Ch'oe Che-u indicates the great distrust the government had of anything which even appeared to be Catholic. This distrust by association when added to the clear incorporation of Catholic ideas and practice into a new syncretic religion tells us that, in spite of severe persecution, Catholicism had taken hold of Korea however tenuously.¹⁸

D. The Growth of the Catholic Church to the Annexation of Korea by Japan (1871 to 1910)

The reign of King Ko-chong covers one of the most turbulent periods of Korean history. He came to the throne as a boy, the reins of government being held as we have seen by his father, the Tae Wŏn-kun. With his father's removal from office in 1873, the king formally took control of the government of the nation. He was beset immediately by many problems. Firstly, there was the problem which had plagued Korean governments for the better part of two hundred and fifty years, factionalism in the royal court. Added to that problem were problems posed by the changing character of the international situation. There were progressives who recognized the need for an altered approach to international affairs and economic development, whilst the conservatives felt that it was only necessary to continue to follow a more traditional path. These two approaches also tended to be associated with the different factions which vied for power.

Japan was the first country which imposed a Western style diplomatic treaty on Korea, drawing her out of her traditional, Confucian style diplomatic relations with China. This treaty, the Treaty of Kang-hwa, was signed in early 1876. In a matter of a few years several ports were opened to Japanese trading, and their goods began to swamp the native products. In 1880, a special Korean representative to Japan, Kim Hong-jip (1842 to 1896), encountered a Chinese councillor, Huang Tsun-hsien (1845 to 1905), who gave him a copy of a treatise he had written called Chao-hsien Ts'ê-lüeh (A Strategy for Korea). It suggested that in order to counter Russian expansion, it would be best for Korea to maintain a strong pro-Chinese policy, maintain her relations with Japan, and establish diplomatic

ties with the United States. He also suggested that Korea send her young students to China and Japan to acquire modern, scientific knowledge, and that Westerners should be invited to Korea in order to instruct Koreans in modern knowledge. The king, learning of this treatise, had it circulated in the hopes of obtaining a concensus of the intelligentsia in favour of the recommended changes. The reaction of the Confucian literati was that there was little to be learned from the West scientifically and that the principal object of these changes was the spread of Catholicism and the subversion of Confucian virtues.¹

The desire for modernization did not wane with the united front against foreign influence presented by the Confucian scholars. There were a number of young scholars who earnestly desired Korea to take advantage of modern knowledge and thus be better prepared to defend herself in the altered international scene. At the same time Korea continued to make further Western style diplomatic ties. In May of 1882, a treaty was concluded with the United States and in the following year with the United Kingdom and Germany. By 1886, additional treaties or foreign relations had been established with France, Russia, and Italy. In 1884, a coup d'état against the government was led by a group of young, Japanese-trained Korean scholars and officials. This group felt that the pro-Chinese policy of the group headed by the queen would not push for those changes which were necessary for Korea. They hoped that Japanese support for them would be sufficient to ensure the establishment of their new government. Although the revolt was successful initially, it was put down by Chinese soldiers in Sŏ-ul. This stopped temporarily the advance of Japanese power on the peninsula.²

This halt did not prevent the continued build-up of Japanese economic strength in Korea, although her overall economic importance in Korea dropped in comparison with the renewed importance of Chinese goods in the Korean economy. This situation of economic competition with China led the Japanese to look for an opportunity which would permit them to oust the Chinese from their favoured position. During the latter part of the nineteenth century, the increase in poverty in the Korean countryside and increasing corruption in government circles led to the creation of robber bands composed of farmers who had no other way of survival. Under these conditions, the Tong-hak Sect with its rabid anti-foreignism, and call for social reform began to have great appeal. In February of 1894, a full-scale rebellion broke out. After some initial setbacks, the government was able to appease the rebels by promising to carry out a programme of reform. When this was felt to have been inadequately pursued, a second and greater rebellion broke out, which forced the king to appeal to China for military assistance. The movement of Chinese troops into Korea provided the Japanese with a pretext for bringing their own military into the country, ostensibly to protect their diplomatic representatives. Once the rebellion was quelled, the Japanese turned on the Chinese and drove them out altogether, establishing near complete Japanese authority on the peninsula. Another Tong-hak rebellion after the autumnal harvest was brutally put down by the Japanese. When the Chinese attempted to regain their suzerainty again, they were defeated decisively by the Japanese and forced to sign the Treaty of Shimonomseki in April of 1895.³

Even before the victory over China had been assured, Japan had forced various governmental reforms in Korea which strengthened her

political domination over that country and greatly aided her economic penetration. The Reform Constitution of 1895 was one example of these reforms. In a further attempt to consolidate her power and to eliminate Korean rivals, armed Japanese along with Korean lackeys broke into the Kyōng-bok Palace, murdered the queen, head of the pro-Chinese faction, and held the king prisoner. This increase in Japanese influence in the peninsula was again checked in February of 1896, when the king fled with Russian assistance to the legation of that power. Though the Russians were able to halt temporarily the total Japanese domination of Korea, they could not alter the fact that by 1896 Japan was the dominant economic power in Korea.⁴

A rather uneasy truce existed between these two great powers for the space of nearly a decade. After the Boxer Rebellion in 1900 in China, Russia sent a force to occupy Manchuria. In retaliation, Japan concluded an anti-Russian alliance with the United Kingdom in 1902. Russia countered with an alliance with France. Feeling herself strong enough to move on to the offensive, Japan attacked Russian warships berthed at Port Arthur without warning on February 8, 1904, thus beginning the Russo-Japanese War. The ignominious defeat of Russia in this war gave Japan a clear hand to work her will in East Asia. The Treaty of Portsmouth in 1905 enshrined this fact. In October of that year, the Japanese government placed the foreign affairs of Korea under her own control and established a Resident-General, Itō Hirobumi (1841 to 1909), to see that Japan's position remained secure.⁵

King Ko-chong appealed twice through secret messengers to President Theodore Roosevelt, once through the agency of Yi Sūng-man (Syngman Rhee, 1875 to 1965), and once through the agency of an

American Methodist missionary, Homer Hulbert. In 1907, he tried once more to bring the position of Korea before world opinion on the occasion of the World Peace Conference held at The Hague. This was all to no avail. The Japanese, furious at the Korean monarch's attempts, deposed him, placed his son on the throne, and forced a new agreement upon Korea which made her a protectorate of Japan. Under this protectorate, the Resident-General became the actual governing authority in Korea. This new arrangement caused a wave of reaction amongst the Korean people. The disbanded Korean army turned into a guerilla force hiding out in the mountains. The homes of various Korean officials who had agreed to the absorption of Korea were ravaged. An American, D. W. Stevens, who had been instrumental in the erection of the protectorate was assassinated in San Francisco. The final chapter in this history was written when An Chung-gŭn (1879 to 1910) assassinated the Resident-General, Itō Hirobumi, in the railway station in Harbin, Manchuria on October 26, 1909. On August 22, 1910, Japan formally annexed Korea as an integral part of the Japanese Empire. On a spurious application of Japanese mythology this was interpreted as the reconnection of two long separated branches of the same people.⁶

It is against this background of conflicting international and internal forces that we must view the growth of the Catholic Church. The country was in economic and political turmoil. What opportunities and dangers did it pose for the Church now freed from persecution, and how did she respond to them? The first thing which may be noted is the continued arrival of new missionaries. Even before the end of the Persecutions of the Tae Wŏn-kun, the Paris Missionary Society, upon learning of the death of nine of its members, dispatched three

more who were to co-operate with the three priests who had managed to escape. Father Ridel who by 1868 had replaced Father Féron as Vicar Apostolic convened a conference of Korean missionaries in Ch'a-kou in Manchuria which continued until 1874. At this conference a common mission policy for Korea was established, and an attempt was made to create a unified canon for the Korean church. It was not until May 10, 1876, however, that the first of the returning missionaries were able to enter Korea. These were Father Marie-Jean-Gustave Blanc, and Father Deguette. Bishop Ridel was not able to join them until September of the following year. Thus within five years of the cessation of the Great Persecution, Catholic missionaries were again in Korea with a firm plan for the evangelization of the nation.⁷

The establishment of Western style diplomatic relations with Japan meant that the Korean government was no longer as free to persecute the church as it had been in the past. Nonetheless, Catholicism was still frowned upon. In January of 1878, Bishop Ridel was arrested and finally deported in June of the same year, never to return. Rather than executing indigenous Christians as it had in the past, the government now permitted them to die of starvation in prison. In May of 1879, another priest, Father Deguette, was deported. Even this milder form of persecution ceased to be practised. In the spring of 1881, another missionary was arrested in Hwang-hae Province but was promptly released on the order of the governor who deemed it both unnecessary and unwise. This was the first indication that the Church had entered into an era of comparative peace. One must stress that this was only a period of comparative peace, for the government was constrained by the wishes of the Confucian literati to issue a document on July 10, 1881, censuring Christianity. Rather than urging

the physical annihilation of Christianity, it merely said that the best way to eliminate this evil doctrine was to be punctilious in the performance of the Confucian ethical code and ritual. The police were no longer permitted to molest Catholics in their performance of their religion. By 1882, the Church consisted of five foreign priests and twelve thousand five hundred believers.⁸

During the 1880s significant institutional changes began to take place. First of all, education for the priesthood for Koreans was reactivated in 1877. In 1881, a number of students were sent to Nagasaki for study, and later to the seminary in Penang. As this proved to be unsuccessful, a seminary was started up in Korea in 1885, moving to the capital in 1887. By 1900, ten Koreans had been ordained to the priesthood. Secondly, Christian social services under the control of various religious orders was initiated. In July of 1888, the sisters of the Communauté de Saint Paul de Chartres arrived to begin care for the aged and for orphans. Shortly after their arrival, four Korean women decided to join the order to participate in this work of social service. In addition to this development of institutional structures, publication of church material was furthered. In 1878, Bishop Blanc had printed the "Guidance Book of the Korean Church", a canon based on the decisions of the conference of 1868 to 1874 at Ch'a-kou. In addition to this work, the Bible, missals, prayer books, and other devotional works were printed. Originally printing was done in Nagasaki beginning in 1882 but was transferred to Sŏ-ul in 1888.⁹

In the 1890s, visible manifestation of the institutional security of the Church may be seen in the erection of two substantial churches. The first was the Yak-hyŏn Church which was dedicated in

1893, on a site near the execution ground of many of the Catholic martyrs, while the second was the erection of the Cathedral of Sŏ-ul on the site of the home of the first Korean martyr, Kim Pŏm-u. This latter edifice was dedicated in 1898. During this same period, a suitable, Western style residence for the bishop was constructed. As we have indicated, ten Korean priests were ordained in this decade. Sadly, the Church continued to offer up martyrs for its cause. When the Tong-hak Rebellion broke out, the reader will recall that one of its tenets was the elimination of all foreign influence. The twenty-nine year old French priest Father Jean Moyse Joseau was martyred by the Tong-haks on July 29, 1894. There were victories as well. The eighty year old wife of the Tae Wŏn-kun was baptized by Bishop Mutel on October 11, 1896 and took her first communion a year later. Moreover, during the last decade of the nineteenth century, the Church had spread to every part of Korea and had even penetrated to the neighbouring regions of Manchuria where many Koreans lived.¹⁰

The new century opened with a regional persecution of the Church. Che-chu Island had had Christian families as early as 1858. By the end of the century it was estimated that perhaps 2.5 per cent of the island's population adhered to Catholicism. Unfortunately, some of these Christians were unwise in their behaviour. In clearing land they cut down some sacred trees and destroyed several shrines to local deities. In addition to these indiscretions, it would seem that several Catholics were not above using their influence with privileged foreigners to obtain certain special favours for themselves. This combination of factors led to an uprising which resulted in the massacre of upwards of seven hundred Catholics. Nonetheless, by the beginning of the twentieth century, the Roman Catholic Church could

boast of fifty-two priests including twelve Koreans, forty-two thousand believers and forty-one churches. By the time of the complete absorption of Korea into the Japanese Empire, these figures had changed even more remarkably. There were seventy-one priests including fifteen native clergy, fifty-nine sisters, forty-one seminarians, over seventy-three thousand believers, and sixty-nine churches. Clearly, the Church had entered on a period of unprecedented growth.¹¹

E. The Church under Japanese Domination (1910 to 1945)

The history of Japanese colonialism in Korea may be divided conveniently into two periods, one covering the period of 1910 to 1919, and the other, the period of 1919 to 1945. The great watershed of this era is the Independence Movement of March 1, 1919, the Sam-il Un-tong. The period prior to the emergency of the Sam-il Un-tong might be called the Period of the Consolidation of Colonial Power, whilst the second might be called the Period of Cultural Assimilation. The main characteristic of the first period was the increasing Japanese control over the actual land of Korea. Once having established her political supremacy, Japan began to take measures that would ensure that Japanese actually owned Korean land. One means by which this aim was to be accomplished was the land survey which was completed in 1918. The survey required that by a certain date, all owners of farm land had to report the size and location of their holdings. Unregistered and undeveloped land was then expropriated and sold off to Japanese businessmen. As many farmers were ignorant or naive about the requirements of this regulation, it became a legal facade for the expropriation of Korean land. One of the chief

beneficiaries of this ruse was the Tōyō Takushoku Kabushiki Kaisha (Oriental Development Company). Land on which taxes had not been paid was also expropriated. By the end of the survey, forty thousand fewer Koreans owned their family farmlands. Another way in which the Japanese government manipulated the Korean economy during this period was through laws governing the establishment of businesses which were highly favourable to Japanese capital investment but which hindered Korean capital investment. Thus it came about that the Korean economy was dominated by the great Japanese commercial and industrial groups such as Mitsui and Mitsubishi. Moreover, by skillful manipulation of these business laws, it was possible to close down two large and financially successful Korean business firms. The police and military organizations were by this time entirely Japanese. There were one and a half divisions of the Imperial Japanese Army maintained on the peninsula which after 1915 was increased to two divisions. There were two forms of police, one military, the other civilian. The former, including reserves, exceeded the number of the latter by thousands of men and were in control of the latter. As with the military, the number of police greatly increased over this first decade of Japanese colonial domination. With the assistance of such a firm system of police control it is easy to see why the Japanese could so readily enforce their will on Korea.¹

Koreans did not accept passively this absorption of their homeland. One form of resistance was in the armed struggle of the Ŭi Pyōng or Righteous Army. Having begun in 1906, their struggle continued down to 1915. Resistance to Japan after the failure of military confrontation, moved to the creation of groups which would instil a sense of patriotism and national independence. Prominent

among the people involved in this struggle were members of both the native syncretic religion Ch'ŏn-to Kyo, and the Protestant churches. The Japanese tried to suppress any organization which promoted the cause of Korean independence. In one instance they fabricated charges against members of a secret organization, the Shin-min Hoe which was working for independence, claiming that they had intended to assassinate the Governor-General. Many of the members of the Shin-min Hoe were also members of the Protestant churches. Various Korean patriotic organisations sent representatives to world conferences to plead the cause of Korean independence. This drive for the liberation of Korea from Japanese domination culminated in the Sam-il Un-tong.²

The Peace Conference held at the end of the First World War greatly stimulated the people of Korea, as it proclaimed the right of national self-determination. To dramatize their cause before world opinion, various patriots decided to organize groups of Koreans in all the major towns and cities of the nation to demonstrate peacefully for the liberation of their country. In addition, thirty-three people agreed to sign a Declaration of Independence which was to be read in a park in Sŏ-ul. Students were sent down to the provinces to organize people locally. The organization for this demonstration was done so secretly and so efficiently that the Japanese were taken completely by surprise. Statistics show that nearly a tenth of the population of Korea participated in this great, peaceful demonstration of national discontent. Moreover, over half (57 per cent) of those involved in these demonstrations were farmers. The next largest bloc (21 per cent) were the intellectuals. The Japanese reaction to this peaceful proclamation of the independence of the Korean nation was harsh. It

is estimated that seven thousand five hundred people were killed by the Japanese in the suppression of this movement, more than twice that number were wounded, and a further forty-six thousand were given prison sentences. Churches became targets of Japanese military reprisals. Forty-seven of them were burned to the ground. In one case authenticated by missionaries and made known by them to the world, villagers were herded into a church which was then set on fire. Though the Koreans did not gain their independence, three results did eventuate from this struggle. First, the Sam-il Un-tong drew together the Korean people who now saw themselves as a single people yearning for independence from colonial rule. Secondly, the brutal suppression of a peaceful nation-wide demonstration showed before the world the reality of Japanese rule in Korea. Thirdly, the Japanese were forced to realize that they could never hope to rule Korea by force alone. There would have to be concessions.³

Two concrete actions taken after the Sam-il Un-tong were the establishment of provisional governments and the creation of armies to resist Japanese domination. By November 4, 1919, the various governments-in-exile had unified themselves into a single body. Likewise, various military groups were organized for the purpose of harrassing Japanese troops in Manchuria. By September of 1923, several of these groups had merged into one and placed themselves under the nominal authority of the Provisional Government-in-Exile in Shang-hai. Intellectually, the Koreans continued to resist the imposition of Japanese rule and Japanese culture. Independence groups were formed amongst the growing numbers of Koreans in exile in various parts of the world. Yi Sung-man formed one such group in Honolulu, An Ch'ang-ho another in Los Angeles. Korean students in Japan were

also able to form their own group which survived in one form or another until 1931. The Korean Communist Party also began to make itself known in the increasing number of labour disputes which occurred after 1925. Demonstrations in Korea against Japanese rule continued. The death of the Emperor Sun-chong, last indigenous ruler of Korea, sparked off several incidents. The most significant event, however, was the spontaneous demonstration of high school students in Kwang-ju in Chŏl-la Province in 1929.⁴

Korea was being used by Japan for purposes of simple exploitation. As we have mentioned before, this policy was maintained by a dense police network. The number of policemen in Korea after 1919 when compared with their counterparts in Japan was proportionately one and a half times greater. Exploitation of the Korean countryside continued. By the early 1930s, half of the annual rice crop was sent to Japan. Moreover, the annual per capita consumption of rice by Koreans declined to 63 per cent of what it had been in 1912. Farm tenancy increased after 1919 from 45 per cent to 56 per cent by 1939. These trends led to increased numbers of landless families who had to survive on illegal land holdings in remote mountaineous areas by slash and burn techniques. Many others went to Manchuria or to Japan where they became low paid members of the work-force. All of these factors became intensified as Japan entered the Second World War. Draft Labour, a euphemism for servitude, became characteristic of the war-time Japanese government's policy in Korea. More than four million people within Korea were so conscripted by the year 1945, and a further 1,260,000 persons had been sent to Japan proper.⁵

Long-range Japanese policy in Korea was not only simple exploitation but the eventual and complete absorption of the Korean people into

the Japanese race. One way in which this aim was to be accomplished was by the distortion of Korean history. History and archaeology were used to show that Japan had had colonial control over the Korean peninsula back in remote antiquity, that the Koreans were only a branch of the Japanese race long separated, and that Korean culture and history were inferior to Japanese culture and history. One subtle technique which was used to deny the independence of Korean culture was the romanization in scholarly articles of the names of ancient Korean authors, books, and place names according to the Chinese pronunciation of the Chinese characters.⁶

As the war effort intensified, measures of forced assimilation did also. This began with vigour in 1937. Japanese was to be the exclusive language of instruction in academic institutions. Korean language newspapers were suppressed. All meetings had to begin with an avowal of loyalty to the Emperor, and Koreans were forced to attend 'patriotic' ceremonies performed at local Shintō shrines. The culminating insult, especially to a country with a long Confucian tradition which placed primary emphasis on knowledge of one's family history, was the demand made in 1939 that Korean surnames must be altered to Japanese names.⁷

At the beginning of the Japanese colonial period, the Church in Korea had its new status recognized as a growing institution within the society when two Vicariates Apostolic were created on May 3, 1911, one centred in Sŏ-ul, the other in Tae-ku. By 1920, yet another ecclesiastical division was created with the erection of the Vicariate Apostolic of Wŏn-san in August of that year. Statistics for that year indicate continued growth over the ten year period. There were 242 parish churches, and some ninety thousand Catholics. Within another

decade these figures again showed continued growth. By 1932, the Catholic Church had over 110,000 believers, 123 church buildings, and 141 priests, 55 of whom were Koreans. During this decade, the Vatican had recognized the suffering of the Church during its first century with the beatification of seventy-nine Korean martyrs. During the 1930s, further consolidation and expansion of the ecclesiastical structure took place with the revision of the book of order, and continued creation of new ecclesiastic jurisdictions. All but one of these jurisdictions, Chŏn-chu, were under the control of foreigners. By the beginning of the Pacific War in the early 1940s, the Catholic Church in Korea possessed five bishops, 308 priests of whom 139 were Koreans, and a body of believers numbering around one hundred and eighty-three thousand.⁸

The Catholic Church does not appear to have been affected greatly by the course of events going on around it. For the most part the period of colonial domination may be characterized as one of tranquil development. This is certainly true of all but the last five years or so of Japanese rule. Min Kyōng-suk points out that whereas the Protestant churches took a very firm line against Christian attendance at ceremonies held at Shintō shrines, the Catholic Church acquiesced in the Japanese government's demands. This is very curious when one recalls the firm position taken by the Church against the che-sa ceremonies in the nineteenth century. It is only by 1944 that we first hear of the arrest of priests for failure to take part in these ceremonies, whereas this same problem had to be faced by the Protestants nearly a decade earlier. Thus part of the tranquility of the growth of the Catholic Church during the Japanese period must be attributed to its more passive acceptance

of the foreign control of the nation.⁹

Though the Japanese do not seem to have been as harsh with the Catholics as they had been with the Protestants, as the war effort intensified the Catholic Church was abused. The cathedral in P'yŏng-yang was taken over in December of 1940 for military use, while the missionaries were forced to move to the outside of the city. On the day following the attack on Pearl Harbour, American missionaries were arrested and forcibly repatriated shortly thereafter. French missionaries were likewise arrested. The next move was the attempt to 'purify' the church of foreign influences by the appointment of Japanese priests. Thus, in 1942 a Father Hayasaka was appointed as Bishop of Tae-ku, and a Father Wakida, Bishop of Kwang-ju in Chŏl-la Province. As the war began to draw to a close, the Japanese government took even more drastic measures, including the forced induction into the armed services of priests and seminarians. Other priests were placed in conditions of involuntary servitude for the duration of the war. More church buildings were taken over to be used as barracks by the Japanese army. This harsh treatment came to an abrupt end with the surrender of Japan on the 15 August 1945.¹⁰

Min Kyŏng-suk makes the interesting point that a reading of the official history of the Church since 1886 reveals little acknowledgement of the force of the social events going on around it. Our discussion has indicated that this is especially true for the period of Japanese domination. In view of the stormy events of this time, it is particularly odd. In examining the rate of conversion to Catholicism during the twentieth century, Min found that given the new conditions of freedom of movement and freedom from persecution, there was nothing remarkable about the numbers of converts. The figure of

200,000 Catholic adherents in 1945 compares poorly with the Protestant churches which had achieved that level in 1920. Converts also still tended to be drawn from the disinherited sectors of society. The intelligentsia were not attracted to Catholicism. As modern education was a near monopoly of the Protestant churches, they tended to produce and possess the emerging class of intellectual leaders. By 1932, there were seven Protestant supported colleges, but none which were supported by the Roman Catholic Church.¹¹

Min says of the Catholic Church of this period that like the Early Church, it

"drew its members from the ranks of the lower class, intellectually simple, socially frustrated, and economically deprived, and that Catholicism was viewed by the converts as a religion of withdrawal providing refuge and consolation for those helpless and in desperate need of individual security".¹²

F. The Korean Catholic Church in the Post-Liberation Period (1945 to 1974)

The great wish of the Korean people had been liberation from Japanese colonial domination. With the defeat of Japan at the end of the Second World War, this goal seemed to be assured of achievement. That it was not fulfilled is due again to international intervention in Korean affairs. It had been decided, as an inducement for the Russians to enter the war against Japan, that the Soviet Union should take the surrender of the Japanese army north of the Thirty-Eighth Parallel in Korea. The effect of this decision was to split the country into two opposing camps. At the end of the war, the Government-General of Chōsen turned over control of the apparatus of government to certain local political leaders, who quickly formed a

government with an 'assembly'. The Russians moved rapidly to take control of their zone of Korea, but the Americans did not arrive until the eighth of September, 1945. For the time being, the Soviet authorities recognized the Korean 'government' led by Cho Man-shik (1882 to ?) but insisted on the presence of a large number of communists. The Americans on the other hand did not recognize this government but instead set up a temporary military government. By October, the United States and the Soviet Union had agreed that Korea should be placed under a trusteeship of the major powers for a fixed number of years. This was unacceptable to the Korean people who demonstrated vigorously against its implementation. The United States and the Soviet Union then became deadlocked over the form of government Korea should have.¹

During these first few years, the American military government had to face two enormous problems for which it was ill-prepared to handle. One of the problems was the rehabilitation of the war-ruined and colonially-exploited economy of southern Korea. The second problem, which intensified the first one, was the absorption of the nearly two million refugees who had fled the communist regime in the northern part of Korea, or who were returnees from China or Japan. The United States, finding that it was unable to come to any agreement with the Soviet Union about Korea, brought the issue before the General Assembly of the United Nations in September of 1947, which then passed a resolution calling for the holding of free elections throughout the peninsula. These were held in May of 1948, against the desire of the Soviet Union, which forbade them taking place within its zone. At the end of May, the assembly which had been elected met, and adopted a new name for the nation, Tae-Han Min-kuk (Republic

of Korea). In September of 1948, the Soviet Union countered this action by the establishment of a nation called Cho-sŏn Min-chu Chu-ŭi In-min Kong-hwa-kuk (Democratic People's Republic of Korea).

Contrary to their will, the Korean people faced each other across a tense and hostile border. The hope of liberation had not been fulfilled.²

The hope which had existed for a peaceful solution to this problem was shattered when, on 25 July 1950 the Army of the D.P.R.K. launched a surprise attack on the R.O.K. This was doubly shocking as it was the first time in 1,300 years that Korean had fought Korean. The army of south Korea and the American forces, being caught completely off guard, were pushed back rapidly into a pocket in the southeastern portion of the peninsula. This position of near defeat was reversed by a brilliant counter attack above the northern army's lines at In-ch'on. The north Korean army was quickly pushed back over the Thirty-Eighth Parallel and were pursued to the Yalu River. At this point another dramatic military movement, the entrance of the army of the People's Republic of China, forced the United Nations' army back. The Chinese advance was halted near the Thirty-Eighth Parallel. Truce negotiations commenced in July of 1951 and have continued intermittently until the present day. This savage civil war left three scars. The first was psychological. Although the Korean people had yearned for freedom and independence, they now found themselves engaged in a life or death struggle with their compatriots which left deep emotional scars. Second, there was the appalling loss of life. Third, the economy, which had begun to recover from a previous war and colonial exploitation, was shattered.³

Religion as an organized independent body no longer exists in the D.P.R.K. Before and during the civil war, many Christians in north Korea fled to the south, while the others who did remain were systematically murdered. There may indeed be an underground church in the D.P.R.K. formed of secret believers, but of these people we have no knowledge. As we consider the growth of the church in Korea, we shall refer only to those events which have transpired in the Republic of Korea.

The government of the Republic of Korea from its inception in 1948 until 1960, was dominated by one man, President Yi Sŭng-man, a noted right-wing patriot, whose regime became increasingly identified with political corruption and economic decay. The fact that the economy which had been wrecked by the civil war did not recover rapidly may be attributed to the policy of the Yi regime of selling property belonging to the former Japanese colonial government to its supporters. Towards the end of the 1950s unemployment became increasingly widespread. The regime held on to its political power through the manipulation of the constitution, once in 1952, and again in 1954. Resistance to these developments came to a head in 1960, when the regime flagrantly rigged the elections held on March 15. The rigging of these elections sparked off widespread demonstrations. In early April, the body of a high school student who had been murdered by the police was found. Demonstrations ensued in which the army refused to intervene, and the fate of the regime of Yi Sŭng-man was sealed. He stepped down in disgrace at the age of eighty-five.⁴

The Student Revolution led to the creation of the Second Republic, based on parliamentary principles. The head of state was President Yun Po-sŏn (1897 -) who is a Presbyterian, and the Prime

Minister was Chang Myŏn (1899 to 1966), who was a Catholic. These men have been characterized as mild, scholarly figures who were not forceful enough in dealing with the urgent practical problems facing the Republic of Korea. Their regime foundered on its inability to deal with three sets of problems. First of all, they lost credit with the public by not dealing more firmly with the corrupt officials of the former regime. Second, they seemed to be too lenient in their handling of left-wing student demonstrations. Third, the economy did not improve. The Five Year Plan never came into being, and jobs and food continued to be scarce.⁵

On 16 May 1961 the army acted by overthrowing the government in a coup d'état and martial law was imposed. Although President Yun was maintained in office, General Chang To-yong was made Chairman of the Supreme Council for National Reconstruction. The ostensible aims of this coup were to build up a self-reliant economy, to eliminate corruption, and to strengthen ties with the United States and the United Nations. In July of 1961, General Pak Chŏng-hŭi (1917 -) was made Chairman of the Council. In March of 1962, President Yun resigned, with General Pak assuming the position of Acting President. A new constitution was approved in 1962 in a referendum, which provided for a unicarmeral legislature elected every four years, a president elected by direct election, and a prime minister and cabinet appointed by the president. In January of 1963, the military rulers formed a new party, the Min-chu Tang (Democratic Party), and selected General Pak as their candidate. Former President Yun headed up the major opposition party. Although General Pak won this contest, former President Yun had been a formidable opponent.⁶

The Third Republic began on the 17 December 1963. The first year of its existence was typified by continued student demonstrations against corruption in government and against the negotiations which were taking place between the R.O.K. and Japan. In 1965, there was further student unrest over the forthcoming ratification of a treaty between Korea and Japan which would establish formal diplomatic relations between the two states, and the sending of the south Korean army to fight in south Vietnam. Elections were held again in May of 1967, but this time former President Yun was defeated decisively. The Min-chu Tang now had a majority in the assembly, and an attempt was made to pass an amendment permitting the president to take a third term. In September of 1968, the assembly approved this constitutional measure and it was ratified by a national referendum in October. Another election was held in April of 1971. The opposition Shin-min Tang candidate, Kim Tae-chung (1925 -), barely missed defeating the incumbent, President Pak.⁷

Abruptly, in October 1972, martial law was declared, the National Assembly dissolved, and the constitution suspended. It was argued that due to the changed circumstances of world politics (Sino-American rapprochement, and potential American rapprochement with the D.P.R.K.) made it imperative that the R.O.K. have a constitution with a strong presidential system which was styled the Yu-shin Constitution (Revitalization Constitution). The principal features of this document are provisions for a National Assembly elected for a six year term, and the establishment of a superior body called the National Conference for Unification (T'ong-il Chu-chei Kung-min Ŭi-wŏn). This body, directly elected, elects the President and appoints a third of the members of the legislature. Beginning in 1973, there were

attempts made to call for a repeal of the Yu-shin Constitution. At the Easter Sunrise Service held on Nam San in southern Sŏ-ul, several Christian ministers attempted to distribute leaflets which urged the repeal of the new constitution. In July of 1973, these men were arrested. October saw student demonstrations, particularly those at Seoul National University against the new constitution and against alleged violations of human rights. In December of that year several prominent Christians and other leading citizens began a drive to collect sufficient signatures on a petition for the repeal of the constitution. Among them were Kim Su-hwan the Cardinal Archbishop of Sŏ-ul, Kim Ok-kil the president of Ehwa Women's University, her brother Kim Tong-gil, lecturer at Yonsei University, and Yun Po-sŏn, former President of the R.O.K. This movement was paralleled by a separate petition drive instigated by the members of several theological faculties. In January of 1974, certain emergency measures were proclaimed which forbade criticism of the constitution. There were further demonstrations of students and professors, clergy and laymen, and writers and reporters. In the late spring, certain student leaders were arrested for violation of the emergency measures, and for conspiracy in the violent overthrow of the government. At the same time, several men were arrested for the alleged formation of a revolutionary party. On August 15 of 1974, the wife of President Pak was assassinated with a bullet intended for the chief executive. The Rev. Dr. George Ogle, a Methodist missionary, was deported in December for allegedly not pursuing a proper missionary role and for sympathy with those individuals who were arrested on charges of forming a revolutionary party.⁸

The political division of the peninsula immediately following liberation from Japanese rule had the effect of instituting two different policies with regard to the practice of religion. In southern Korea, foreign priests who had been held in prison by the Japanese were released. Japanese priests who had been in administrative positions in the Korean church resigned. The death of the Japanese archbishop of Tae-ku in 1946 permitted the appointment of a Korean in his place. Catholic publications which had been suspended by the Japanese were again published and new ones were created. For example, the Kyōng-hyang Chap-chi resumed publication as did Catholic Youth. A new newspaper, the Kyōng-hyang Shin-mun, was begun during this period. Religious works were also published, among them being a translation of the martyrology, Martyrs Coréennes in 1946 and Yu Hong-nyōl's Ch'ōn-chu Kyo-hoe-sa (A History of the Catholic Church (in Korea)). The picture which seemed bright in south Korea was very different in north Korea. The Russian army at the beginning of their occupation of Manchuria shot two priests who worked in the Kuan-tung area in which many Koreans resided. In the following year, 1947, they arrested the bishop, and thirty-nine priests, monks, and nuns. This same policy towards the practice of religion was pursued in north Korea when it came under Soviet domination. Clergy in rural areas were rounded up and shot.⁹

With the establishment of two separate Korean governments in 1948, these differences in policy became even more accentuated. In the R.O.K., no impediment was placed in the way of Catholic evangelism. The Korean Church sent Chang Myōn as its special envoy to the Pope, a new Apostolic Delegate was created to oversee the life of the Church, and a monument was erected in February of 1950 in Sō-ul

to the memory of the Catholic martyrs. In north Korea, on the other hand, more than a year before the outbreak of the civil war, the regime began to persecute the Church in earnest. In May of 1949, Bishop Sauer and the members of the Benedictine abbey at Tŏk-wŏn were imprisoned. The Catholic agricultural college was confiscated and renamed in honour of the northern leader Kim Il-sŏng (1912 -). Korean parish priests were arrested in such numbers that many parishes fell inactive for lack of supervision. Bishop Hong Yong-ho of P'yŏng-yang sent a letter of protest to Kim Il-sŏng, but was himself arrested for this act.¹⁰

With the outbreak of the civil war on 25 June 1950, the remaining priests who were at liberty in the north were arrested and imprisoned, many of whom were later found to have been killed. As the northern army advanced into the south, they arrested and later killed numbers of priests, monks, and nuns, and took others to P'yŏng-yang for interrogation. This harsh treatment was not confined to Catholic religious but was also characteristic of the way in which the communist regime dealt with the Protestants. In 1953, at the time of the cessation of hostilities, the total number of Catholics in south Korea, including many refugees from the north, totalled 166,000, which is ninety per cent of the number of Catholics in all of Korea in 1945, which was 183,000. How many secret believers still remained in the north at the time of the truce is not known. As the statistics for 1953 include accessions to the Church after the cessation of fighting, they give a dramatic indication of the magnitude of the loss of life during the conflict.¹¹

In the decade commencing with the end of the civil war, Catholicism experienced great growth. Two colleges were founded,

Hyo-sŏng Women's College in Tae-ku in 1952, and the Jesuit Sŏ-kang College in 1960. Ecclesiastical jurisdictions were increased. In 1953, there were six dioceses in south Korea. By 1963, this had increased to ten. The 166,000 Catholics in 1953 had by the end of the ten year period become 575,000. In 1962, the Vatican gave further ecclesiastical approval to the growth of the Korean Church by creating the first true ecclesiastical hierarchy of Korea. The former Vicariates of Sŏ-ul, Tae-ku, and Kwang-ju were raised to the status of archdioceses.¹²

In the next decade from 1963 to 1974, the Vatican continued to give recognition to the rapid increase in the size of the Korean Church. In 1968, Archbishop Kim Su-hwan was created a cardinal by Pope Paul VI. Further dioceses were created, so that by 1974 the one million twelve thousand Catholics were organized into fourteen episcopal jurisdictions. The most important development in the Church over the past decade, however, had been due to the influence of the Second Vatican Council. Catholics are now learning to take more seriously the claims of contemporary society, the presence of a strong Protestant Church, and the existence of major non-Christian religions and philosophies in Korean culture. This change is particularly noticeable in the altered editorial content of contemporary Catholic publications such as Kyŏng-hyang Chap-chi, Catholic Youth, and Catholic Times. The difference between contemporary converts to the Catholic Church and 'Old Catholics' is to be found in the lack of a 'ghetto' mentality amongst the former group.¹³

G. Conclusions

In summarizing the more than three centuries of Catholic contact with Korea we may draw the following observations:

(1) The first known contact of Catholicism with Korea came through the scientific and scholarly pursuits of the Jesuits in China. When Catholicism and Western knowledge in general became known in the late Yi Dynasty, many young scholars were seeking for a fresh approach to social, political, and scientific problems. The interest in the religion of the West was a by-product of their interest in other aspects of Western culture.

(2) Catholic teaching was acceptable to the majority of persons with whom it came in contact until it contravened accepted moral values.

(3) The antipathy of the Korean government towards Catholicism was partly the result of the latter's contravention of the basic standards of Confucian morality, and partly the result of fears that widespread acceptance of this foreign religion would mean subordination of the state to foreign powers.

(4) The initial persecution of the Catholic Church was not simply a matter of the suppression of unconventional beliefs, but was also a matter of containing the political power of certain factions at the royal court. The political affiliation of certain upper class Catholic adherents was a factor in the rejection of the Church.

(5) In the nineteenth century, Catholicism no longer had an appeal to the intellectual class, but continued to survive because it offered hope to members of the inferior classes in traditional Korean society.

(6) Although Catholicism continued to increase in numbers of adherents, the Church did not begin to grow significantly until long after it had passed through its period of trial. The Chart 9-2, Comparative Church Growth Statistics, in Chapter 9 shows that until the late 1950s Catholicism remained steadily at the level of one half of one per cent of the population. Moreover, Catholicism did not experience significant growth until well after the Protestant churches had.

(7) Although the initial propagation of the Church had been accomplished by Korean converts, by the middle of the nineteenth century evangelism had become largely the domain of foreign missionaries. Seventy-five years after the official commencement of Catholic evangelism, a native clergy had not been created.

Chart 8-2 summarizes the growth of the Korean Church. It indicates that it was a very long time before Catholic thought had more than an indirect influence on Korean society. It was fully one hundred and fifty years after Jesuit tracts and books had first circulated in Korea that we hear of the first converts to Catholicism, excluding those who accepted the Faith in Japan. The first missionaries did not arrive until nearly two hundred years afterward. Moreover, acceptance of the new doctrine by some led to general rejection by the majority of the Confucian literati and the government, resulting in nearly a hundred years of direct and indirect persecution. Nearly a third of Catholic history in Korea was under conditions of severe suppression. A further third of the Church's history is taken up by a period of slow recuperation from the shock of persecution and passive acceptance of a totalitarian regime. During this time the Church grew in numbers but not in representation within the society.

Schematic Diagram of Korean Catholic History

P O L I T I C A L Time Line	M I N G C H ' I N G	Republic People's Republic			
Phase Korean	War Social Disorder	Recovery Cultural Florescence	Social Disorder	Coloni- alism	Division
Era Korean	Y I (Chō-sŏn)			Tae-Japan- Han ese Period	Chō-sŏn Han-kuk
Events	1600 Hideyoshi Invasions Jesuit Cultural and Scientific Influence Manchu Invasions 1627 1636 SHIR-HAK SCHOOL	1700	1800 Western Political and Economic Influence	1900 Annexa- tion by Japan Civil War	Division of North and South
RELIGIOUS	First Missionary Attempt Korean Catholic Martyrs in Japan	1758 Anti Che-sa Move- ment First Priest Arrives	1801 Evangelism Begins First Western Missionaries Arrive PERSECUTION	1839 1846 1866- 1871 Colonial Persecution Communist Persecution	Concentration on Institutional Growth Growth Colleges Founded Social Involve- ment
Phase	Contact and Diffusion of Knowledge	Evangelism and Cyclical Persecution	Growth and Persecution		

■ Date of Persecution

Chart 8-2 and Chart 9-2, Comparative Church Growth Statistics, make abundantly clear that the two chief characteristics of Korean Catholicism are its slow rate of growth and its development in spite of extreme persecution.

CHAPTER 9 THE PROTESTANT CHURCH IN KOREA

A. The First Protestant Efforts in Korea

The history of the Protestant churches in Korea begins with certain missionary probes which were made from the first third of the nineteenth century onwards. All of these early moves were seen as an extension of the work of various missionary bodies in China. One also gathers from reading the various sources that these early Protestant missionaries were comparatively ignorant of the development of the Roman Catholic Church in Korea.

The first Protestant missionary who is known to have made efforts to begin evangelism in the peninsula was Carl F. A. Gutzlaff. A native of Pomerania, and a graduate of the theological school at Halle, Gutzlaff originally served with the Netherlands Missionary Society until 1828 when he resigned from their service. Eventually, he went to Macao, where he renewed his friendship with the great Chinese missionary, Robert Morrison. Between the years 1831 to 1833, Gutzlaff undertook several exploratory trips along the coast of China to evaluate the possibility of commencing mission work there. Later, during the years 1833 to 1839, he conducted further explorations and, following the conclusion of the Opium War, created the China Union in 1843. This organization was to be an evangelistic society using native evangelists, and is often referred to as the 'grandfather' of the China Inland Mission. Gutzlaff's untimely death in 1851 precluded further development of this group. During the first series of missionary expeditions, Gutzlaff visited the coast of Korea in 1832 with copies of the Scriptures in Chinese which Morrison had given Gutzlaff to distribute. The ship on which Gutzlaff was sailing

anchored off the Korean coast at two points, once off the Chang-san Peninsula in Hwang-hae Province, and later at the mouth of the Kŭm River in South Ch'ung-ch'ŏng Province. In both cases, attempts were made to contact the court in Sŏ-ul but to no avail. At the latter place, they did come in contact with some persons who were Catholics, and who were with difficulty persuaded to write the Lord's Prayer in the Korean alphabet. Gutzlaff had had some prior knowledge of the trials of the Catholic Church in Korea but was unable to discover the extent of Catholicism at that time. Given the troubled circumstances in which the Church existed, it is perhaps not too surprising that traces of it were not immediately manifest. Paik reminds us that the Protestant missionary's behaviour would have seemed very odd to the Catholics. Contrary to the Catholics' expectations, Gutzlaff came boldly in the daylight requesting an audience with the royal court, and did not bring rosaries and images but Bibles.¹

The next missionary who had contact with Korea was Robert Jermain Thomas, a graduate of New College, University of London. He was ordained in June of 1863, and left with his wife in July for China. Shortly after the Thomas' landing in Shang-hai, Mrs Thomas died. The grief stricken young husband removed from that city to Pei-ching. In 1865, he was in Chih-fou where he made the acquaintance of Alexander Williamson, the agent for the National Bible Society of Scotland. In the autumn of that year, a junk appeared in this Chinese port with several Korean Catholics on board. Williamson was greatly impressed by the fact that these men had little knowledge of the Scriptures. Thomas then offered to go back to Korea with them and to distribute copies of the Bible. He and his Korean companions arrived off the Korean coast on 13 September 1865, and stayed two and

a half months. There is no known record of the places which he visited. He returned to Pei-ching, via Manchuria in January 1866. A year after his first trip, Thomas returned to Korean waters in August 1866 on board an American trading vessel, the General Sherman. The provocative nature of this voyage caused it to end in disaster. The captain of the vessel foolishly tried to force his way up the Tae-tong River to P'yŏng-yang. An altercation with the defending Korean army ensued, the ship was set afire, and the escaping sailors were massacred. Thomas himself died as he distributed his copies of the Scriptures to those around him.²

Alexander Williamson, the agent who had sent out the unfortunate R. J. Thomas, made a tour through Manchuria and got as far as the customs barrier between China and Korea. Whilst he was there, he came into contact with some Koreans and was able to sell them copies of the Scriptures.³

John Ross, a missionary of the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland, arrived in Chih-fou with his bride in the autumn of 1872. Seeing that there were sufficient missionaries in the Shan-tung peninsula, Ross decided that his efforts would be better applied in Manchuria, where ground had already been broken by William Burns of the mission of the Presbyterian Church of England in 1867, and by the Rev. James Waddel and Dr. Joseph Hunter of the mission of the Presbyterian Church of Ireland. He settled in Niu-chuang (New-chwang now Ying-k'ou) and like Thomas tragically lost his wife. However, he threw himself with complete dedication into the work of reconnoitring the area, going as far east as the customs barrier with Korea in the autumn of 1873. Undoubtedly Ross would have been fully aware of the events of Mr. Williamson's journey there a few years before and must

have borne in mind the sacrifice of W. C. Burns. The thing which distinguishes Ross from these others is that he became enthusiastic about the prospects of missions in the Hermit Kingdom. He made one further expedition to the Chinese-Korean border in the following year. With some difficulty Ross was able to persuade a merchant who had had some bad luck that he should instruct Ross in the Korean language. While Ross concentrated most of his missionary efforts in Manchuria, he was largely responsible for initiating interest in missions in Korea. By 1881, he had published the first grammar of the Korean language in English, and the first history of Korea in any Western language. By the following year, he and his colleague John MacIntyre had completed the translation of the New Testament into Korean and had it published with the assistance of funds from the National Bible Society of Scotland. Ross' method of missionary work was Pauline as he termed it. He felt that native evangelists were far more effective and, consequently, laid great stress on colporteur work. Before Protestant missionaries arrived in Korea, the Ross version of the New Testament was already circulating throughout the country, and little bands of believers in the new teaching had begun to form.⁴

B. The Arrival of the First Missionaries (1884 to 1890)

We have indicated above that the Protestant church in Korea came into being before there were any missionaries actually present in the country, and that this was a direct result of the type of mission policy adopted by John Ross. The first Protestant Korean was Yi Ung-ch'an, who had been the language tutor of both Ross and MacIntyre. More famous than Yi were the two Sŏ brothers, Sŏ Sang-yun and Sŏ Sang-u. These brothers, like Yi Ung-ch'an, had lost all their

mercantile capital and felt depressed to the point of suicide. The elder brother Sang-yun, who was extremely ill, was taken to the hospital in Niu-chuang and recovered. Both brothers were converted through the kind efforts of the two missionaries. While the younger brother returned to the home village of So-rae in Hwang-hae Province, the elder brother stayed behind to help with the translation of the New Testament. Sŏ Sang-u, the younger brother, helped in the dissemination of Christianity in his home district, and was later baptized in 1887 by the Rev. Horace Grant Underwood. In 1907, he was among the first seven men to be ordained to the Presbyterian ministry in Korea. An impoverished pedlar of oriental medicines employed by Ross as a typesetter for the New Testament seemed to be a most unpromising candidate. Nonetheless, having read the New Testament as he set the type for printing it, he came to believe and was sent off by Ross as a colporteur. He worked for some six months amongst the Koreans who had settled across the Korean border in the deep valleys of eastern Manchuria. He was eminently successful. He returned to Ross urging him to go with him on his second trip. Ross did not go, but this colporteur returned again full of enthusiasm for the work in that remote area. Finally, in the winter of 1884, Ross accompanied by a young missionary, James Webster, made the arduous journey, and was surprised at what he found. He baptized seventy-five persons on this trip.¹

On the eve of the commencement of Protestant missions in Korea, we find that, 1) Koreans had already been converted to Protestant Christianity, 2) they were engaged in its propagation in several areas, 3) that the Bible was beginning to be circulated in quantity,

and 4) Christianity was established amongst the Korean diaspora in Manchuria. The Church was already established; it only needed further nourishing to begin to flourish.

We have seen how John Ross had encouraged the commencement of evangelization in Korea. While this was going on, from several other sources, plans were being made to send foreign missionaries into the Hermit Kingdom. Perhaps the first foreign Protestant on Korean soil to propagate that branch of Christianity was a Japanese Christian, Nagasaka, who acted as an agent for the National Bible Society of Scotland in Tōkyō. He went to Pu-san in June 1883 in order to distribute Gospels and tracts in Korean, and to sell complete Bibles in both Chinese and Japanese.²

Another source of support for missionary endeavour in Korea came from missionaries in Japan who had made the acquaintance of the ever increasing numbers of Korean students who went there to study. These men came to feel that Korea was a mission field ripe for harvesting, and sent letters to the various home boards urging the commencement of missions there. The missionaries seemed to feel that young progressive Korean intellectuals were open as never before to Western ideas, and that this desire to acquire Western knowledge provided a point of entree for Christianity. Another impetus for foreign missionary work came from an interesting source. Yi Su-chōng (1842 to 1886) was a young member of the Korean government who had been instrumental in protecting the life of the queen during the army rebellion of 1882. Because of his role in countering this revolt, he was made a member of the diplomatic mission sent later in that year to Japan to smooth over the strained relations between the two nations. One day, seeing a scroll with the Sermon on the Mount hanging on the

wall in the home of a Japanese Christian, he became interested in Christianity and was baptized by a Japanese minister, Yasukawa, in the following year. Along with Henry Loomis of the American Bible Society in Yokohama, he translated the four Gospels into Korean. Later on, he had the opportunity to teach Korean to H. G. Underwood and Henry Appenzeller, two of the earliest Protestant missionaries to Korea. They also received a copy of his translation of the Gospels from his hands. In March of 1884, he sent out a special plea to the American churches to send missionaries to evangelize his homeland. Upon returning to Korea, he was murdered in May of 1886 by members of a faction at court opposed to the one to which he belonged.³

While the first diplomatic mission from Korea to the United States was travelling across the continent, a prominent young member of the mission, Min Yong-ik (1860 to 1914), became friendly with an important American educator, Dr John F. Goucher of Baltimore, Maryland. Dr Goucher was so impressed by this young man that he suggested that the Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church become involved in developing a mission in Korea, and contributed two thousand dollars towards the establishment of that work. He was unsuccessful with the Board, and finally prevailed upon his friend and missionary to Japan, Robert Maclay, to see about the possibility of the establishment of a mission there. He did, and was eventually able to secure land for educational and medical purposes. This effort was crowned with success in late 1884 by the appointment of Dr and Mrs W. B. Scranton, his mother Mrs Mary Scranton, and the Rev. and Mrs Henry Appenzeller as the first missionaries to Korea from the Methodist Episcopal Church. Similar efforts in the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, traceable to the letter of

Yi Su-chǒng, resulted in the appointment of Dr Horace N. Allen to be physician to the American and other foreign diplomatic missions in Sŏ-ul. Dr Allen arrived in the Korean capital in September of 1884, and thus lays claim to being the first Western missionary to Korea.⁴

Between the time of the arrival of Dr Allen and the other missionaries appointed to this new field, a dramatic event took place, the Émeute of 1884 or the Kap-shin Coup which temporarily overthrew the conservative government of the time. Prince Min Yong-ik, as one of the leaders of the conservative faction at court, was set upon, brutally slashed, and left to bleed to death. At the point of death, he was brought to Dr Allen whose meticulous care of the young prince over a period of many months gave the king and queen great confidence in Western medicine, and in Dr Allen in particular. Therefore, when Dr Allen petitioned the throne for the establishment of a hospital using Western medicine which was to be funded by 'a benevolent society in America', it was readily granted. This hospital was opened on April 10, 1885, and bore the name Kwang-hye Wŏn.⁵

The first clerical missionary from the northern Presbyterian Board of Missions was the Rev. Horace G. Underwood. After a sojourn in Japan during which time he studied the Korean language with Yi Su-chǒng, he arrived in Sŏ-ul on April 5, 1885. The Scrantons and the Appenzellers, mentioned before, arrived in Japan on March 5 of that year. The Scrantons stayed behind for language study, but the Appenzellers went on ahead in the company of the Rev. Underwood. Because of the unsettled political conditions, the Appenzellers were requested by the American chargé d'affaires to return to Japan. They were able to return shortly and to take up their task.⁶

The arrival of the first missionaries was augmented over the next five years by the addition of several more men and women. With this increase in numbers, the first missionary organizations were established. As it was impossible at this early date to go about direct evangelization of the populace, it was decided to use indirect methods of evangelization such as medical and educational work. This was important not only because there were still lingering restrictions against proselytization but also because it was essential that the missionaries should gain an adequate knowledge of Korean. It must be recalled that there were no modern linguistic aids to help them gain a command of this language, and that many young intellectuals were eager to acquire Western scientific knowledge, and to learn to speak English. For these reasons, institutional work preceded evangelism and as a consequence, many of the major Christian institutions of the country trace their origins back to this period or shortly thereafter. We shall discuss a few of these briefly.

As the reader will recall, Dr Allen founded the government hospital, the Kwang-hye Wŏn. When Dr Scranton, a Methodist, arrived, he began to assist the former in his work there. However, with the subsequent arrival of Dr John Heron, another Presbyterian, Dr Scranton left the government dispensary. By September of 1885, he had established a dispensary of his own which became the basis of the hospital of the Methodist Episcopal Mission. The Methodists emphasized medical care for the poorest strata of the society, whilst the Presbyterians concentrated on the development of hospital work and the training up of a native medical profession. Methodist medical work was augmented in October of 1887 with the arrival of a woman doctor and the establishment of a women's dispensary.⁷

Education in a Confucian society was prized not only for its intrinsic value, but for the access which it gave to the bureaucracy of the civil service. It should come as no surprise to us that Koreans were eager for new educational challenges. Mr Appenzeller, having been informed through the agency of the American representative in Sŏ-ul that the king would place no bar in the way of the establishment of a school for boys, set about the creation of such an institution. It began tentatively on 8 June 1886. Its progress, however, was such that by the next year it was given a name which had been selected by the king as a sign of royal approval. This school was the Pai Chai Hak Tang (Pae-chae Hak-tang).

At about the same time that the Pai Chai Hak Tang was founded, Mrs Scranton senior decided to found a school for young girls. By 1888, there were eighteen students enrolled. The plan was to train the girls to be superior wives and mothers, and to be missionaries for the Faith. As with the Pai Chai School, this school was given royal approval. The queen gave to it the name Ehwa Hak Tang (Yi-hwa Hak-tang), which became the basis for both Ehwa Girls' High School and Ehwa Women's University. The Presbyterians were not far behind their Methodist brethren in establishing an institution for girls. Though initiated in 1889, it only began in earnest in 1890. A boy's school was created in the same year.⁸

There were a number of other institutions founded during the formative period. Firstly, there was the Korean Religious Tract Society. The creation of this society was of no minor importance when one considers the role of the Scriptures and tracts which circulated in Korea well before the stationing of missionaries in the country. It was officially constituted on 25 June 1890. The

Tri-lingual Press also had its origins in this period, dating back to 1888. Perhaps the single most important task which was undertaken was the translation of the Scriptures into Korean. Although there were both the Ross and Yi Su-chŏng versions of the New Testament, and in spite of various attempts to improve these translations, it was felt that a totally fresh start must be made. A meeting of all the missionaries in Sŏ-ul was held in early 1887, and an organization was created for the translation of Scripture which was divided into three committees, a Permanent Bible Committee, a Translating Committee, and a Revising Committee. By 1890, the Gospels of Mark, Luke, and John had been published.

These developments ought not to obscure the fact that there was still animosity towards foreigners and towards the religion of the foreigners. The initial policy of the Protestant missionaries had been one of cautious approach to the government. The Roman Catholic Church, however, was not as tactful in its relationships with the Korean court. This was due in part to the close ties which existed between the Catholic mission which was French and the French legation. The Catholic Church began to build their cathedral on a site which overlooked one of the royal palaces and the Chong-myo, the shrine dedicated to the royal ancestors. The refusal to change the site when requested to do so led to a decree prohibiting evangelism and religious propaganda in May of 1888. This interdict remained in force until September of the year.¹⁰ This and other incidents during the first five years of mission work showed that whilst the Protestant missionaries had built up a fund of good will, there was still much uncertainty and fear of foreigners.

From the beginning the missionaries adopted a policy called the Nevius Method after Dr John L. Nevius (1829 to 1893) of Shan-tung China. The 'method' emphasized a self-supporting, self-propagating, independent church. It laid great stress on converts remaining in the place or station in life in which they had been found when they were converted. The hope was that they would be evangelists amongst those with whom they came into contact, and thus prevent the creation of a special class of evangelists. The impact of these methods and the work of the first missionaries was fourfold. First, they brought knowledge of Western science and technology. Second, they introduced modern educational curricula and education for women. Third, the concept of institutional philanthropy as opposed to personal generosity was taught through the creation of hospitals, orphanages, and schools. Fourth, the publication of the Bible in the Korean alphabet initiated the widespread use of the vernacular script.¹¹

C. The Expansion of Missionary Endeavour (1891 to 1897)

During the 1890s, the missions in Korea began to establish a church organization, to expand their range of work, and to see their own work augmented by the arrival of new groups. All of these events took place against the background of one of the most turbulent times in modern Korean history. As we have indicated, Japan, China, and Russia vied with each other for supremacy in the peninsula, a full-scale rebellion led by the Tong-haks broke out, and Korea established its nominal independence from China with the announcement of the creation of the Empire of Tae-Han. Anti-Japanese feeling was stirred during this period by Japanese intervention in the Tong-hak affair, Japanese complicity in the murder of the queen, and the imposition on

Korea of the Kae-hwa reforms by the Japanese. In discussing the work of the missions in this period, we shall also mention the reaction of the early missionaries to the political situation of the time.

The most important characteristic of this period is that missionary work, which had up to this time been confined largely to Sŏ-ul, was expanded considerably. During this period there were a number of exploratory trips taken to the outlying areas of the country to determine suitable places for the establishment of mission stations. As early as 1887, such a trip had been undertaken by H. G. Underwood through Kae-sŏng (formerly Sŏng-do), P'yŏng-yang, and Ŭi-chu. The northwest had been explored by 1890. In 1891 James Gale and Samuel Moffett undertook a long journey through north Korea, and on into Manchuria as far as Mukden where they visited John Ross. Other missionaries made further trips of exploration in the south, encompassing the Ch'ung-ch'ŏng, Chŏl-la, and Kyŏng-sang Provinces, so that by the eve of the Tong-hak Rebellion and the Sino-Japanese War, the whole of the peninsula had been explored by the missionaries.¹

The missionary work to date had been undertaken by the northern Presbyterians and the northern Methodists. In this period, their efforts were aided by the arrival of missionaries from other churches and mission bodies. Four churches added their efforts to Korea, the Church of England, the Presbyterian Church of Victoria (Australia), the Presbyterian Church in the United States (southern Presbyterian), and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. The work of the Church of England was undertaken by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (S.P.G.) which inclined toward a high ecclesiology, theology, and liturgy. Their work centred initially in Sŏ-ul, the port of Che-mul P'o, and the island of Kang-hwa. The

involvement of the Presbyterian Church of Victoria dates back to the independent missionary endeavours of Rev. J. Henry Davies in 1890. His tragic death from smallpox and pneumonia in Pu-san stirred up the Australian church so that within a matter of months, they had sent out five missionaries to work in the Pu-san vicinity. The Presbyterian Church in the United States became interested in mission work in Korea through the talks given by H. G. Underwood while he was itinerating on his furlough in 1891. Several leading churchmen were inspired by Underwood's description of the Korean mission and convinced their Executive Committee for Foreign Missions to contribute to the work. By November 3, 1892, all seven of the newly appointed missionaries had arrived in Sŏ-ul. The last of the major denominations to come in was the southern Methodist Church. A young aristocrat who had become a Christian, Yun Ch'i-ho (1865 to 1945), was the instrument for involving this church in mission work in Korea. He contributed funds to its establishment and assisted in the necessary arrangements for the initiation of the work in Sŏ-ul. The first missionary arrived in 1896.²

Besides these official church organizations, there were independent mission efforts. Among these, the more notable were by the mission body of the Toronto University Y.M.C.A. By 1892, they had sent three missionaries, James S. Gale, and Dr and Mrs R. A. Hardie, all of whom later became associated with one of the official church missions. Aside from the Y.M.C.A., another Canadian effort of interest was the work of Malcolm C. Fenwick, who founded the Korea Inland Mission in 1893. Another Canadian independent missionary was the Rev. William J. Mackenzie who worked in Korea from late 1893 to his tragic death in May of 1895. Lastly, the Clarendon Street

Baptist Church of Boston, Massachusetts set up a mission in 1895 with five missionaries. The work of this group eventually came under the care of Mr Fenwick's mission.³

A significant development was the creation of a comity agreement amongst the Presbyterian missions. The increasing number of missionaries and mission bodies necessitated such an agreement. A 'Council of Missions Holding the Presbyterian Form of Government' was created in 1893. One of the first fruits of this group was the acceptance of a comity agreement which precluded territorial disputes amongst the members of the council.⁴

Having established the basis of the mission, during this same period the early missionaries turned their thoughts to the creation of an independent church and ministry. As none of the missionaries could be spared for the special task of teaching in a theological school, the expedient thing was the creation of training classes which lasted for four to six weeks and which were held in Sŏ-ul or in P'yŏng-yang. There was also an attempt amongst the Presbyterian missionaries to organize a rudimentary church organization. Until it was large enough and capable enough to form an indigenous church, the churches were to be administered by the Council of Missions. Thus only missionaries could receive converts or administer the sacraments. By the end of this period, some of the first Methodist and Presbyterian churches had proved themselves to be largely self-supporting. Some of the older, more established churches sent out evangelists of their own to work in various areas outside the capital.⁵

The institutional work which had been established was carried forward and expanded. Educational work was primarily in Methodist hands. Both Ehwa Hak Tang and Pai Chai Hak Tang did extremely well

in terms of the numbers of students. The main problems centred on the provision of an adequate curriculum. A reading of materials about this period leaves one with the feeling that the early missionaries were not prepared fully to handle the immense task which had been given to them. The Presbyterian mission had to close down their boys' school in Sŏ-ul in 1897. The girls' school fared somewhat better. Medical work was greatly expanded. The government hospital, Kwang-hye Wŏn, was placed under the care of Dr O R Avison who reformed its administration. A dispensary for women and children was established by the Presbyterians. Dr and Mrs Hugh Brown, both of whom were physicians, began medical work in Pu-san. In 1896, the Presbyterian Mission in P'yŏng-yang had been opened. The Methodists, besides continuing their already established work in Sŏ-ul, opened a dispensary for women in P'yŏng-yang in 1894, and began work in Wŏn-san in 1896. Anglican missionaries assisted in the Methodist hospital in Sŏ-ul, established a small unit of their own there and another one in the port of Che-mul P'o. Paik notes that during this period the character of these medical institutions changed from being a means to convince the general populace of the good will of the missionaries to an important evangelistic tool.⁶

Various literary endeavours were taken up. First, large numbers of tracts, leaflets, catechisms, and guides to Christian living were written. James Gale and his wife translated Pilgrim's Progress into Korean in 1894. Several books of grammar and vocabulary lists came out at this time, as well as James Gale's Korean-English Dictionary in 1896. James Scott of the British legation wrote A Corean Manual or Phrase Book, and his English-Corean Dictionary. Horace Underwood compiled his A Concise Dictionary of

the Korean Language and his An Introduction to the Korean Spoken Language during this same time. By 1896, at least three different hymnals were in use. The translation of the Bible and the circulation of the tentative version had taken place.⁷

It is interesting to note that during this time, the missionaries had to face the same two basic problems which had vexed the Catholic missionaries in China. These were, of course, the Rites Controversy, and the Term Problem. With regard to the question of a church member performing che-sa for his ancestors, the missionaries were quite firm. In this they followed the precedent of their colleagues in Japan and China. James Gale had attempted to resolve the problem by the distribution of a questionnaire, asking church members what the Christian practice ought to be. The proper term to use for the Supreme Being was a more vexing problem. At one point, the confusion over which among several terms to use was so great, that in one collection of hymns, a blank space was left for the singer to put in whatever word was used locally. The Protestants settled finally on a variant of the indigenous Korean word, Ha-nūl-nim. The Catholics and the Anglicans opted for the term in use in China by the Catholic Church, Ch'ŏn-chu (T'ien-chu). Thus by the end of the century, the church which had been planted before the arrival of any missionaries had now been established institutionally. The country had been explored for mission work; medical and educational work had been forwarded; Bible translations and literary work were pursued; preliminary attempts to raise up an indigenous clergy had begun.⁸

In summarizing the events of this period, the peculiar role which the missionaries played at the royal court cannot be overlooked.

During their first five years of residence, the missionaries had so well established their role as disinterested friends of the Korean people that they came to be looked upon by many, in particular the king and queen, as dependable persons to turn to in adversity. This neutral role is nowhere better illustrated than during the period immediately following the Japanese inspired murder of Queen Min. Because the king feared for his life, Mrs H. G. Underwood sent prepared food to him in a locked box each day. The key to this box was carried over by Mr Underwood and placed directly in the hands of the Korean monarch. On another occasion, when the king feared for his life, he requested that Mr Underwood, Mr Homer Hulbert, Dr Avison and other missionaries stand guard over his bed throughout the night.⁹

Finally, a word must be said about the condition of Buddhism at this time. All writers of the time seem to be agreed that Buddhism at the end of the Yi Dynasty was not an influential spiritual or cultural force in the society. Although it possessed in its temples many of the glories of Korean art, and still could attract many persons to its festivals, most foreign observers of the time felt that not only was it lacking in influence, but that it would die out eventually.¹⁰

D. The Formal Organization of the Church (1897 to 1910)

In the previous sections of this chapter, we have drawn a distinction between the origin of the Church, and the origin of foreign missions in Korea. In the period now under discussion, this distinction is even more clearly seen as the formal organization of the Church begins to take place. As before, the political and

cultural conditions of the Church were highly unsettled. Although Korea had asserted her international equality with China and Japan when her king was elevated to imperial status, the nation was not able to maintain the political integrity which that new style indicated. During this period, the three-sided conflict for hegemony in Korea between China, Japan, and Russia had by this point become a two-sided fight between Japan and Russia. With Japan's victory in the Russo-Japanese War, Korea's fate was sealed. She moved from a condition of weak independence to the status of a protected state until finally she was absorbed completely by the Japanese Empire. Patriotism was greatly aroused at this time and found its outlet in a variety of ways. How was the Church to respond to these conditions? What political stance were the foreign missionaries to take?

Characteristic of the Church and mission during this time was the expansion of educational, medical, and evangelistic activities, the movement toward comity agreements and extensive co-operation in work, the formal establishment of the organizational church, and the evangelistic movement which grew out of the 1907 Revival.

Evangelistic work in the northwest was carried on by the northern Presbyterians who could report 3,000 members there by 1902. The northern Methodists carried on in Wŏn-san until they gave up their work to the southern Methodists in 1902. The work of the northern Presbyterians there was turned over to the Canadian Presbyterians in 1899. The Canadian mission then proceeded to extend its evangelistic work into the Ham-kyōng Provinces. The northern Presbyterian mission in central Korea by 1906, registered over four thousand six hundred adherents. Elsewhere, this pattern of steady increase can be shown to be the norm. In 1897, the northern Presbyterians opened a mission

in the city of Tae-ku in the southeast. In Tae-ku in 1899, there was one church with twenty-five adherents. By 1905, there were forty-two churches with nearly two thousand adherents. A large part of the success of the pioneer missions can be attributed to the missionary emphasis on self-support. Self-support meant that from the beginning Korean Christians were encouraged to take direct responsibility for the support of evangelistic work among their people, and for the construction and maintenance of their own places of worship. Paik feels that the pursuance of this policy from the first avoided the dangers of imposing a Western Christianity and the ascription of 'religious imperialism'. Financial support as we have indicated above was connected intimately with the idea of self-propagation. This worked in two ways. The inauguration of new places for evangelization and the creation of new church groups were often done by indigenous church leaders who saw that their work was not only to maintain the Church as it was, but to extend it. Another way in which evangelism took place was through family and community ties. Often converts were able to use already established social links as avenues through which they could interest non-believers in the message of the Church.¹

The Methodist churches, being American in origin, had an episcopal structure and could more easily begin the process of establishing a permanent and formal church structure. In 1901, two men, Kim Ch'ang-shik (1851 to 1929) and Kim Ki-pŏm were ordained as deacons. In 1904, the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church approved the creation of the Korean Missionary Conference, and the appointment of a bishop to supervise its work. The Presbyterians were slower than the Methodists in their preparation of candidates for

the ministry and the erection of a church organization. However, by 1901, a Union Theological Seminary had been created for the training of ministers and, by 1907, the first group of men were ready to present themselves for ordination. In that year and with the approval of the home churches, the Presbytery of Korea was created with Mr Samuel Moffett as moderator and a constituency of some seventy thousand persons. One interesting aspect of this new presbytery was that within two years of its foundation it had sent four men on mission work outside of the Korean peninsula.²

The educational work in Sŏ-ul was carried on by three groups, the northern Methodists, the southern Methodists, and the northern Presbyterians. All three groups operated schools for girls, whilst only the northern Methodists had a school for boys. As the greatest evangelistic advance had taken place in the P'yŏng-yang vicinity, it is only natural that more attention was paid to education in that city. A secondary school and a college were founded during this period. The latter was opened in 1906, with a student body of twelve. A network of primary and secondary schools was created which had a curriculum emphasizing self-help where students worked as well as studied. In the first decade of the present century, it could be said that the church had charge of the only complete educational system in the country. The old Confucian system had faded away, and the new Japanese government had not developed its own system. Only the Church had a system which provided education from primary to college level. One interesting development cannot be overlooked in a discussion of this period namely, that it was not the foreign missionaries alone who established schools but the Korean Christians themselves. After the establishment of the Japanese Protectorate in

1905, numbers of rural schools grew up. This would appear to have been the result of a feeling that Korea's political humiliation was due to her educational backwardness. Christians took a lead in the establishment of these schools which became the first link in the chain which bound together Korean nationalism and the new religion. Physical exercise, drill training, and field-day exercises became common place. The drill masters were often former members of the disbanded Korean army. The Japanese government became alarmed at the practices of these schools and set out a law in 1908 which required all private educational institutions to register with the government. Because the missions feared that this would mean the elimination of religious instruction in school, they protested. The extra-territorial status of the missionaries helped them to be exempted from this requirement. Nonetheless, the problems of registering schools to comply with changing government standards dates from this time.³

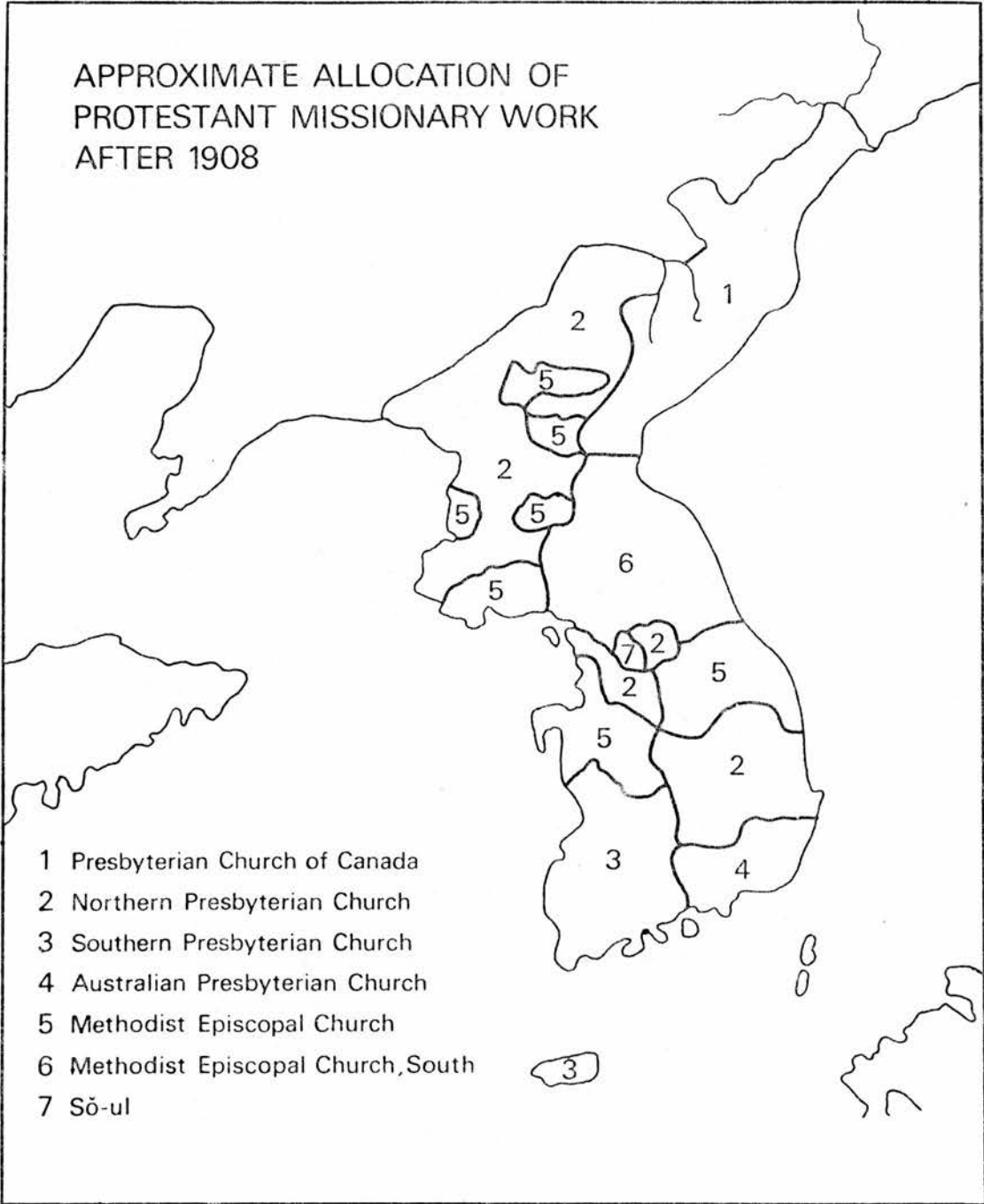
Medical work continued to increase in this period, although there were some set-backs, such as the closure of the hospital run by the northern Methodists in Sŏ-ul. Medical work was initiated in this period in Wŏn-san, Sŏng-do, Kun-san, Chŏn-chu, Mok-p'o, Tae-ku, and Chin-chu. More importantly, the serious task of medical education, the raising up of a corps of indigenous doctors skilled in Western medicine, was addressed with the foundation of the Severance Union Medical College. It is important to point out that from the first, women were trained to be physicians.⁴

We have already noted in a previous section that the Presbyterians at a very early period arrived at an agreement to co-ordinate their activities. This agreement was followed by a parallel

commitment by the Methodists. These co-operative pacts led to a feeling that co-operation ought not to be limited to intra-denominational assistance but should encompass inter-denominational co-operation as well. At a joint missionary meeting held in Sŏ-ul, it was decided that there should be a common hymnal, and the issuance of a joint newspaper. Perhaps the most important wish expressed in that meeting was the desire for "the establishment of one Korean National Church, to be called the Church of Christ in Korea". This wish was never to come to fruition, but it does indicate the strong feelings of many missionaries on the subject. One outcome of the sentiment was the adjudication of territorial disputes. By 1908, each mission operated within an agreed sphere of influence.⁵

From the discussion above it will be quite plain what were the views of the Korean Christians as regards nationalism. One must now ask what the attitude of the missionaries was. The stated policy was neutrality in politics. But as one Korean friend of the foreign missionaries pointed out, this attitude while apparently neutral tended toward the acceptance of the new status. This is certainly not true of everyone, as books by Homer Hulbert and F. A. Mackenzie give eloquent witness. Nonetheless, it is true to say that many missionaries at least took a passive role in this matter. The Japanese knew the importance of the missionary in keeping the churches stable and quiet and set out to convince them of the necessity of Japanese rule. The Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Government General of Chōsen gave a lecture to the assembled members of the Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch, in which he stated that Japan and Korea were in reality one nation, long separated and now re-united through the annexation of Korea by Japan.⁶

APPROXIMATE ALLOCATION OF
PROTESTANT MISSIONARY WORK
AFTER 1908



It is against this background of rising national feelings that we must set one of the great events of Korean church history, the Revival of 1907. The spiritual factors were threefold, the sense of divisions within the Christian movement and slowed growth, the desire for enlightened spiritual experiences, and the desire by the missionaries to inaugurate a revival in church life. Beginning with the Bible Training Class held in P'yŏng-yang in January 1907, this great movement of revival swept over the whole Christian population of the nation. Although it involved mass meetings, with emotional expressions of sin and public confession, it was not a pentecostal movement in the ordinary sense. It did have one direct effect in that it was responsible for the initiation of the 'Million Movement', a movement for the mass evangelization of the nation. Thus, at a critical time, the Revival of 1907 stirred up a church which had begun to flag in its development, caused the foreign missionaries to rededicate themselves to their task, and offered an outlet for the expression of Korean nationalism.⁷

E. The Church under Japanese Domination (1910 to 1945)

In 1910, the fledgling Korean church entered a new era, in which the nation to which it belonged had been absorbed into the Japanese Empire. In the first decade following the annexation, Korean history was dominated by nationalistic stirrings and the movement for the reassertion of the independence of the nation. It is not surprising that the Church itself was affected by the currents of these times. Two events played a crucial part in the way in which the Church was viewed by the general populace. These were the Conspiracy Trial of 1911, and the Independence Movement of

1919. These two events will frame our discussion of the first decade of Japanese rule.

At the time of the annexation, the Church must have appeared to the new government to be the one organized body of Koreans capable of opposing its rule. This view must have been heightened by such seditious sounding hymns as 'Onward Christian Soldiers'. In the case of the Salvation Army the very military-like organisation of the church must have suggested ulterior motives to the suspicious new rulers. The Government-General of Chōsen claimed that it had uncovered a plot to assassinate the Governor-General, Terauchi Masataka (1852 to 1919) on December 29, 1910. Early in the following year, investigations were begun which led to the arrest of 124 persons, 123 of whom were brought to trial. 105 of these men were imprisoned on the basis of evidence of very dubious origin which was most probably obtained under torture. Appeals against these charges led to the eventual acquittal of 99 men. The remaining six were given sentences of six years. Among the men so imprisoned was Yun Ch'i'-ho, the prominent Methodist layman. All six were eventually released under imperial clemency in February 1915. The fact that ninety-eight of the original number were Christians gives good witness to the fear in which the Japanese government held the Christian Church. The effect of these trials and prison sentences was to hold up the Church before the nation as a whole. Nothing could have shown more clearly that being a Christian did not mean the rejection of nationalistic feelings. This was particularly important in the case of the northern Methodists as their bishop, Merriman C. Harris, who was notoriously pro-Japanese had nearly provoked a revolt amongst the Korean Methodists during the annual conference of 1913.¹

Once in political control of the nation, the Japanese government made attempts to place the educational system on a firm Japanese basis. As the Church had the only complete system of education, and as its theological position prohibited it from easy acceptance of Japanese mythology as history, the Government-General must have seen the Church as one of the principal impediments to the successful implementation of its policies. In 1908, an ordinance had been issued stating that the educational curricula of all schools in Korea must conform to the Japanese Emperor's Rescript on Education. This document, which formed the basis of Japanese education until the conclusion of the Second World War, stated that the aim of education was to create loyal subjects of the Japanese Emperor. This statement, innocuous enough in its own national context, could only be a goad to Korean nationalism. The ordinance of 1908 was revised in 1915 to bring private schools, i.e. church schools, into conformity with government schools. Its provisions included ones stating that instruction must be given in Japanese, the language of the nation, and that teachers in private schools must have 'proper' qualifications. This latter requirement was obviously an open-ended ruling to justify later decisions. It was said but not officially stated that neither the teaching of religion (Christianity), nor the holding of religious services in schools would be permitted in the future. There was great division amongst the missionaries as to the proper course in these circumstances. Certification with the government did provide official sanction for their work, but also ran the hazards of new and more stringent regulations or suppression by decree. Eventually an agreement was reached through the agency of the American Consul-General. Methodists tended toward conformity with the regulations

whilst Presbyterians were often opposed to it. Samuel Moffett was one who resisted conformity on the basis that implementation had to take ten years, and that the circumstances might change in that time. This was in 1917. By 1919, the circumstances had altered dramatically.²

The Independence Movement of 1919 was composed, as we have indicated previously, of a large number of Protestant Christians. Nearly half of the signers of the Declaration of Independence were Protestants. These men had a significant influence on the nature of the movement, especially through their insistence on non-violence. This characteristic of the Korean demonstration stood in stark contrast to the brutal Japanese attempt to suppress it. The non-violence of the Koreans won them much sympathy in the Western world. The harsh measures which the Japanese took against the Korean Christians made manifest the Japanese animosity towards the Church. Twenty-three persons in one Methodist church were killed in a massacre, and another church reported 173 of its members imprisoned or killed out of a congregation of 334. Three Methodist circuits reported the destruction of seven churches by the Japanese army. The brutal suppression of this movement and the singling out of Christians for persecution forged another link with Korean nationalism. A curious side effect of the movement was that many Christians reported that imprisonment provided them with an opportunity for evangelism.³

In late 1919, Bishop Herbert Welch of the northern Methodist mission had conversations with the new Governor-General, Baron Saitō Makoto (1858 to 1936), at the latter's request. This eventually led to conversations with other mission bodies with the result that they

secured specific permission for a wide range of missionary endeavours. The Federal Council of Missions also prepared a statement condemning Japanese treatment of political prisoners which was received with serious attention by the authorities. One effect of these conversations was that the Government-General eased its regulations concerning education. They created a two-tier system of certified schools which met the educational requirements, and designated schools which met all government requirements except those concerned with the teaching of religion. To obtain this concession, however, the missions agreed to teach in Japanese.⁴

All of the major problems which the Church had to face in Japanese Korea may be shown to have existed in the first decade of Japanese imperial administration. The principal characteristic of the history of Japanese rule in Korea is the violent clash of the nationalisms of the two people. As we have seen the Church as an integral part of Korean society was involved inevitably in this conflict. In later years, the conflict between nationalisms came up in another guise as the Shintō Shrine Controversy, in which nationalistic conflict was expressed as a theological conflict. To this conflict was added the problem of Japanese control of the Church's school system. Worship at Shintō shrines was demanded of all faculty and students, regardless of whether they were members of a private or government school.

As we have indicated, the Japanese handling of the Korean demonstration for independence in 1919 was a disaster for Japan's image in the Western world. The Governor-General of the time was replaced by Baron Saitō, who initiated a more conciliatory policy toward Korean nationalism. There was a general loosening of

restrictions on freedom of speech and freedom of the press, greater attention was paid to Korean cultural traditions and, more importantly, the police were removed from the control of the military to civilian control. While there did seem to be a generally more favourable attitude by Japanese officialdom toward Christianity, this may have been done to quiet what could have been a potentially restless segment of the nation. Points of contention with the government began to emerge, however, such as the construction of the Chōsen Shintō Shrine in Sō-ul in 1925. School children were asked to come to this shrine to pay their respects to the Emperor of Japan and his divine ancestors. At this juncture students at Christian schools were exempted from this demand.⁵

As the second decade of Japanese rule was quieter than the first decade, the Church concentrated on the more mundane problems of institutional development. For Methodist missions in Korea, the most important event of this decade was the union of the native churches to form a single Korean Methodist Church, which occurred officially with the election of Yang (Sam-chu) (1879 - ?) as its first bishop. At that time, the combined church possessed 900 churches and 150 ordained ministers. The most important aspect of this united church was its decision to assert its national character by the reformulation of the doctrine which it had received from the mother churches. The new church created its own creed which was expressive of its own sense of faith and practice, and which now has been accepted as an alternative creed of the American United Methodist Church.⁵

Education and medical work continued to be important aspects of the Church's outreach. Educational work was of two types, general education, and education in the teachings of the Church. Although as

far back as the 1890s there had been attempts to start Sunday Schools, this movement did not take root until 1907, when it was decided to use a single uniform curriculum for the whole Christian community. The International Uniform Graded Series was used from 1911. By 1920, Korea had 14,000 Sunday Schools throughout the peninsula. Local Sunday School conventions were held in 1921, 1925, and 1930.⁷

Two colleges existed prior to annexation, Union Christian College, P'yŏng-yang, and the Severance Union Medical College, Sŏ-ul. The number of colleges was increased with the founding of Ehwa Women's College in Sŏ-ul in 1910 and by the creation of Chosen Christian College in the same city in 1915. Thus throughout this period, the churches maintained the lead they had established in Korean education. During this period the general educational and evangelistic work was aided by the expansion of the work of the Religious Tract Society which published the Sunday School curriculum, hymnals, and other Christian aids. In 1919, it became the Christian Literature Society of Korea. In 1916, the Federal Council of Churches and Missions was created which provided a link with the international Church, sponsored joint evangelistic efforts, and carried on a campaign of evangelism amongst the 400,000 Koreans who had come to settle in Japan.⁸

Beginning in the middle of the third decade of Japanese rule in Korea, the government took stronger measures to control the Church in an effort to undermine the influence which it had on its members and on the nation as a whole. This was done in three ways. First, the Japanese authorities attempted to discredit the Church in the eyes of the nation by forcing it to approve of Christian attendance at worship conducted at Shintō shrines. This ran clearly counter to Christian teaching against worship of spirits. The issue was brought to a head

by the expulsion in 1935 of Drs George McCune and Samuel Moffett who had refused to attend services at the Shintō shrines. The government had attempted to force students and teachers at Christian schools to attend these rituals, which the missionaries flatly refused to do. In the end, the southern Presbyterians closed their schools altogether rather than compromise. The northern Presbyterian mission followed suit or turned over its schools to Korean control. The pressure which was placed on non-compliers was subtle, but effective. Teachers who had not complied would be visited by the police, and if found unco-operative would be duly noted on a list. Such persons often found great difficulty in obtaining the necessary food ration cards or permits which were required for various group activities. By the end of the decade, this soft approach had changed to one of direct confrontation. After the extension of the Japanese war in China in 1937, patriotism became a key issue for the military government. In the following year, through police harrassment of the Commissioners of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Korea, the Assembly passed a resolution approving attendance at shrine worship. The issue was put even more forcefully in 1940, when the puppet leadership of the Methodist and Presbyterian churches were forced to pass resolutions calling for the breaking of ties with Western churches, and the firm establishment of Japanese Christianity.⁹

In the second place, the Japanese authorities attempted to take direct control of the churches by controlling their elections, and by rearranging their structure to suit the political needs of the time. We have already seen how in 1938, and in 1940, the Japanese were able to coerce Korean Christian leaders into co-operating in their designs. Examples from Methodist history are instructive. Bishop Yang's

immediate successor in 1938 died within a year of his election, being succeeded by Chŏng Ch'un-su (1875 to 1951). Following his election and the visit of the Japanese Methodist Bishop Abe, a reform plan was pushed through to Japanize the Church. The Japanese and Korean Methodist churches were to be united. The seminary was to be reorganized to include military instruction and the teaching of Shintō. Foreigners were to be taken from positions of authority and all foreign sources of money were to be refused. By 1941, with further reorganization, the bishop had become the virtual dictator of the Methodist Church. Using this unchecked authority, twelve of the most prominent clergy were placed on the inactive list for anti-Japanese activities in the following year. In January of 1944, Bishop Chŏng directed that the use or teaching of the Old Testament and the Revelation of St John the Divine were to be prohibited. In the same year, thirty-six churches were closed and the properties sold. Among the more outrageous use of the proceeds from the sale of these properties was the refurbishing of a Methodist church in Sŏ-ul as a Shintō shrine. The Protestant church organizations had become so pliable to the Japanese demands after years of harrassment that they accepted the 'advice' of the Vice-Governor-General of Chōsen on June 25, 1945, that they form a single church. Although many missionaries had hoped for a united Korean church, the circumstances under which the union had been accomplished and the conclusion of the Second World War prevented a united church from coming to fruition.¹⁰

The third thing which the Japanese authorities in Korea attempted to do was to remove the foreign missionary from positions of authority in the Church, and eventually to deport him from the country. It must have seemed to the Japanese rulers that the missionaries as a

class provided an avenue of contact for Korean Christians with the outside world and as such constituted a threat to total Japanese domination of the Church. We have seen how Drs McCune and Moffett were deported for their contrary views on the issue of worship at Shintō shrines. Beginning around 1937, the government began a campaign to warn Korean citizens against contact with foreign spies. Anyone who had contact with foreigners would be assumed to be a spy. Through coercive measures, Korean friends of missionaries were encouraged to spy on them. In 1939, Dr H. D. Appenzeller was most unceremoniously removed as head of Pai Chai Hak Tang, the result of police pressure on Korean members of the faculty. It became increasingly difficult for Koreans to be seen associating with foreigners, unless they desired attention from the police. By late 1940, the situation had become untenable for the Korean and foreign Christians. By Christmas of that year, nearly ninety per cent of the mission staff had left Korea. The remaining missionaries were subjected to various forms of legal harrassment. Fines for 'undeclared' monies were imposed. Two missionaries were given sentences of ten months for removing Shintō house shrines from the homes of Korean Christians. An English missionary was given a ten month sentence for having listened to a short wave radio. Plans were laid for a nationwide Day of Prayer to be held on 28 February 1941. It never took place. On the day, the police arrested missionaries all over the country, and charged them with sedition under the Chōsen Pernicious Books and Prayers Temporary Control Act. By April of 1941, all missions except the northern Presbyterians had accepted withdrawal as the only course. With the declaration of war against America in December, the Governor-General of Chōsen ordered the detention and later expulsion of all foreign missionaries.¹¹

F. The Church in the Post-Liberation Period (1945 to 1974)

The conclusion of the Second World War brought liberation to Korea from decades of Japanese rule. It also meant that numerous ecclesiastical problems which were part of the residue of colonial rule had to be dealt with by the Korean Christians. It is important to remember that Korea had been without a missionary presence since 1941 and would not see a significant influx of foreign missionaries until 1947. Thus, the problems of the Korean Church racked by the legacy of colonial domination would be dealt with and solved by Koreans. It was a test of the maturity and stability of the Church. Outside political forces had divided the peninsula against the will of the Korean people. This meant that the Church while dealing with its colonial inheritance, at the same time had to deal with differing social and political conditions. We shall consider the situation in north Korea first.

Shortly after liberation, in November of 1945, representatives of the former presbyteries of the Korean Presbyterian Church and some representatives of the former Methodist and Holiness Churches met in P'yŏng-yang. Among decisions taken were those to establish a temporary joint presbytery until a General Assembly of the entire church could be held, a confession of sin in regard to the shrine controversy, a request for offending ministers and church officers to stay away from their pulpits for two months as an act of penance, and the call for a Campaign of Evangelism in Commemoration of Liberation (Tong-nip Ki-nyŏm Chŏn-to Hoe). Rather than continue in a united church, some Methodists had gathered in September to re-establish the Methodist structures as they had existed prior to the forced union.¹

Many of the Christians in the north played a leading role in the establishment of local governments in the twilight period of Japanese rule and prior to the establishment of a communist government. Two of the first parties established in north Korea, the Christian Social Democratic Party (Ki-tok-kyo Sa-hoe Min-chu Tang) and the Christian Liberal Party (Ki-tok-kyo Cha-yu Tang), obviously represented Christian political interests. In addition, many of the local governments which sprang up in the wake of the collapse of Japanese rule in north Korea had Christians who took a leading role. Thus, as with the Japanese government, the communist government came to see the Christian Church as the one organized form of opposition to its rule.²

The first clash of Church and state came in March of 1946, when the churches wished to hold the first commemoration of the 1919 uprising, and the government decided to schedule a People's Assembly for the purpose of creating a formal communist government. Commemorative gatherings which had been forbidden were held as planned, but were often broken up by gangs of toughs. Thereafter, the communist government conducted all important affairs on Sunday. The Joint Presbytery issued a protest to the government over this practice, to which the government responded by attempting to sow dissension amongst Christian leaders. The government formed a counter organization called the Christian League (Ki-tok-kyo Kyo-to Yŏn-maeng). By 1948, all church officers were required by law to belong to this league. This counter-church had organizations at every level of state administration, from the local to the national level. When all the positions of this structure had been filled, the leaders of the Joint Presbytery were arrested as leaders of an illegal body and

imprisoned. By 1950, virtually all church workers had been arrested except for those in the League itself. Churches were confiscated and their property used for secular purposes. Those who could, escaped to the south. Shortly before the outbreak of the civil war, the few remaining Christians of prominence were rounded up and executed en masse.³

The situation in south Korea during this time presents a very different picture. Generally, the political situation was very chaotic as the Americans, unlike the Russians, had made no plans for the assumption of power in Korea prior to the arrival of the American army. The religious situation was equally complex. There existed simultaneously movements to retain the Japanese imposed structure of church union, and plans to re-establish the dissolved denominations. On September 8, 1945, church leaders met to form a continuing united church, but several Methodists present left this meeting urging the re-establishment of their own denomination. One of the reasons for this bolting of delegates was the feeling that it was those church members who had collaborated with the Japanese who were arguing for the maintenance of the united church. Attempts to reconcile this issue continued throughout 1946, resulting in the creation of two separate Methodist bodies, one centred around the unionists, and one centred around the anti-unionists. In February of 1947, the Manifesto of Ninety-Six was issued which accused the collaborationists of four charges:

- (1) perversion of Scripture through the banning of the Old Testament,
- (2) corruption of Christianity by attempting to blend it with Shintō,

- (3) illegal sale of church property,
- (4) arbitrary and dictatorial use of church authority.

This declaration only inflamed the situation. Attempts at reconciliation dragged on until 1949, when in April of that year, the two Methodist bodies were joined into one. After the failure of the attempt to maintain a united church, the presbyteries of the Presbyterian Church of Korea in the south met in June of 1946 and constituted themselves as the Southern Division of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church. Its first action was the rescinding of the action permitting attendance at Shintō shrine worship. By the time the next General Assembly met in Tae-ku in 1947, it was decided to drop the designation of the assembly as the southern division of the Church. Thus, by the outbreak of the Korean war, religion as such had been suppressed in the northern half of the peninsula which had been the stronghold of Protestantism while, in the south, the old denominational structures had been re-established and various theological and ecclesiastical problems confronted.⁴

The decade 1950 to 1960 was dominated by the two types of events, the Korean civil war and the recovery from its aftermath, and an increase in divisions within the churches. During and after the war, the church had to confront the problem of assisting refugees from the north and displaced persons in the south, and the problem of rebuilding churches and church related institutions. In the first case, temporary housing had to be provided for the homeless, transportation had to be obtained for removing refugees, medical attention had to be provided, food and clothing distributed. All of these the Church endeavoured to carry out as best as it could. Missionaries were prominent in assisting the local church to perform its task.

Foreign missionaries also appealed to outside sources for funds. In one case, one American city gave \$40,000 in relief money. The war did have some curious effects. It spread Christians around the country into places where churches had not been established previously. It broke down the barriers of the comity agreement, as when Methodist refugees built churches in traditionally Presbyterian Pu-san.⁵

The truce brought cessation from war, but meant that the church had to rebuild its shattered physical plant. Some statistics are revealing. Two hundred and thirty-nine Methodist churches and 620 Presbyterian churches were totally or partially destroyed. To assist their sister denomination, the American Methodist bishops announced their Bishops' Appeal which netted over a million dollars U.S. The newly founded Yonsei University was granted \$100,000 for new buildings. Aid went to rural and urban churches, to fatherless families of church leaders, and to medical dispensaries which were set up all over the nation. The Church also instituted orphanages, which were a novelty in a nation which prided itself on its family system. One event of interest was that several foreign missionaries were involved in evangelism in the prisoner-of-war camps, which resulted in a number of conversions.⁶

One of the sad aspects of this decade is to see the divisions which emerged in the Christian churches. Most of these appear to have been the result of smouldering problems from the Japanese era. Because the Ko-ryō Seminary founded in 1946 by ministers from north Korea was not recognized by the General Assembly of 1951, its graduates resigned and established a new Presbyterian church popularly known as the Ko-ryō P'a. The Ko-ryō P'a strongly advocated

repentance for succumbing to Japanese pressure over the Shintō shrine question. In 1954, another split occurred over the recognition of the Cho-sŏn and P'yŏng-yang seminaries. The Cho-sŏn seminary did not disband as requested, and its followers broke with the General Assembly to form the Ki-tok-kyo Chang-no Hoe (Christian Presbyterian Church), to distinguish it from the Ye-su-kyo Chang-no Hoe (Jesus Presbyterian Church), as the church of the General Assembly called itself. This division in the Korean church was not helped by the appearance of certain fundamentalist American Presbyterians, such as Carl MacIntire, whose words only poured fuel on an already raging fire. A further split in the Presbyterian Church took place during the General Assembly of 1959. While both of these churches called themselves the Presbyterian Church of Korea, the divisions have also come to be distinguished by unfortunately similar popular designations, the Tong-hap P'a and the Hap-tong P'a.⁷

If the 1950s were characterized by the recovery from the effects of the civil war and the establishment of sectarian religion, the decade of the sixties can be said to have been characterized by the expansion of church involvement with society and the development of new forms of ministry. Looked at from the aspect of an expanding church, it is interesting to note that by 1969 the Korean Protestant churches had sent out missionaries to Taiwan, Japan, Sarawak, Pakistan, and Bolivia, and had sent out pastors for the overseas Korean communities in Brazil, the United States, south Vietnam, and other places in Southeast Asia. The Korean Church Service Association, a part of the National Council of Churches, on its own cared for the victims of natural disasters within the nation and beyond the nation's boundaries. Relief aid was sent by this body during the 1960s to

Pakistan on two occasions, and once to Turkey, 'Biafra', and to Japan. This missionary and service outreach would appear to be a sign of a maturing body of Christians.⁸

Internally, there were new developments, some of which are enumerated below. First of all, a significant indication of the emergence of the ecumenical movement was the decision to begin a completely new translation of the Bible which would be a Common Translation, to be used by all the Protestant and Catholic churches. The New Testament was published in 1971, and the Old Testament in 1977. This joint publication is also one indication of the increased emphasis which the Roman Catholic Church now places on instruction in Scripture. The Korean Church is also placing increased emphasis on mass communication. The Christian Broadcasting System, which was founded in 1954, by the early part of the following decade had established stations in Pu-san, Tae-ku, Kwang-ju, and I-ri. The programming of music and drama on these stations is rather like B.B.C. Radio Three, with some spot information of the church given at intervals. One of the best known drama groups in the country, the Ka-kyo Kuk-tan, is a Christian drama company which has made a point of performing in prisons, army bases, and other institutions.⁹

One of the most important social outreaches of the Church was the establishment of the House of Grace, a special home for the rehabilitation of prostitutes. Vocational training is given and the women are assisted in the location of work. Some ten per cent of the graduates presently own their own businesses. In 1963, a House of Hope was started to help prevent girls from going into prostitution. Women are assigned to work in Sŏ-ul Station to watch for young girls

coming up from the country who might be preyed upon by pimps. Between 1963 and 1970 over eleven thousand girls have been helped by this programme.¹⁰

Another area of social concern which has opened up is urban-industrial mission. Industrial chaplaincy in the Yong-tung P'oo industrial area of Sŏ-ul and in the textile factories of Tae-ku was established in this decade, as well as work amongst the coal miners of the east coast of Korea. Work has taken the form of straight evangelism, the placing of a worker-evangelist in an ordinary job to witness in his working hours, chaplaincy, and efforts to improve the lot of working families, better working conditions and fairer labour laws. With the great increase in the growth of the Korean economy in the last decade, this area has become the most sensitive part of the mission of the Korean Church.¹¹

Lastly, one must mention the chaplains' corps in the armed forces. Established in 1950, in 1955 there were 326 chaplains of whom 304 were Protestant ministers. By 1970, there were 372 chaplains, 310 of whom were Protestant ministers, 41 Catholic priests, and 21 Buddhist monks. Studies have shown that many soldiers become Christians during their mandatory years of military service through the efforts of the chaplains' corps.¹²

Social responsibility is not a new characteristic of the Church. We have seen how the early missionaries placed great emphasis on the development of good facilities for education and medical care. We have seen how the Church responded to the Japanese domination of the nation. Lastly, we have seen how the Church responded to the problems of assisting in the reconstruction of the nation after the civil war and the changing circumstances of a growing economy. To

the problems of economic change in the 1960s were added in the 1970s political problems. The regime of Pak Chǒng-hŭi altered the constitution in such a way that direct election of the president was no longer possible. The movement for the restoration of democracy which grew up after the creation of the Yu-shin Constitution has been led principally by Christians. A very large percentage of those who were imprisoned for anti-government activities were likewise Christian. After release many persons commented, as did their brothers during the Japanese period, that it gave them a chance to explain Christianity to the non-Christians. This concern for the restoration of democracy often went hand in hand with a desire for a greater sharing in the newly created wealth of the nation amongst the working classes. Missionaries who have become interested in these problems have been deported, whilst Korean ministers have faced imprisonment and worse. The challenge facing the Korean Church today is much as it was in the Japanese period, to confront a situation of inequality and injustice with a firm call for decency and justice.¹³

Chart 9-2 gives a comparison of church growth in the twentieth century with the trend of increase in the population. The aspect selected to represent the size of the Church for both the Protestant and Catholic communities is adherency. Number of adherents refers to the total Christian community, and thus is greater than figures for baptized Christians or figures for communicating members. Such figures, as are figures for the population itself, are general figures and are to a degree unreliable. Nonetheless, specific accuracy aside, they do indicate within bounds a rather unmistakable trend. Until the end of the Japanese period, neither the Protestant nor Catholic churches increased their percentage of representation

COMPARATIVE CHURCH GROWTH STATISTICS

Year	Population Size	Size of Protestant Churches	% of Population	Size of Catholic Church	% of Population	% of Christians in Population
1914	15,958,000	196,000	1.2	79,000 (est.)	0.5	1.7
1919	16,784,000	190,000	1.1	90,000	0.5	1.6
1929	18,784,000	244,000	1.3	110,000	0.6	1.9
1938	21,951,000	263,000	1.1	128,000	0.6	1.7
1949	20,167,000 (South only)	744,000	3.7	156,000	0.8	4.5
1957	22,949,000	844,000	3.7	285,000	1.2	4.9
1968	31,093,000	1,873,000	6.0	751,000	2.4	8.4
1970	31,469,000	3,193,000	10.1	788,000	2.5	12.6
1972	32,459,000 (est.)	3,452,000	10.6	804,000	2.5	13.1
1974	33,450,000	4,019,000	11.9	1,012,000	3.0	14.9

within the population of the nation, although there were increases in numbers of adherents. Even given the fact that the population base used for comparison in 1949 only represents southern Korea, there is an indication of a very significant increase in size at that time. The five year period following the conclusion of the civil war shows no percentage increase. However, in the decade following this, there is a dramatic increase which continues until the present. This indicates that the church reached a mature stage at some point late in the Japanese period and began to flourish after release from foreign domination. This growth was halted by the civil war, and its aftermath, after which the church again began to increase in size. This increase is all the more significant when placed against the historic background of war and political oppression which has been described above.

G. Conclusions

We may draw the following points about the development of the Protestant Church in Korea:

(1) It both accepted and rejected certain key values of the traditional culture. It found in the belief in Ha-nŭl-nim, the Lord of Heaven of the traditional religion of Korea, a parallel belief to the God of the Hebrews. By adopting this term for God, the early missionaries were saying to the Koreans that the God whom they knew was the same God who revealed Himself in Jesus Christ. On the other hand, they felt quite proper about rejecting the polytheistic system in which this belief in a Supreme Being was enmeshed. In this, they were supported by the Confucianists who likewise scorned superstition. Just as they felt compelled to reject polytheism, the early

missionaries likewise rejected the che-sa ceremony. This brought them into conflict with the Confucianists who held it to be the centrepiece of morality and virtue.

(2) Protestant Christianity entered Korea at a critical time, when the nation had been opened rudely to the outside world. Because Protestant Christianity in particular was identified as the religion of the advanced industrial nations, it commended attention as a part of Western civilisation. Undoubtedly, Christian espousal of such 'progressive' ideas as the rejection of polytheism appealed to young progressives who were searching for the philosophical and spiritual basis of the West. The strong ethical code of Protestantism must also have appealed to intellectuals trained up in Confucian morality.

(3) The disinterested work of medical care and education, and the advocacy of Korea's cause by the mission community was one reason for the trust in which the early missionaries were held. This undoubtedly caused many persons to look favourably on their new doctrine.

(4) The prestige of the new religion was reinforced by the presence of many Christians amongst the nationalists. In spite of the fact that there were also Christians who collaborated with the Japanese in the latter part of the colonial period, Korean Christianity never became associated as such with imperialism.

(5) The development of the Church in Korea from the first depended upon the efforts of the Koreans themselves. Before any foreign missionaries actually engaged in evangelism on Korean soil, Christianity had been brought there by local evangelists. This emphasis on self-support and self-propagation stood the Church in good stead during the latter part of the Japanese period, and during

the period of the communist war. Compared with Japan, the Church in Korea not only survived under oppression, it flourished.

There are three differences between the development of the Protestant churches and the Roman Catholic Church. Firstly, the Protestant churches always depended primarily on the efforts of indigenous Christians, whereas the growth of Catholicism was in part hindered by a stronger dependence on foreign clergy. Secondly, Protestantism came in at a time when the structure and values of traditional society were being widely criticized, and when the central government's ability to function was greatly impaired. When Catholicism entered Korea, social criticism was confined more to the intelligentsia and the power of the government was unimpaired. Thirdly, the Protestant churches proclaimed, as did the Catholic Church, a doctrine of hope, but coupled this emphasis with a programme of social and political involvement. The Catholic Church's emphasis on survival deprived it, as a consequence, of significant involvement in society, and caused it to turn into an inward-looking sect.

Chart 9-3 gives the essential outline of the development of the Protestant churches in Korea. It indicates a very rapid development from the time of first contact to the achievement of penetration, which took place sometime beginning in the 1940s. The growth of the Protestant churches was not only rapid but deep, as a glance at Chart 9-2 will indicate. As early as 1914, one per cent of the population was Christian. The three per cent level was achieved some time in the 1940s after a long period of stability. If the three per cent level may be taken to be the point which symbolizes the penetration of Protestant Christianity in Korea, this level of influence was achieved within sixty years of the initiation of formal

Schematic Diagram of Korean Protestant History

POLITICAL ERA	YI (Chosŏn)	Empire of Tae-Han	Period of Japanese Chōsen	Cho-sŏn (North) Han-kuk (South)
EVENTS	<p>Deterioration of Central Authority</p> <p>Western Political and Economic Penetration</p> <p>Factionalism</p> <p>Period of Tae Wŏn-kun</p> <p>1800</p>	<p>1884 Emeute</p> <p>1896 Independent Empire</p> <p>1910 Annexation</p> <p>1912</p>	<p>Independence Movement</p> <p>1945 Liberation</p> <p>1950 Civil War</p> <p>1961 Military Coup</p> <p>1972 Yu-shin Constitution</p>	<p>Political Division</p> <p>1948</p>
RELIGIOUS	<p>1800 First Missionary Probes</p> <p>1863 First Translations of New Testament begins</p> <p>Medical and Educational work</p> <p>Evangelism</p>	<p>1884</p> <p>1912 Conspiracy Trial</p> <p>Japanese-Mission School Confrontation</p>	<p>Conflict with Communists (N)</p> <p>Massacre of Christians</p> <p>Church Growth</p> <p>Benevolence</p> <p>Political Confrontation</p>	<p>Shintō Shrine Controversy</p>
	Contact & Diffusion	Emplantation	Penetration	

missionary endeavour. The same statistical chart indicates that the Catholic Church did not achieve a similar level of influence until thirty years after the Protestant churches had. This confirms our comment in the previous chapter that the Catholic Church is typified by a slow growth pattern. The growth of the Protestant churches must not be seen in a vacuum but against the background of the prior existence of Catholicism. It is quite possible that in addition to the other factors stated above, one might account for the rapid growth of Protestantism by the fact that the Roman Catholic Church had already prepared the soil in which the Protestant churches were emplanted. The growth of the seed which was planted, however, can be explained in large measure by the association of Christianity with a sense of Korean nationalism and culture.

UNIT V

CHAPTER 10 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

A. Buddhism in Ancient Korea

In the preceding chapters we have surveyed the emplantation, adaption, and growth of two world religions, Buddhism and Christianity, in Korea. We have examined the historical circumstances of their entry, the culture in which they were emplanted, the stages of their development, and the factors which contributed to their growth. We can now return to the model which was outlined in the first chapter for comparison. In the initial chapter, we stated that, in order to discover the nature of the general process by which a religion spreads from one culture to another, it would be necessary to discover the types of factors which influence the emplantation of a religion, and the phases through which a missionary religion must pass on its way to a mature and stable state within the society. As the reader will recall, our model, based upon an examination of the development of Buddhism in China, indicated that growth is a threefold process composed of stages of Contact and Explication, Penetration, and Expansion. This general process was found to consist of a slow and a rapid method of emplantation in which the latter method 'eliminated' the first stage. We also discerned that growth and development was influenced by five sets of related factors. There were:

- (1) The resolution of contradictions between key values of the host culture and values preached by the new religion;
- (2) The achievement of acceptance or tolerance of the new religion by the ruling élite of the society;
- (3) The surmounting of linguistic and conceptual barriers;

(4) The resolution of conflict with other religions or philosophies in the society.

(5) Knowledge of political conditions disposing members of the culture toward acceptance of the teaching of the missionary religion.

Early Korean Buddhism appears to have grown over the course of more than five hundred years from the fourth to the tenth centuries by a process of six stages. These were stages of Contact, Official Acceptance, Growth and Evangelism, Penetration, Popularization, and the Growth of Ch'an Sects. In the case of Ko-ku-ryō and Paek-che, contact was followed by almost immediate official acceptance. In the case of Shil-la, contact was followed by a long period of general rejection, although there would appear to have been at least nominal acceptance of it by certain members of the royal family. In all three cases, after royal approval had been given to the new teaching, there followed a period of growth and general attempts to spread the doctrine more widely. This phase often included the sending out of Buddhist missionaries to a neighbouring state, Japan. The achievement of a state of penetration meant that the new religion not only had official sanction, but was widely accepted amongst members of the élite sector of society. The emergence of the Hwa-rang Troop is the classic example of this phenomenon. This period was followed rapidly by attempts to make Buddhism the common religion of the nation, the symbol of which is Wōn-hyo's movement for the popularization of Buddhism. At the same time that knowledge of Buddhism was being disseminated amongst the masses, there was a movement amongst the intelligentsia for increased sophistication in Buddhist thought represented by the growth of doctrinal sects. The Period of the

Growth of Ch'an Sects may be seen as an extension of this latter trend.

Comparing the six stages of Early Korean Buddhism with the model outlined in Chapter 1, we find that the general pattern matches well with the facts of Korean history. The first two stages of Korean Buddhism, Contact and Acceptance would correspond to Phase 1.a, Contact, whereas, the third stage, Growth and Evangelism, would correspond to Phase 1.b, Emplantation. In these two sub-phases, the new religion established itself, and through the achievement of official acceptance, prosecution of proselytization, and the development of increased sophistication in the teaching of the new religion, the way was prepared for more complete acceptance. The fourth stage of Korean Buddhism, Penetration, is the exact correspondent to Phase Two of the model. Stage Five of Korean Buddhism, Popularization, and the Growth of Sects, may be combined with Stage Six, the Growth of Ch'an Sects, to correspond to Phase Three of the model, Expansion. In the model, we listed two sub-phases, 3.a, Growth and Contention, and 3.b, Supremacy. In the case of Shil-la Buddhism, we were unable to find an example of sub-phase 3.a. The new religion moved directly from a position of penetration to a condition of supremacy. This is because the model was based upon the development of Buddhism within the diverse culture of China. Buddhism, entering into that complex system found its way hindered by the presence of other well developed systems of thought and belief. This point does not apply to Shil-la as the nation at the time of the adoption of Buddhism was comparatively unsophisticated. In the absence of another well developed system of belief, Buddhism found little organized resistance to its development

once a state of penetration had been reached. Whatever resistance there may have been to its development would have been overcome in an earlier phase.

Lastly, we may note that the course of Buddhist development in Korea evidences the presence of the two patterns of missionary penetration, the Slow Penetration Pattern, and the Rapid Conversion Pattern. Shil-la is the prime example of a culture which experienced the Slow Penetration Method. Ko-ku-ryō on the other hand well typifies the Rapid Conversion Method. As we have mentioned, acceptance of Buddhism in Ko-ku-ryō followed almost immediately upon the arrival of the first recorded missionary. In spite of a pre-missionary Buddhist presence, attempts to disseminate the doctrine throughout the nation, and the record of Ko-ku-ryō missionaries being sent to Japan, it would appear that Buddhism was not deeply rooted in the soil of the nation but depended to a large extent on royal patronage. Thus, as the state began to collapse, the aristocracy turned to Taoism and the influence of Buddhism declined dramatically.

As with the model of the process of religious emplantation, the types of factors adduced for the growth of Buddhism in China would appear to accord well with what we know of Korean Buddhism. However, as we consider the growth of Buddhism in the two nations, we must remember that there is one significant difference between them. The emplantation of Buddhism in China was an exchange which took place between two cultural spheres, whereas the emplantation of Buddhism in Korea was an exchange which occurred within a common cultural sphere. When we consider Factor One, we must understand that there was not the same degree of contradiction between the values of the old and new systems of belief. At the time that the Korean states were accepting

Buddhism, they were also in the process of accepting Chinese civilisation as a whole. Buddhism was seen not as a separate entity, but as the religious component of that sophisticated culture. We may assume that there must have been some contention as the legend of I-ch'a-ton indicates, but whatever it may have been, it must have been overcome rapidly.

In considering Factor Two, we may say that it was the evident desire of the early Korean monarchs to modernize the government and culture of their nation which made them sympathetic to the acceptance of Buddhism. Even the long period during which Buddhism in Shil-la waited for royal acceptance is no exception to this point, as Buddhism was apparently practised as the cult of the royal court long before it was given official sanction.

When we turn to a consideration of Factor Three, we recall again the difference between religious emplantation which occurs between two cultural spheres, and that which takes place within a single cultural sphere. Buddhism arrived in the Korean states already predigested, so to speak. There was no need to translate documents into the indigenous language as these scriptures had been translated previously into Chinese which was intelligible to the intellectual class. One wonders, however, if one of the reasons why Buddhism did not spread more thoroughly in Ko-ku-ryō was due to the fact that Buddhist knowledge was locked up in a language inaccessible to most people. Chinese translations of the Buddhist sūtras may have helped in the initial introduction of the faith, but at a later period could have hindered its more widespread dissemination.

Factor Four, the resolution of conflict between existing religions and philosophies, does not seem to apply to the Korean states. It was not an important factor in Shil-la after the initial period of contact which, as we have said, was due to the comparatively unsophisticated nature of the culture of the time. It is more difficult to know the circumstances which prevailed in Paek-che, especially as its later history is merged with that of Shil-la. Ko-ku-ryŏ does present a more complex problem. A struggle with other religions does not emerge as a problem until the fabric of the state began to disintegrate. As Ko-ku-ryŏ was closer to China and occupied the area in which the most intense political and cultural relations had existed with the Han Empire, it is probable that there were other systems of belief and thought which had continued to exist throughout the period of Buddhist supremacy. However, we would rather characterize the period of Buddhist supremacy in Ko-ku-ryŏ as a period of dormancy for these alternatives. After all, they do not emerge until a period of political crisis is evident.

The acceptance and growth of Buddhism was assisted by certain correspondences which were made between traditional beliefs and certain features of Buddhism. Thus, the Korean kings, who were held to be divine, were compared to Bodhisattvas and the cakravartī-rāja, or the ideal Buddhist king. We have also seen the importance of mountains in traditional Korean religion as the place where the state sacrifices were held, and where the deified ancestors of the states were said to reside. It should be no surprise to note the use which Cha-chang made of the belief in Mañjuśrī on Wu-t'ai Shan or the fact that Shil-la believers began to erect shrines to the mountain god within the precincts of temples.

In discussing the first four factors, we have covered some of the same ground which is the domain of Factor Five. In the case of all three Korean states, acceptance of Buddhism was in part a political decision related to the general question of the acceptance of Chinese civilisation. The development of Buddhism in Shil-la in particular shows that penetration came largely through the élite sector of society. Once the young élite had been indoctrinated through the agency of the Hwa-rang Troop, the success of Buddhism was virtually assured. It is important to note that shortly after this period, monks began to go to India, which is a sure indication of the depth of Buddhist penetration. Political considerations are evident in other ways. The acceptance of Buddhism was in part seen as a means of gaining the protection of the Buddha for the state. Ko-ku-ryō accepted the new faith because the Emperor Fu'ch'ien assured the king that its practice offered the state spiritual protection. In Shil-la, the offering of the P'al-kwan Hoe and the Paek-chwa Hoe was done for the sole purpose of garnering the assistance of the Buddhas in protecting the nation. The construction of temples in Shil-la was often suggested for the same reason. All of this suggests that the acceptance and maintenance of Buddhism was not infrequently done for raisons d'état.

B. Catholicism in Korea

Like early Korean Buddhist history, the history of the Roman Catholic Church in Korea covers a sufficiently long period of time to enable us to discern distinct historical patterns. These patterns conform reasonably well with the model outlined in Chapter One. A glance at Chart 8-2, the Schematic Diagram of Korean Catholic History,

shows three broad phases of Catholic development, Contact and Diffusion of Knowledge, Evangelism and Cyclical Persecution, and Growth and Persecution. The first phase encompasses more than one hundred and seventy-five years. Throughout this period, knowledge of Western science and Catholic teaching percolated into Korea from China, but no direct missionary activity was engaged in. This period would conform to Phase 1.a of the model, Contact. The second phase of Catholic history would cover the hundred year period from the 1770s to 1876 when the first Western style diplomatic treaty was signed with Japan. During this phase, Koreans themselves undertook the task of evangelism, and were only later assisted by foreign clergy. Their activities encountered stiff opposition from the Confucian élite, which resulted in a history of continuous persecution. Throughout this period, the foreign clergy undertook the task of translating necessary religious materials into Korean and compiling dictionaries of the Korean language. We feel that this period corresponds to Phase 1.b of the model, Emplantation.

The third phase, Growth and Persecution, indicates that throughout the present century, the Catholic Church gave evidence of a slow increase in numbers and an increase in the percentage of the Korean population who adhered to Catholicism. Overcoming the 'ghetto' mentality which was the legacy of a century of persecution, the Church has begun recently to involve itself more widely and more successfully in the affairs of the general society. If the figure of three per cent of the population may be taken as a rough indicator of the penetration of Catholic thought and practice in Korean culture, we may say that Catholicism achieved this status some time in the mid-1970s. Compared with the period of Buddhist penetration in China

which covered thirty years, or the period of Buddhist penetration in Korea which also covered approximately thirty years, Catholic penetration in Korea took a very long time indeed, nearly one hundred years. This may be attributed both to the prior history of cyclical persecution, and to the precarious course of Korean history over the past century.

When we turn to an examination of the factors involved in the development of Catholicism, we note that initially Factor One, Conflict of Values, was the principal cause for the slow growth of the new faith. When Catholicism first made contact with Korea, certain progressive sectors of the intelligentsia were intensely interested in new ideas, which gave Catholic teaching a ready audience. In this regard, the periods of Buddhist and Catholic contact with Korea are similar. The most significant difference between these two periods, however, lies in the fact that when Buddhism made initial contact with the peninsula, none of the states had as of that time achieved the status of a complex and sophisticated civilisation. Therefore, the clash between indigenous and foreign values systems was not great. By contrast, when Catholicism made initial contact with Korea, the nation was already a constituent member of the Confucian civilisation of East Asia. As with early Buddhism in China, the clash of values resulted in an impasse, which was not overcome by Catholic accommodation to the cultural situation, but by by-passing the conflict altogether. When Confucian dominance in Korea crumbled, the way forward for the Church became clear. This way was blocked for a second time when the Church came into conflict with the new communist government of north Korea. In this case, the

power of the state was more complete, resulting in the organizational annihilation of Catholicism.

Factor Two, political tolerance was not achieved at all in Confucian Korea for the reasons outlined above. Political tolerance was accomplished only through the imposition of Western style diplomatic relations upon the government. Even with this foreign diplomatic pressure the situation of the Catholic Church was not entirely secure. Later developments, during the Japanese and Communist periods indicate how necessary political tolerance was for the survival of the Church. In the case of both Confucian and communist Korea, the conflict of values was so great and the opponents too uncompromising for the Church to make any headway.

Factor Three was not initially a problem in the diffusion of Catholic thought. Korea's participation in Chinese civilisation meant that Chinese language Scriptures and tracts would be intelligible immediately to the Korean literati and educated classes. After 1800, the majority of Catholic believers were drawn from the lower classes, who would have been illiterate. This would indicate that the expansion of the Church in this sector of society must be attributed almost solely to the fervour of the educated converts.

Factor Four, Contention with Other Religions and Philosophies, is a prime factor in the development of the Church and is intimately connected with Factor One, as is the case with early Chinese Buddhism. As we have indicated, the conflict was so great that only changed political circumstances could and did alter the fortunes of the Church's growth. Unlike Buddhism in China, Korean Catholicism did not attempt to develop a theory of justification, such as the Hua-hu Theory. Being a revealed religion, it stood firmly on the

correctness of its unique doctrine. Discussion was, in a sense, impossible.

The development of Catholicism seems to have depended to an unusual degree on the political circumstances of the day. It was political conditions, the Japanese and Mongol invasions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which gave Catholic thought a toehold in Korea. It was political circumstances which determined the government's course in persecuting the fledgling Church. The acceptance of Catholicism by members of a certain political faction allowed their political enemies to urge for their persecution on moral grounds. That is, Catholic rejection of the che-sa ceremony allowed moral reasons to give a veneer of justification to political intrigue. In the nineteenth century, although leading intellectuals no longer played a prominent part in the Catholic Church, political considerations determined the government's attitude toward the foreign faith. In the first place, we have seen that the government continued to see Catholicism as undermining the pillars of Confucian morality. In the second place, the government feared that widespread acceptance of Catholicism would lead to domination of the state by a European power. Political considerations also gave the Church a period of quiet growth under Japanese domination. The government tolerated missionary endeavour, but only at the expense of the Church's acquiescence on a key value of its own, worship at the Shintō shrines. Political considerations stifled the growth of the Church when, after liberation from Japanese domination, the Church found itself in immediate conflict with another totalitarian power, the communist government of north Korea. Not only was the growth of the Catholic Church dependent on the nature of the political circumstances of the day, but this strong element of political control and suppression must account for the

tendency of Catholicism, until recently, to withdraw from the world and its activities.

C. Protestantism in Korea

The history of the Protestant churches in Korea is much shorter than the history of either early Korean Buddhism or Catholicism to the present time. It covers barely more than ninety years. Short as this time has been, it has been a period of unusual growth and development. The shortness of time and the suddenness of the growth of the Protestant churches means that we must be very cautious in applying a model which was designed to explain events which occurred over several hundred years. Unlike Buddhism in Korea where the whole course of the early development of that faith may be discerned, the pattern of growth of the Protestant churches may only be guessed at. A hundred more years of history would enable us to be more confident about our conclusions. Nonetheless, certain broad patterns do emerge. Chart 9-3 shows three general phases, Contact and Diffusion, Emplantation, and Penetration.

The first period encompasses all the early attempts by foreign missionaries to establish initial contact with Korea and corresponds to Phase 1.a of the model. The work of John Ross is important here, as it was through his efforts with Koreans in Manchuria that a church grew up without the initial assistance of a foreign clergy. This conforms to what we know of the situation of Buddhism in Ko-ku-ryō and Shil-la, and Catholicism in the Yi Dynasty. The new faith existed prior to the coming of the first missionaries. This seems to be due to the fact that Korea was often influenced by the political and cultural trends of China.

In the second phase, in contrast to early Catholicism, there was a massive input of missionaries and missionary funds to assist in the up-building of the Protestant Church. This period of emplantation corresponds to Phase 1.b of the model and spanned roughly the fifty year period from 1890 to 1940. During that time evangelism was carried on by direct and indirect means, schools and hospitals were erected, the infrastructure of the church was created, and two generations of Christians were instructed in the Faith. This came at a critical point in Korean history when Korea was unusually open to outside influences. By the first decade of this century, within twenty-five years of the arrival of the first missionaries, one per cent of the population adhered to Protestant Christianity. This relative status within the general population remained at the same level until around 1940 when percentage as well as absolute gains began to be made. Although the Church was placed under tremendous pressure by the colonial authorities throughout this phase, the fact that the Church remained stable throughout and emerged healthy after five years without missionary assistance would indicate how deeply the new faith had become rooted in the nation's soil.

The third phase, Penetration, corresponds exactly to Phase Two of the model, and must have begun sometime during the end of the Japanese period. By the time statistics were again available for the Protestant churches in the late 1940s, Protestantism had trebled its percentage representation within the general population. Although this is based upon population figures for south Korea, the accuracy of this figure is shown by the fact that the same percentage held true ten years later. Thus at the three per cent figure of representation, Korean Protestantism had achieved the status of

penetration within the host society no later than the middle of the fifth decade of this century, seventy years after the initiation of missionary activity. Two other factors confirm our confidence that Protestantism has truly penetrated Korean society. The Church continues to grow rapidly in spite of the great decline in numbers of missionary personnel. Compared with Japan this is a remarkable fact. In the latter country as Chart 10-1 shows, there has always been a greater number of missionaries who have worked there for a longer period of time. Nonetheless, the one per cent level of representation within the general population has not been achieved. We feel confident in saying that the Korean Church by contrast has achieved and passed beyond a stage of Penetration to a stage of Growth and Contention.

When we examine the factors involved in the growth of Korean Protestantism, we note that the clash of values was not a significant problem. In this regard one may draw a parallel with the age in which Buddhism first entered the Korean peninsula and the end of the nineteenth century. In both periods, progressives were concerned with the modernisation of their nation and interested themselves in all aspects of modern civilisation. In the nineteenth century, this meant that in spite of the overt conflict between Confucian and Christian attitudes to the che-sa ceremony, there was no blockage in the way of the development of the new church as there had been initially with Catholicism. The issue was merely by-passed in the rush of the events of history, as Confucianism was no longer the determining factor in Korean society. It is interesting to note that the early missionaries did make an appeal to certain concepts of the

A COMPARISON OF PROTESTANT MISSIONS
IN JAPAN AND KOREA

YEAR	JAPAN			KOREA		
	Number of Adherents	% of Population	Number of Missionaries	Number of Adherents	% of Population	Number of Missionaries
1882	5,670	0.01	225	?	?	0
1888	24,197	0.06	400	?	?	12 (est.)
1903	84,000	0.1	772	10,000	?	141
1925	165,000	0.3	1,253	201,000	1.1	598
1937	192,000	0.2	583	261,000 (est.)	1.1	575 (est.)
1949	200,000	0.3	450	744,000	3.7	305
1957	267,000	0.3	2,887	844,000	3.7	418
1968	818,000	0.8	1,864	1,873,000	6.0	658

folk tradition, such as the use of a variant of the traditional Korean name for the supreme being, Ha-nŭl-nim.

Factor Two, achievement of tolerance by the élite was readily obtained in the turbulent last days of the Yi Dynasty. For one thing, the royal family was genuinely grateful for the compassionate interest which the missionaries took in the welfare of their people. In the second place, the king and his close associates viewed the missionaries as their only foreign friends at a time when foreign powers were threatening to devour the nation.

Factor Three played a significant role in the acceptance of Christianity. The Protestant missionaries virtually rediscovered the Korean alphabet, Han-kŭl. Both its widespread use in modern Korea and the justifiable pride which Koreans take in this script may be said to derive from the use made of it by the early missionaries. The first propagandists for the new faith all felt that the way forward for their teachings was made easier by the fact that there was a simple, scientific script to hand. All translations of the Bible and religious propaganda used Han-kŭl, which was the first time in centuries that it was used on such an extensive scale.

Factor Four did not play a significant role in hindering the development of Korean Protestantism. Mu-kyo or Korean shamanism, although prevalent throughout the society, particularly amongst the peasantry, was neither highly regarded nor organized well enough to constitute a significant threat to the new religion. In fact its belief in a Supreme Being may well have been an asset in the emplantation of Christianity. Confucianism, likewise, was unable to constitute an organized threat to the emplantation of the new faith. As the power of the state was collapsing there was no authority strong

A COMPARISON OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF
BUDDHISM AND CHRISTIANITY

A. Characteristics of the Factors Relevant to the
Emplantation of Religion

<u>Factor</u>	<u>Buddhism</u>	<u>Catholicism</u>	<u>Protestantism</u>
1	no essential conflict, parallels made with folk religion	conflict, no parallels drawn with folk religion	no essential conflict, parallels drawn with folk religion
2	early tolerance	no tolerance	early tolerance
3	no linguistic barriers, use of Chinese <u>sūtras</u>	no linguistic barriers, use of Chinese texts	translation of Scriptures into vernacular script and language
4	no conflict, no organized resistance	organized, governmental resistance	no organized resistance initially
5	modernisation of culture pre-disposed members towards outside influences	initial reception eclipsed by court factionalism and conflict of values	modernisation of culture and nationalistic associations disposed many to look favourably on new beliefs

B. Presence of Phases of Emplantation

<u>Phase</u>	<u>Buddhism</u>	<u>Catholicism</u>	<u>Protestantism</u>
1.a	Yes	Yes	Yes
1.b	Yes	Yes	Yes
2	Yes	Yes	Yes
3.a	No	No	No
3.b	Yes	?	?

enough to force the performance of the che-sa rites. Moreover, Confucianism was not necessarily in conflict with Protestant Christianity. The high moral code taught by the Protestants and their rejection of Mu-kyo and Buddhism as superstitious practices must have been in agreement with what many Confucianists felt and thought. In the altered political and cultural conditions of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Korean Confucianism became an ally rather than an enemy of Protestantism. Buddhism which, by the nature of its organization, ought to have constituted a threat to the successful entrance of Protestantism, did not hinder the development of the new faith. On the basis of contemporary accounts, Buddhism was too weak internally to offer much resistance to this form of Christianity. Thus, at the end of the nineteenth century when significant Protestant missionary work had begun, there was no single organized source of religious or philosophical opposition to the advent of Protestantism. It is a moot point whether the long history of Catholic association with Korea may have prepared the way for her sister branch of Christianity. It may be argued in the reverse, as the history of the persecution of Catholicism might have made some Koreans wary of a doctrine so similar to one which had been recently proscribed.

As with Catholicism, political considerations have played a large part in the development of Protestantism but with a rather opposite effect. Firstly, as with Buddhism in the fourth century, the political and cultural conditions of late Yi Korea disposed the nation toward an openness to foreign influences. The desire for modernisation was probably the single, most important factor in the early missionary period which assured the rapid acceptance of

of Protestant Christianity. The annexation of Korea by Japan in 1907 affected Korean society as a whole and led to the creation of various forms of national resistance to assimilation. It should come as no surprise that during this time of national crisis the Church experienced a revival which led to a massive movement for indigenous evangelization. Protestantism has never had to answer to the accusation of being a tool of imperialism, for in many ways it came to be a symbol of national resistance. For example, patriotism and Protestantism became linked in the Conspiracy Trials of 1912, the Independence Movement of 1919, and Protestant resistance to worship at Shintō shrines. In fact Protestant Christians have figured in virtually every progressive movement of this century. Whereas the trials of Catholicism gave it a 'ghetto' mentality which cut itself off from the main currents of contemporary Korea, the favourable circumstances which existed at the time of the entrance of Protestantism inclined it to take a more active concern in contemporary man and society.

D. Comparison of Buddhist and Christian Missions in Korea

A glance at the Chart 10-2A showing the comparison of the influences of the five factors on the development of the three religions which we have examined in this study shows that the growth of Protestant Christianity should be compared with the early history of Korean Buddhism. Neither of these religions encountered significant philosophical, political, linguistic, or moral resistance to their teaching and practice during the early period of their emplantation in Korea. The principal reason for this is to be sought in the unusual openness to foreign influences which was characteristic of

Korea in the fourth century and again in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The urge for technical, economic, and political sophistication led many persons during these two critical periods in Korean history to look favourably on new philosophical and religious ideas. The atmosphere of tolerance which was engendered by this openness provided not only the opportunity for the progressive sector of the élite class of the society to learn about the new religion, but also created conditions which permitted the widest dissemination of the new faith. The fact that in both cases there was no important religious organization to offer resistance to the emplantation of a new faith and that, due to Korea's participation in Chinese civilisation, there were no major linguistic barriers to be overcome, both Buddhism and Protestantism could be emplanted very rapidly. In the case of Shil-la, Buddhist emplantation took nearly sixty years from 540 to 599, and the emplantation of Protestantism, nearly half a century from 1890 to 1940.

Catholicism presents a very different picture from the above discussion. Although there were no linguistic barriers, and in spite of an initial period of receptivity, the course of Catholic development was challenged at several important points along the way. The surprising thing about Catholicism is its survival, and even more, its eventual achievement of the status of penetration within the society. The cause for the unusually slow growth of the Catholic Church must be sought in the fact that when it first made contact with Korea, the dominant system of values of the society was not being questioned seriously. Serious questioning of the Confucian system led to suppression for political and moral reasons. This indicates that although there were some scholars who questioned the traditional

system of values, this process was not widespread enough to be socially acceptable. The sixteenth century was different in tenor from either the fourth or late nineteenth centuries.

This survey of Buddhism and Christianity demonstrates the following points:

(1) Religions which are emplantated in a new culture must undergo a three stage process of Contact and Explication, Penetration, and Expansion if they are to achieve a state of stability/supremacy;

(2) These phases are capable of further subdivision into subphases of Contact, Emplantation, Growth and Contention, and Stability/Supremacy;

(3) The subphase Growth and Contention may be expected to occur only in cultures which have a plurality of organized religions or in cultures in which there is significant questioning of the traditional system of values;

(4) The process of emplantation consists of two patterns, a Slow Penetration Pattern, and a Rapid Conversion Pattern. As the latter pattern eliminates the long period of preparation for adjustment to the receptor culture, emplantation by this method is inherently unstable. Although we have labelled its initial phase a stage of penetration, it is more aptly termed a stage of partial penetration;

(5) In order to understand the growth of missionary religions five factors have been found useful to examine. These are the clash of traditional and new values, tolerance of the new religion by the élite, linguistic factors, contention with other religions or philosophical traditions, and the political circumstances which existed at the time of emplantation;

(6) Of these factors, the core values of a culture and the political factors deserve the greatest attention. Although the core values of a society offer the greatest hindrance to the acceptance of new beliefs, dramatically altered political and cultural circumstances create conditions which tend toward easier acceptance of such new beliefs in spite of any contention with the core values;

(7) Certain of these factors take precedence over others at the various stages in the general process of religious emplantation. At the point of initial contact, questions of the clash of values and language are more important, whereas in the following subphase of emplantation, the achievement of tolerance by the *élite* takes precedence. After the point of penetration within the *élite* or other key sectors of the society has been reached, the resolution of the conflict with competing religions and philosophies becomes the key factor;

(8) Emplantation which takes place between two cultural spheres is more difficult due to greater differences in values and problems of translation and the correct choice of technical vocabulary;

(9) Emplantation which takes place within a single cultural sphere is easier due to a shared sense of values and/or a common language;

(10) Contrary to some authorities, civilisational depth is not a prerequisite for the emplantation of transcendent concepts from one culture to another, although it may be a factor in their initial occurrence;

(11) Movements for the emplantation of new religions do not necessarily draw upon prototypical elements of the civilisation. It

is true, however, that when points of similarity exist between traditional and new values, the speed of the process of emplantation is enhanced;

(12) Bearers of a new system of belief do not necessarily come from the margins of an ecumene, or cultural sphere. Successful emplantation in part seems to be a result of the prestige of the bearer or his culture;

(13) Successful emplantation is dependent on the ability of the new religion to appeal to and to dominate all sectors of a society.

It is the hope of the author that the three stage model of the emplantation of religion, and the five factors which influence the process of emplantation will stimulate other students to consider the nature and development of religious emplantation. It is a much neglected subject and yet one which is of vital interest to an age dominated by conflicts between religions and political ideologies.

NOTES

NOTES

UNIT I THE PROPAGATION OF RELIGIONS

CHAPTER 1 HOW ARE RELIGIONS PROPAGATED?

- (1) Lubbock, John, The Origin of Civilization and the Primitive Condition of Man (London, Longmans, Green, and Co., 1870).
- Morgan, Lewis Henry, Ancient Society (New York, World Publishing, 1877).
- Tylor, Sir Edward Burnett, Primitive Culture (London, John Murray, 1871).
- For a discussion of the development of the theory of cultural evolution in the context of the philosophy of science see Marvin Harris, The Rise of Anthropological Theory (London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969), especially Chapters 5, 6, and 7.
- Sahlins, Marshall, and Elman Service, Evolution and Culture (Ann Arbor, Michigan, University of Michigan Press, 1960).
- White, Leslie, The Science of Culture (New York, Farrar, Strauss and Co., 1949).
- , Evolution of Culture (New York, McGraw-Hill, 1959).
- (2) Tylor, op.cit.
- Lang, Andrew, The Making of Religion (London, Longmans, Green and Co., 1898).
- Marett, Robert Ranulph, The Threshold of Religion (London, Methuen, 1909, Second Edition, 1914). See especially Chapter I, 'Pre-Animistic Religion', and Chapter IV, 'The Conception of Mana'.
- Schmidt, Wilhelm, The Origin and Growth of Religion, Facts and Theories (London, Methuen, 1931).
- Spencer, Herbert, Principles of Sociology 3 vols. (London, Williams and Norgate, 1876-1896).
- (3) Durkheim, Emile, The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life (first French edition, 1912, translated by J. W. Swain, 1915, reprinted, New York, Free Press, 1965).
- (4) Latourette, Kenneth Scott, A History of the Expansion of Christianity, 7 vols (London, Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1939-1945).
- Ch'en, Kenneth K.S., Buddhism in China (Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1964).
- (5) McGavran, Donald Anderson, The Bridges of God: A Study in the Strategy of Missions (London, World Dominion Press, 1955), pp. 53-58, 68-75.

- (6) Ibid, pp. 13, 68-99.
- (7) Ch'en, Kenneth K.S., The Chinese Transformation of Buddhism Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1973).
- (8) McGavran, op.cit., p. 133.
- (9) Pye, E.M., 'The Transplantation of Religions', Numen, 16 (1969), pp. 234-39.

The concept of a religious tradition as opposed to the abstract concept of 'religion' has been discussed by W. Cantwell Smith in The Meaning and End of Religion (New York, The New American Library, 1964). He speaks (p.8) of the multiplicity of man's religious traditions and the variety of forms which are characteristic of each tradition. Like us, he views these traditions as an ongoing historical process for he says (p.149), "a religious tradition, then, is the historical construct, in continuous and continuing construction, of those who participate in it. These are in interaction, also, and this can be highly significant, with those who do not participate".

- (10) Willey, Gordon R., 'Mesoamerican Civilization and the Idea of Transcendence', Antiquity, 50 (1976), pp. 206-13.
- (11) Ibid.
- (12) Linton, Ralph, The Tree of Culture (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1959), pp. 41-42, 44-45.
- (13) Ch'en, Buddhism in China, op.cit., pp. 16-20.

Levenson, Joseph R., China: An Interpretive History from the Beginnings to the Fall of Han (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1969), pp. 106-08.

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- (14) Zürcher, Erik, The Buddhist Conquest of China, 2 vols (Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1959), vol. 1, pp. 23-29.
Ch'en, Buddhism in China, op.cit., pp. 40-41.
Tharpar, op.cit., p.120.
- (15) Ch'en, Buddhism in China, op.cit., p.31.

- (16) Ibid, p.45.
Zürcher, op.cit., vol.1, pp. 30-35.
- (17) Wright, Arthur F., Buddhism in Chinese History (Stanford, California, Stanford University Press, 1959), pp. 8, 11, 15, 31.
- (18) Ibid, p.31.
- (19) Ibid, p.20.
Zürcher, op.cit., vol.1, pp. 36, 40-43, 46, 73.
- (20) Zürcher, op.cit., vol.1, pp. 4, 47, 66, 73-75.
- (21) Herrmann, op.cit., maps on pp. 20-21, 24, 25, 28.
Wright, op.cit., pp. 42-43.
- (22) Zürcher, op.cit., vol.1, pp. 86, 97-98, 100, 105.
- (23) Joe, Wanne J., Traditional Korea: A Cultural History (Seoul, Chung'ang University Press, 1972), pp. 116-17.
Zürcher, op.cit., vol.1, pp. 113-14, 126, 152.
- (24) Zürcher, op.cit., vol.1, pp. 153-57, 255.
- (25) Ibid, vol.1, pp. 290-93, 309.
- (26) Ibid, vol.1, pp. 194, 205, 310-11.
- (27) Ch'en, Buddhism in China, op.cit., pp. 121-28.
- (28) Ibid, pp. 128-35.
Wright, op.cit., pp. 53-54.
- (29) Wright, op.cit., p.53.
- (30) Wright, op.cit., pp. 54-57, 62.
- (31) Ch'en, Buddhism in China, op.cit., pp. 81-85, 145-46.
- (32) Ibid, pp. 147-53, 161, 170.
Lee, Sherman E., A History of Far Eastern Art (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, Prentice-Hall, 1964), pp. 142-46.
- (33) Ch'en, Buddhism in China, op.cit., pp. 177, 179.
Wright, op.cit., pp. 42, 58-61.
Ch'en (The Chinese Transformation of Buddhism, op.cit., p.18) refers to three methods used by the Buddhists to come to terms with filial piety:

- i) the stress on the many sūtras which could be shown to support filial piety,
- ii) the forging of sūtras which emphasize filial piety,
- iii) the contention that Buddhist filial piety was to be preferred to the Confucian variety in that it aimed at universal salvation.

NOTES

UNIT II THE BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

CHAPTER 2 THE ETHNIC ORIGINS AND EARLY HISTORY OF THE KOREAN PEOPLE

- (1) Chŏng, Yong-guk 鄭龍國, Sae Wan-sŏng Kuk-sa 朝鮮完成國史
(A New Comprehensive History of Korea) (Seoul, T'ae-yang
Ch'ul-p'an Sa 太陽出版社, 1976), p.14.
- (2) Ibid, pp. 14-15.
Pearson, Richard J., The Traditional Culture and Society of
Korea: Prehistory (Honolulu, The Center for Korean
Studies, University of Hawaii, 1975), p.31.
- (3) Pearson, op.cit., pp. 31, 42-43.
- (4) Chŏng, op.cit., p.15.
Pearson, op.cit., p.102.
- (5) Chŏng, op.cit., p.15.
Pearson, op.cit., pp. 66, 70, 102.
M. A. Czaplicka suggested the substitution of the word Paleo-
Siberian for Paleo-Asiatic to refer to the original
inhabitants of Siberia, see Aboriginal Siberia (London,
Oxford University Press, 1914), pp. 15-17.
- (6) Joe, op.cit., p.7.
Pearson, op.cit., pp. 83-84, 102-03.
It is not evident to the author why a change in pottery type
must necessarily mean an influx of another racial group.
- (7) Chŏng, op.cit., pp.15-17.
Pearson, op.cit., pp. 84-85, 101-03.
- (8) Chŏng, op.cit., p.18.
- (9) Pearson, op.cit., p.176.
- (10) Chŏng, op.cit., p.18.
- (11) Ibid, p.19.
Joe, op.cit., p.10.
Watson, William, Cultural Frontiers in Ancient East Asia
(Edinburgh, Edunburgh University Press, 1971), p.136 and
Plate 99.
- (12) Chŏng, op.cit., p.20.

(13) Ibid, p.26.

Joe, op.cit., pp. 14-17.

Yi Pyōng-do has established the fact that the Han family of Ch'ōng-ju 濟州 are the descendants of the ruling house of Cho-sōn prior to the time of Wi-man. Old Cho-sōn is sometimes referred to as Han Cho-sōn 韓氏朝鮮 (Chōng, op.cit., p.26).

(14) Joe, op.cit., pp. 17-20.

(15) Chōng, op.cit., p.29.

An illustration of this wicker basket may be found in Sherman Lee, op.cit., p.61.

(16) Chōng, op.cit., p.31.

(17) Ibid, p.32.

Chōng gives the form 搯 for chō in chō-ka. As we have not found this form in any dictionary, we assume that it is a misprint for the character 猪, pig or boar.

(18) Ibid, p.33.

(19) Ibid.

(20) Ibid, p.31.

Joe, op.cit., pp. 22-25.

(21) Chōng, op.cit., pp. 32-33.

(22) Ibid, pp. 33-34.

(23) Ibid, pp. 31, 33-34.

(24) Ibid, p.31.

Han, Woo-keun (Han U-kun), The History of Korea, translated by Lee Kyung-shik (Seoul, Eul-yoo Publishing Co., 1971), pp. 29-30.

Han (pp. 29-30) suggests that the use of the word maek-p'o by the Ok-chō for their textiles, and the name Tong-nye both reflect the origin of these two groups from one of the tribes composing Ko-ku-ryō, the Ye-maek.

(25) Chōng, op.cit., pp. 33-34.

H S S, p.351.

Chōng's book has a further misprint. He gives the character 候 for hu. The Tung-i Chuan 東夷傳 contained in the

San-kuo Chih 三國志 states, however, that the Tongnye had 侯 or marquises. See Yi Min-su 李民樹, Cho-sŏn Chŏn 朝鮮傳 (The Chronicles of Cho-sŏn) (Seoul, T'am-ku Tang 探求堂, 1974), p.98.

(26) Chŏng, op.cit., p.31.

(27) Ibid, p.32.

Tae-ku Shi-sa Pyŏn-ch'an Wi-wŏn Hoe 大邱市史編纂委員會, Tae-ku Shi-sa 大邱市史 (A History of the City of Tae-ku), 3 vols (Tae-ku, 1973), Vol.1, p.48.

(28) Chŏng, op.cit., p.33.

H S S, p.588.

(29) Chŏng, op.cit., p.34.

H S S, p.519.

Samuel Martin, et al, identify su-rit nal 수릿날 with the modern festival tan-o 端午 which is held on the fifth day of the fifth lunar month. On this day, women use swings and men compete in wrestling matches. Martin also offers the suggestion that the name su-rit nal may be interpreted as the 'day of the eagle'. Su-ri 수리 and nal 날 are the pure Korean words for eagle and day, respectively, and t 人 is an indicator of possession. See New Korean-English Dictionary (Seoul, Minjungseogwan, 1967), pp. 399 and 1002. Joe (op.cit., p.43) suggests that the term ch'ŏn-kun or Prince of Heaven is surprisingly similar to the term used for the Emperor of Japan, tennō 天皇. This interpretation accords well with the theory of Egami Namio. He believes that Japan was conquered in the year A.D. 300 or thereabouts by members of the clan of the King of Chin. If this supposition is correct, the invaders must have brought the term ch'ŏn-kun or an equivalent with them as the title of their paramount leader. See 'The Formation of the People, and the Origin of the State in Japan', Memoirs of the Research Department of the Tōyō Bunkō, 23 (1964), pp. 35-70.

For a recent consideration of the origin of the Japanese state, see Gari Ledyard, 'Galloping Along with the Horseriders: Looking for the Founders of Japan', Journal of Japanese Studies, 1, no. 2 (1975), pp. 217-54.

- (30) Chǒng, op.cit., p.34.
- (31) Ibid.
H S S, p.105.
- (32) Yi U-sǒng, 'A Study of the Period of Northern and Southern States', Korea Journal, 17, no. 1 (January 1977), pp. 28-33.
- (33) Joe, op.cit., pp. 46-50.
- (34) Ibid, pp. 57-60.
- (35) Ibid, pp. 60-67.
- (36) Ibid, pp. 73-74, 79.
Chǒng, op.cit., pp. 59-60.
- (37) Joe, op.cit., pp. 59-60.
Chǒng tells us (op.cit., p.45) that the name of Paek-che at this time was Nam Pu-yǒ 南夫餘 or Southern Pu-yǒ.
- (38) Chǒng, op.cit., pp. 47, 60-61.
Joe, op.cit., pp. 29 and 56.
- (39) Joe, op.cit., pp. 54-56, 62-66.
- (40) Ibid, pp. 75-78.
Chǒng, op.cit., p.62.
- (41) Chǒng, op.cit., p.62.
- (42) Ibid, pp. 62-63.
- (43) Chang, Kwang-chih, Early Chinese Civilization: Anthropological Perspectives (Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1976), pp. 174-96.
- Steward, Julian H., and Louis C. Faron, Native Peoples of South America (New York, McGraw-Hill, 1959), pp. 66-118.
Refer especially to the chart on p.67, and the section on Regional Florescent States, pp. 86-100.
- Stover, Leon E., The Cultural Ecology of Chinese Civilization (New York, New American Library, 1974), pp. 28-30. See especially the chart on p.29.

MAP REFERENCES FOR CHAPTER 2

The outline for Charts 2-1, 2-3, 2-4, and 2-5 is a redrawing of Map 14, CRC. The information on those charts is taken from Y P, pp. 3-6. Chart 2-2 is a redrawing of the map on pp. 18-19 of Herrmann, op.cit. The information is drawn from Ch'ng, op.cit., p.20. Chart 2-6 is based on Map 16, CRC, and the information is taken from pp. 7-8, Y P.

NOTES

CHAPTER 3 RELIGION AND SOCIETY IN SIBERIA: A COMPARATIVE SURVEY

B. The Palaeo-Siberian Tribes

- (1) Czaplicka, op.cit., p.257.
Eliade, Mircea, Shamanism, Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy, translated by W. R. Trask (first French edition, 1951, first English edition, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964, second printing, 1970), p.9.
- (2) Czaplicka, op.cit., pp. 257-59.
Holmberg, Uno, Finno-Ugrian, Siberian, edited by J. A. MacCulloch, The Mythology of All Races, 13 vols (Boston, Marshall Jones, 1927), vol.4, p.465.
Holmberg also discusses the occurrence of master spirits amongst the Chukchee.
- (3) Czaplicka, op.cit., pp. 146-49.
- (4) Ibid, pp. 169, 193, 243, 248-49.
- (5) Ibid, pp. 178-79.
- (6) Ibid, pp. 205-08.
- (7) Ibid, pp. 291-93.
- (8) Ibid, pp. 23-32.
- (9) E R E, vol.5, p.394 (article by Paul Radin).
Eliade, op.cit., pp. 289, 294.
- (10) E R E, vol.5, p.394.
- (11) Ibid.
Eliade, op.cit., p.391.
- (12) Czaplicka, op.cit., pp. 169, 181, 248.
Eliade, op.cit., pp. 22, 82.
E R E, Vol.5, p.394.
- (13) Czaplicka, op.cit., pp. 205, 209, 230.
Eliade, op.cit., pp. 93, 289.
- (14) E R E, vol.5, p.393.
- (15) Czaplicka, op.cit., pp. 46, 153, 271-73.

- (16) Ibid, pp. 169, 181.
- (17) Ibid, pp. 209-10.
- (18) Ibid, pp. 43-51.
- (19) Ibid, pp. 269-70.
- (20) Ibid, pp. 169, 209, 243, 248, 254.
Eliade, op.cit., pp. 165, 257.
- (21) Czaplicka, op.cit., p.145.
- (22) Ibid, pp. 261-63.
Eliade, op.cit., p.249.
- (23) Czaplicka, op.cit., pp. 265-69.
Eliade, op.cit., pp. 206, 251.
- (24) Czaplicka, op.cit., pp. 34, 169, 179-81, 243, 248.
Eliade, op.cit., p.251.
- (25) Czaplicka, op.cit., p.294.
Eliade, op.cit., pp. 164-65, 252.
- (26) Czaplicka, op.cit., pp. 32-36.
- (27) Ibid, p.169.
Eliade, op.cit., pp. 70, 172, 223.
Holmberg, op.cit., pp. 397, 516, 519.
- (28) Eliade, op.cit., pp. 216, 246.
Holmberg, op.cit., p.465.
Wilhelm Dupré in a recent book states that the Yukaghir have
been reclassified as members of the Neo-Siberian tribes,
Religion in Primitive Cultures: A Study in Ethnophilosophy
(The Hague, Mouton, 1975), p.88.
- (29) Czaplicka, op.cit., pp. 169, 243.
Eliade, op.cit., pp. 245, 247.
- (30) Eliade, op.cit., pp. 156, 165-66, 247.
- (31) Czaplicka, op.cit., pp. 37, 145.
Eliade, op.cit., pp. 245-49.

C. The Neo-Siberian Tribes

- (1) Czaplicka, op.cit., p.280.
Eliade, op.cit., pp. 198-99.
Holmberg, op.cit., p.401.
- (2) Czaplicka, op.cit., pp. 281-82.
Holmberg, op.cit., pp. 402-04, 413, 463-64, 502.
- (3) Czaplicka, op.cit., pp. 78, 200.
Eliade, op.cit., p.189.
- (4) Czaplicka, op.cit., pp. 218-19.
- (5) Ibid, pp. 241, 298.
Eliade, op.cit., pp. 191, 198-99.
- (6) Czaplicka, op.cit., pp. 53-54.
- (7) Ibid, pp. 277-279.
Eliade, op.cit., p.272.
Holmberg, op.cit., p.507.
- (8) Czaplicka, op.cit., pp. 173, 178, 187, 243.
- (9) Ibid, pp. 210-18.
Holmberg, op.cit., p.519.
- (10) Eliade, op.cit., p.228.
Holmberg, op.cit., pp. 400, 511.
- (11) Czaplicka, op.cit., pp. 55-59.
- (12) E R E, vol.11, pp. 174-77 (article by M. A. Czaplicka).
- (13) Ibid, vol. 11, p.174.
Czaplicka, op.cit., pp. 189, 222.
Eliade, op.cit., pp. 154-55.
- (14) Czaplicka, op.cit., pp. 165, 177-78, 189, 226, 243.
Eliade, op.cit., pp. 96, 152, 154, 225-26.
- (15) Czaplicka, op.cit., pp. 289-90.
Eliade, op.cit. pp. 15, 154, 183.
- (16) Czaplicka, op.cit., pp. 67-68, 194-95, 201-02.
Eliade, op.cit., p.15.
Holmberg, op.cit., p.410.

- (17) Czaplicka, op.cit., pp. 178, 185-86, 200, 243, 283-84, 287-88.
Eliade, op.cit., pp. 9-10.
Holmberg, op.cit., p.391.
- (18) Czaplicka, op.cit., pp. 191, 201, 222-26.
Eliade, op.cit., pp. 150-51, 181.
Holmberg, op.cit., pp. 499, 505.
- (19) Czaplicka, op.cit., pp. 63, 303-05.
Eliade, op.cit., pp. 157, 164, 276-77.
Holmberg, op.cit., pp. 391-92, 395-96.
- (20) Eliade, op.cit., p.272.
E R E, vol. 12, p.475 (article by M. A. Czaplicka).
Holmberg, op.cit., pp. 476,498.
Shirokogoroff, Sergei Michaelovitch, Psycho-Mental Complex of the Tungus (London, Kegal Paul and Co., 1935), pp. 123-27, 130-33, 139-43.
- (21) Eliade, op.cit., p.110.
E R E, vol. 12, p.475.
Shirokogoroff, op.cit., pp. 271, 344, 346.
- (22) Eliade, op.cit., pp. 148-49, 153, 172.
E R E, vol. 12, p.475.
Shirokogoroff, op.cit., pp. 288-90.
- (23) Eliade, op.cit., p.76.
E R E, vol. 12, p.475.
Holmberg, op.cit., p.511.
Shirokogoroff, op.cit., pp. 315-22.
- (24) E R E, vol. 12, p.475.
Encyclopaedia Britannica (London, 1964), vol.12, p.474, vol.14, p.785.

MAP REFERENCES FOR CHAPTER 3

The map in this Chapter is a redrawing of a map found in The Penguin World Atlas (Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1974), pp. 8-9.

The information on it is based on M. A. Czaplicka, op.cit., map at rear entitled Ethnological Map of Siberia.

NOTES

CHAPTER 4 ANCIENT AND MODERN KOREAN SHAMANISM

A. Shamanism in Contemporary Korea

- (1) Clark, Charles Allen, Religions of Old Korea (P'yŏng-yang, 1929, reprinted, Seoul, Christian Literature Society of Korea, 1961), pp. 181-82.
- Czaplicka, op.cit., p.198.
- Hulbert, Homer B., 'The Korean Mudang and P'ansu', The Korea Review, 3 (1903), p.145.
- Ryu, Tong-shik 柳東植, Han-kuk Mu-kyo ũi Yŏk-sa wa Ku-cho
韓國巫教의歷史와構造 (The History and
Structure of Korean Shamanism) (Seoul, Yŏn-se Tae-hak-kyo
 Ch'ul-p'an Pu 延世大學敎出版部, 1975), p.277.
- Waley, Arthur, Nine Songs: A Study of Shamanism in Ancient China (London, George Allen & Unwin, 1955), pp. 9-17.
- (2) Clark, C.A., op.cit., pp. 183-86, 191-92.
- For a contemporary description of the village ceremonies and the village shamans, see Christian Deschamps 車基善,
Min-kan Shin-ang ũi Hyŏng-t'ae wa T'ŭk-sŏng 民間信仰의
刑態와特性 (Formes et Carateristiques de la
Religion Populaire Coreenne) (Seoul, Sŏ-ul Tae-hak-kyo
 Tae-hak-wŏn Sa-hoe Hak-kwa 서울大學敎大學院社會學科
 May 1972), pp. 288-92. Summary in French.
- (3) Hulbert, 'The Korean Mudang and P'ansu', op.cit., p.146.
- (4) Ibid, pp. 146-49.
- (5) Ibid.
- (6) Ibid, pp. 203-04.
- (7) Ibid, pp. 204-05.
- (8) Ibid, p.205.
- (9) Ibid.
- (10) Ibid, pp. 205-07.
- (11) Ibid, pp. 207-08.

(12) Ibid, pp. 257-60.

(13) Ibid.

(14) Ibid.

(15) Ibid.

(16) Ibid.

(17) Ibid, p.301.

(18) Ibid, pp. 301-02.

See also Deschamps, op.cit., pp. 282, 292. He suggests that illness or imminent danger are reasons for consulting the san-shin.

(19) Ryu, op.cit., pp. 293-94.

(20) Hulbert, Homer B., The Passing of Korea (New York, 1906, reprinted, Seoul, Yonsei University Press, 1969), p.405.

(21) Clark, C.A., op.cit., pp. 196-97.

(22) Ibid, pp. 194-98.

The four spiritual guardians of the four corners of the Buddhist world, the 四天王 or Four Heavenly Kings, seem to be superficially similar to the O-pang Chang-gun. The greater importance of the Five Generals in the Korean cosmological hierarchy as contrasted with the Four Heavenly Kings, and the fact that the concept of five cardinal directions is indigenous to East Asia would indicate that the Five Generals are native to Korean religion. See E. J. Eitel, Handbook for the Student of Chinese Buddhism (London, Trubner and Co., 1870), p.145.

(23) Ibid, p.198.

(24) Ibid, pp. 200, 207.

See Deschamps, op.cit., pp. 288-92 for comparison.

(25) Ryu, op.cit., p.270.

(26) Clark, C.A., op.cit., p.202.

(27) Ibid, p.203.

Ryu, op.cit., p.100.

See Martin, et al, op.cit., p.688.

(28) Clark, C.A., op.cit., pp. 206-07.

- (29) Ibid, pp. 203, 205-08.

The city in which the author lived, Tae-ku 大邱, used to possess a shrine dedicated to the spirits of the vengeful dead called a yŏn-che tan 厲祭壇, which was located on a hill to the north of the city. We have seen similar shrines of this type in Taiwan and Hong-kong.

- (30) Ryu, op.cit., p.345.

B. The Religion of the Ancient States

- (1) Kim, Wŏn-yong 金元龍, Han-kuk Ko-ko-hak Kae-sŏl 韓國考古學概說 (An Introduction to Korean Archaeology) (Seoul, Il-chi Sa 一志社, 1973), pp. 140-41.

Hentze, Carl, 'Schamanenkronen zur Han Zeit in Korea', Ostasiatische Zeitschrift, new series 19, no. 5 (1933), p.159.

Phillips, E.D., The Royal Hordes: Nomad Peoples of the Steppes (London, Thames and Hudson, 1965), p.83.

Good illustrations of the Korean royal tumuli may be found in a tourist pamphlet entitled Tour of Gyeongju (Kyŏng-ju, City of Kyŏng-ju, 1975). Pictures on pp. 23, 25, 26, and 27 give overall views of the tumuli. Pictures on pp. 51, 62, and 63 show details of the excavations of Tombs 98 and 155 (Tomb of the Heavenly Horse). A comparison should be made of the appearance of these tombs with a tomb from the Early Han Dynasty. Refer to Sydney D. Gamble, Ting Hsien: A North China Community (Stanford, California, Stanford University Press, 1954, reprinted, 1968). A picture included between pp. 16 and 17 shows the tumulus of Liu Sheng, the ninth son of the Emperor Ching-ti. The tomb dates from c.113 B.C. A description of the tomb may be found on p.429.

- (2) Illustrations of these burial items may be found in the following books:

National Museum of Korea, A Hundred Treasures of the National Museum of Korea (Seoul, Sam-hwa Publishing Co. 三和出版社, 1972), plates 8, 10 and 11. Notes in Korean, English, and Japanese are in the rear.

Kung-nip Chung-ang Pang-mul Kwan 國立中央博物館 (National Museum of Korea), Shil-la Myŏng-bo 新羅名寶 (Treasures of the Shil-la Kingdom) (Seoul, Sam-hwa Publishing Co., 三和出版社, 1974), plates 1, 2, 3, 4, and 30. Explanatory notes in Korean, Japanese and English are in the rear.

- (3) Holmberg, op.cit., pp. 513, 521.

Kidder, Jonathan Edward, Jr., Japan Before Buddhism (London, Thames and Hudson, 1966), p.69.

Kidder (op.cit., pp. 178-79) discusses the discovery in Japan of crowns similar in form and decoration to the gold crowns which have been excavated in Korea. The Japanese crowns also have branched trees decorated with dangling gold plates, and kok-ok. Kidder believes that these crowns were of Korean manufacture and says that they are one indication of the close contacts which existed between Japan and Korea at that time. A picture of one of these crowns may be found in Vadime Elisseef, Japan (Geneva, Nagel, 1973), plates 110-14.

- (4) A Hundred Treasures, etc., op.cit., see note to plate 10.

Ryu, op.cit., pp. 42-43.

- (5) Hentze, op.cit., p.156.

Kim, op.cit., p.150.

- (6) A Hundred Treasures, etc., op.cit., plate 9 and accompanying note.

Kim, op.cit., p.153.

Tour of Gyeongju, op.cit., pp. 51-52.

Kim states that one of the decorative objects on the girdle

takes the form of a 圭刑. We believe he means that it

is in the shape of a pi 璧 (pyŏk in Korean). These jade objects are thought to have been used by the kings of Chou when they performed the sacrifice to Heaven. Pictures of these jades and a description of them may be found in William Watson, Early Civilization in China (London, Thames and Hudson, 1966), pp. 124-26. A pre-dynastic pi from the Middle Yang-shao Period (c.2000 B.C.) is pictured on p.31, illustration 13. Plates 122 and 123 show various dangling objects in the shape of animals, one of which is in the shape of a fish.

- (7) Shil-la Myŏng-bo, op.cit., plates 5, 29, 33, 35, 36, and 37 plus notes.

- (8) Kim, op.cit., p.152.

Kim tells us that the use of the girdle was acquired directly from the nomads. Nonetheless, some of the decorative objects would appear to be purely Chinese in form.

- (9) Ibid, p.147.

A Hundred Treasures, etc., op.cit., plates 12, 13, 14, and 18 plus notes.

Shil-la Myŏng-bo, op.cit., plate 18.

- (10) Kidder, op.cit., p.180.
- (11) The story of Kim Al-chi is recorded in the SKYS, pp. 38-39 and 201-02. Compare this myth with the myth of Hyök-kö-se, founder of the Pak clan (pp. 35-36, 194-97) and with the myth of T'ar-hae, founder of the Sök clan (pp. 37-38, 199-201). For an English translation see Ir-yön 一然, Samguk Yusa: Legends and History of the Three Kingdoms of Ancient Korea, translated by Ha Tae-Hung and Grafton K. Mintz (Seoul, Yonsei University Press, 1972), pp. 49-51, 53-57.
- (12) A Hundred Treasures, etc., op.cit., plates 21-24, 26.1, 32.
- (13) Ibid, plate 5 plus note.
Chöng, op.cit., p.18.
- (14) Chöng, op.cit., p.43.
SKSK, Appendix p.4
SKYS, p.13.
- (15) SKYS, pp. 38-39, 201-202.
- (16) Ibid.
The myth of T'ar-hae, like the myth of Tan-kun, ends by saying that the king became a san-shin at his death.
- (17) Ryu, op.cit., pp. 25-28.
The translation of the myth of Tan-kun is my own rendering of the Han-kül (Korean alphabetic) version in the SKYS, pp. 180-81. Compare Ha and Mintz, op.cit., pp. 32-33.
- (18) Several features of the myth of Tan-kun as related by Ir-yön disclose certain Buddhist features. This is not surprising as Ir-yön himself was a monk and was writing in an age which was predominantly Buddhist. Two features of particular interest are the words by which Ir-yön chose to represent the Lord of Heaven, and the words for the Heavenly Treasures. Eitel (op.cit., p.108) says that the term 帝釋 was a Sino-Buddhist term for the lord of the devas or spirits. He gives two variants as 釋提桓因 and 天帝釋, which he says were 'common epithets of Indra as ruler of the devas'.
- Eitel (p.46) says that Indra is 'the representative of the secular power, valiant protector of the Buddhist church', but is inferior to Sakyamuni. William Edward Soothill adds another variant, 釋帝桓因. See A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms (London, 1934, reprinted, Taipei, Ch'engwen Publishing Co., 1975), p.300. The choice of the word Hwan-in for the Supreme Being would seem to be an obvious attempt to harmonize the Buddhist and native Korean cosmologies.

Hwan-in gave to Hwan-ung three 天符印, which we have translated as Three Heavenly Treasures. Yi Ka-wŏn 李家源 and Chang Sam-shik 張三植 say that these instruments were the symbols of royal authority. Possession of these instruments by the king was used to demonstrate that in his person the Lord of Heaven had descended to earth. They also refer to these instruments as po-in 寶印. See Han-cha Tae-chŏn 漢字大典 (A Dictionary of Chinese Characters) (Seoul, Yu-kyŏng Publishing Co. 裕庚出版社, 1973), p.359. Soothill (op.cit., p.476) says that these instruments were the symbols of the Buddhas or Bodhisattvas.

There are several shamanistic features in the legend of Tan-kun. The reader will already have noted the appearance of the bear and the tiger, which are characteristic features of Siberian belief. The tiger is an element in Tungus folk belief and legend which is normally associated with the god of the mountain. It is also interesting to note that the transformed being was called Ung-nyŏ or bear woman.

The use of the numbers three and seven in this myth parallels practice in modern Siberia. The phrase three times seven days occurs in two Korean customs which are both known as sam-ch'ir il 三七日. The first of these customs is held on the twenty-first day after the birth of a child, and the second on the twenty-first day after a death in the family. See Martin, et al, op.cit., p.905, and Yang Chu-tong 梁柱東, Min Tae-shik 閔泰植, Yi Ka-wŏn 李家源, Han-Han Tae Sa-chŏn 漢韓大辭典 (A Chinese-Korean Dictionary) (Seoul, Tong-a Ch'ul-p'an Sa 東亞出版社, 1963), p.18. During the three week period following a birth, certain tabus were imposed which are suggestive of sympathetic magic. Such tabus as the prohibition of loud voices, washing of clothes, and the killing of domestic animals will remind the reader of the tabus which were imposed upon a family

which had a member who had contracted smallpox. See Yim Sok Chae, 'Customs and Folklore, in Korean Studies Today, edited by Lee, Sung-nyong (Seoul, Institute of Asian Studies, Seoul National University, 1970), p.203.

(19) Ryu, op.cit., pp.30-31.

(20) Ibid, pp.31-33.

(21) Ibid, pp. 33-45.

For a comparison with Ryu's theories see Jung Young Lee, 'Concerning the Origin and Formation of Korean Shamanism', Numen, 20, no. 2 (1973-74), pp. 135-59, and Manabu Waida, 'Symbolism of "Descent" in Tibetan Sacred Kingship and Some East Asian Parallels', Numen, 20, no. 1 (1973-74), pp. 60-78.

(22) Ibid, pp. 345-46.

NOTES

UNIT III BUDDHISM

CHAPTER 5 BUDDHISM IN KOREA: THE FIRST CENTURIES

A. Buddhism in Ko-ku-ryō

(1) Chōng, op.cit., p.64.

Kak-hun 覺訓, Lives of Eminent Korean Monks: The Haedong Kost'ng Chōn, translated by Peter H. Lee, Harvard-Yenching Institute Studies, XXV (Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1969), pp. 26, 30-31.

Kim, T'uk-hwang 金得樞, Han-kuk Chong-gyo-sa 韓國宗教史 (A History of Korean Religions) (Seoul, E-p'el Ch'ul-p'an Sa 에델출판사, 1970), p.97.

Sŏ, Kyōng-bo 徐京保, Tong-yang Pul-kyo Mun-hwa-sa 東洋佛教文化史 (A History of Buddhist Culture in East Asia) (Seoul, Myōng-mun Tang 明文堂, 1971), p.181.

Yi, Ki-paek 李基白, 'Sam-kuk Shi-tae Pul-kyo Chōl-lae wa kŭ Sa-hoe-chōk Sōng-gyōk' 三國時代佛教傳來와그社會의性格 ('The Introduction of Buddhism During the Period of the Three Kingdoms and Its Social Characteristics'), Yōk-sa Hak-po 歷史學報 (Journal of History), ?, no. 6 (1954), pp. 131-32.

(2) Cho-sŏn Min-chu Chu-ŭi In-min Kong-hwa-kuk Kwa-hak Wŏn 조선민주주의인민공화국 과학원 (The Academy of Science of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea), An-ak Che-sam-ho Pun Pal-kul Po-ko 안악서삼호분 발굴 보고 (A Report of the Excavation of Tomb Number Three at An-ak) (P'yōng-yang 평양, 1958), p.24.

Kim, Byung-mo, 'Aspects of Brick and Stone Tomb Construction in China and South Korea' (unpublished D.Phil. dissertation, University of Oxford, 1978), pp. 298, 303.

Kim, T'uk-hwang, op.cit., p.100.

Yi, Ki-paek, op.cit., p.132.

Zürcher, op.cit., p.77

- (3) Kim, Tŭk-hwang, op.cit., pp. 97-98.

This incident is recorded in the Chin Shu 秦書 although there is no mention of the fact that Fu-ch'ien sent a missionary to Ko-ku-ryō. See The Chronicle of Fu-ch'ien, translated by Michael Rogers (Berkeley, California, University of California Press, 1968), p.130, and note 258 on p.228.

An, Kye-hyōn, 'Silla Buddhism and the Spirit of the Protection of the Fatherland', Korea Journal, 17, no. 4 (April 1977), pp. 27-29.

- (4) Kim, Tŭk-hwang, op.cit., p.99.

- (5) Lee, Peter, op.cit., pp. 40-44.

- (6) Ibid, p.31.

Kim, Tŭk-hwang, op.cit., p.100.

- (7) Sō, op.cit., p.182.

- (8) Kim, Tŭk-hwang, op.cit., pp. 100-01.

Sō, op.cit., p.182.

There is some confusion here. Ch'en (Buddhism in China, op.cit., p.131) says that the Emperor Wu of Liang sent ten monks to study under Sŭng-nang. However, elsewhere (p.145), Ch'en says that Sŭng-nang was called to the court of Northern Wei by T'ai-tsu 太祖 (386 to 409). If Sŭng-nang was a disciple of Kumārajīva, the latter must be correct. The Liang emperor may only have heard of the Ko-ku-ryō monk's reputation.

Kim, Tŭk-hwang, op.cit., pp. 101-02.

- (9) Kim Tong-hwa 金東華 says that three sects were important in Ko-ku-ryō; the San-lun School, the Nirvāṇa School, and the T'ien-tai School. He claims that the monks Shil and In were followers of the San-lun School, and that Hye-kwan and Hye-ch'a were responsible for introducing this sect into Japan. See 'Ko-ku-ryō Shi-tae ūi Pul-kyo Sa-sang' 高句麗時代斗佛教思想 ('Buddhist Thought in Ko-gu-ryeo'), A-se-a Yōn-ku 亞細亞研究 (Asian Research), 2, no. 1, (June 1959), 1-46 (pp.45-46). For a discussion of the three sects in Ko-ku-ryō, see pp. 21-37, 38-44.

- (10) Joe, op.cit., p.120.

P S, p.178.

Sō, op.cit., pp. 182-83.

- (11) Han, op.cit., p.66.
 Kim, T'uk-hwang, op.cit., p.102.
 Lee, Peter, op.cit., pp. 35-39.
 P S, p.294.
- (12) Joe, op.cit., p.120.
 Sŏ, op.cit., p.183.

B. Par-hae

- (1) Sohn, Pow-key, Kim Chol-choon, Hong Yi-sup, The History of Korea (Seoul, Korean National Committee for Unesco, 1970), p.67.
 K T, vol. 2, p.551.
- (2) Han, op.cit., p.88.
 Sohn, op.cit., p.68
 K T, op.cit., vol. 2, p.551.
 Joe, op.cit., p.160.
- (3) K T, op.cit., vol. 2, p.551.

Japanese archaeologists excavated the site of the Par-hae capital in the early 1930s. In addition to the temple sites mentioned above, they discovered Buddhist statues of terracotta, bronze, iron, dry lacquer, and clay, as well as bits of Buddhist wall paintings. These latter items were felt to be similar to material from the Japanese Nara Period. The on-tol system of heating was used throughout in one of the palaces. The archaeologists state that in the Hsin T'ang Shu 新唐書 the King of Par-hae is called ka-tok-pu 可吞夫, a Buddhist title. See Harada, Yoshito, Tung-ching-ch'êng, Report of the Excavation of the Capital of P'o-hai, Archaeologia Orientalis, vol. 5 (Tokyo, Far-Eastern Archaeological Society, 1939), pp. 14-17, 30-33, 38-39, Plates LVI, CVII-CXII, CXVI-CXVII, and figures 24 and 34 in the Japanese text. Neither Soothill nor the I B J make a reference to the term ka-tok-pu.

- (4) Ennin 圓仁, Ennin's Diary, translated by Edwin O. Reischauer (New York, Ronald Press, 1955), pp. 197, 261-62.

C. Paek-che

- (1) Kim, T'uk-hwang, op.cit., p.102.
- (2) Lee, Peter, op.cit., p.45.

(3) Ibid.

Unfortunately, the name of this temple has not descended to us. It would not have been large. The site of the temple was in the capital of that time, which is present-day Kwang-ju 廣州 in Kyōng-gi Province. See Peter Lee, *op. cit.*, p.45.

(4) Fa-hsien 法顯, The Travels of Fa-hsien (A.D. 391 to 414) or Records of the Buddhist Kingdoms, translated by Herbert A. Giles (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1923), pp. 24, 28.

Hsüan-tsang 玄奘, Ta-T'ang Hsi-yü Chi 大唐西域記, edited by Toru Haneda (Kyoto, 1911, reprinted, Toyoshima, Kokusho Kankeisha, 1972), chüan no. 4, p.30 and note.

Kim, T'uk-hwang, *op. cit.*, pp. 103-104.

Majumdar, Surendranath, Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India (Calcutta, Chuchervertty, Chatterjee and Co., 1924), pp. 423-427.

See also Hsüan-tsang 玄奘, Si-yu-ki, Buddhist Records of the Western World, translated by Samuel Beal (London, Trubner and Co., 1889), vol. 1, pp. 202-05, and notes 109 and 110. The Shui-ching-chu 水經注 has a reference to a 僧迦烏荼揭 and a 僧迦施 which L. Petech identifies with the ancient Sankāsya-nāgara or Sankāsya. This is, of course, the modern Sankisa. See Luciano Petech, Northern India According to the Shui-ching-chu (Rome, Instituto Italiano per Il Medo ed Estemo Oriente, 1950), p.30. This identification has been definitely confirmed by archaeological excavations. The great temple to the east of Sankisa is called Pakna Bihar. See Hiranand Śhastrī, 'Excavations at Sankisa', Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society, III (1927), pp. 99-118.

(5) Beal, *op. cit.*, p.202.

Eitel, *op. cit.*, p.168 gives 律 as the explanatory character for vinaya.

Soothill (*op. cit.*, p.193) only states that saṃmatīya is the school of correct measures or evaluation. Eitel (*op. cit.*, p.119) says that it was the school of true measures.

(6) Eitel, op.cit., p.150.

Soothill, op.cit., p.75.

We were unable to reconstruct the sounds Pae-tal-ta into a Sanskrit name.

(7) Ibid, p.288.

Kim, Tūk-hwang, op.cit., p.104.

Soothill, op.cit., pp. 226 and 288.

Soothill gives three Chinese forms for abhidharma. Besides the one used by Kyōm-ik, there are 阿毗達摩 and 阿鼻達摩.

(8) Kim, Tūk-hwang, op.cit., p.104.

(9) Ibid, pp. 104-05.

Kitagawa, Joseph M., Religion in Japanese History (New York, Columbia University Press, 1966), pp. 23-24.

The Nihon Shoki 日本書記 says that King Sōng sent a gold and copper alloy statue of Śākyamuni, several sūtras, and some flags and umbrellas. See Nihongi, translated by W. G. Aston (Tokyo, 1890, reprinted, Tokyo, Charles Tuttle, 1972), vol. 2, p.65.

(10) Kitagawa, op.cit., pp. 23-24.

(11) Kim, Tūk-hwang, op.cit., pp. 104-05.

(12) Ibid, pp. 106-07.

(13) Ibid, pp. 106-09.

There was apparently a dispensation which was granted for the use of the falcon and sparrow hawk in hunting.

Eitel (op.cit., p.118) defines a 伽藍 as a saṃghārāna, which means literally the garden of the assembly, a poetic description for a monastery. A tae ka-ram must stand for a mahā-saṃghārāna, or a monastery of unusual significance.

Mi-rūk is the Korean for Māitrēya. Thus, the Mi-rūk Temple was dedicated to the Buddha Who Is To Come. The only visible remains of the Mi-rūk Temple is a six storey stone pagoda. Its site is in North Chōl-la Province, the County of Ik-san 益山郡, the Township of Kūm-ma 金山面. See Kim, Tūk-hwang, op.cit., p.109.

The site of the Wang-hūng Temple is near the ancient capital of Paek-che, Pu-yō 扶餘 on the Paeng-ma River 白馬江.

D. Shil-la

1. The Period of Evangelism

(1) Lee, Peter, op.cit., pp. 50-52.

Kim, T'uk-hwang, op.cit., pp. 109-10.

Sŏ, op. cit., pp. 187-88.

Lee and Sŏ refer to A-to as a upadhyāna or 和尚. Eitel, (op.cit., pp. 155-156) says that it is synonymous with the term 法師, monks who are engaged in popular teaching, i.e. evangelism.

(2) Sŏ, op.cit., p.187.

S K Y S, pp. 12-13.

S K S K, Appendix, p.4.

智 is one of the three virtues of the Buddha. See P S, p.397.

(3) Lee, Peter, op.cit., pp. 57-61.

There is a curious parallel to the martyrdom of I-ch'a-ton which is found in Bede's History of the English Church and People. The first martyr for the Christian faith in Britain whom Bede mentions is Saint Alban. Alban substituted himself for a priest whom he had been hiding from the authorities. For his acceptance of Christianity and for his hiding the wanted priest, he was condemned to be executed. On his way to the place of execution, a stream dried up, the executioner desired to die with him, and a spring welled up at the spot of the execution. When he was decapitated, the executioner's eyes fell out; translated by Leo Shirley-Price (Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1970), pp. 44-47.

(4) Lee, Peter, op.cit., pp. 61-63.

Sŏ, op.cit., pp. 187-88.

(5) Soothill, op.cit., pp. 163, 303.

S K Y S, p.13.

S K S K, Appendix, p.4.

(6) Lee, Peter, op.cit., pp. 64 (notes 293 and 298) and 70.

Edgerton, Franklin, Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary, 2 vols (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1953), vol. 2, p.410.

(7) Lee, Peter, op.cit., pp. 64-67.

(8) Ibid, pp. 67-69.

- (9) Kim, Tūk-hwang, op.cit., p.112.
- (10) Sō, op.cit., p.191.
 Kim, Tūk-hwang, op.cit., pp. 113-15.
 Lee, Peter, op.cit., pp. 78-81.
 Soothill, op.cit., pp. 328-29, 337-38, 349.
 Wōn-kwang's name refers to the halo around the head of a
 Buddha. See Soothill, op.cit., p.396.
- (11) Sō, op.cit., pp. 124, 192.
 Kim, Tūk-hwang, op.cit., p.124.
 P S, p.75.

Temples such as those at Nālandā have been considered in recent years to be similar to the universities of mediaeval Europe. See the thorough treatment of this subject which is contained in the work of Sukumar Dutt, Buddhist Monks and Monasteries of India (London, George Allen and Unwin, 1962). Dutt says that by the fifth century great centres of learning had begun to form around the major monastic establishments of India and which by the beginning of the seventh century had begun to form themselves into genuine universities. This development however represented a late flowering of Buddhist culture in the comparatively confined area of Bihar and Bengal. Within that area there were three principal universities, Nālandā, Odantapura, and Vikramasila, of which Nālandā was the greatest. The peak period in the development of these early Indian universities was reached during the seventh century and it was at this time that the greatest number of Chinese and Korean monks are recorded to have gone to India. These universities had strict entrance requirements to weed out unpromising candidates. This was particularly true of Nālandā where the candidates were scrutinized in the most thorough manner by the custodian of the main gate, who was in fact an important scholar of the community. Nālandā had no fixed period of residence which was required of the student, but then, on the other hand, no degree was conferred. The Nālandā university was composed of several schools, all of which utilized a discussion or seminar method of teaching, and there may have been as many as three thousand students. Though there were no known universities in the south of India, there were great intellectual and cultural centres. Of these, one of the greatest was Amarāvati. Hsüan-tsang reports that perhaps a thousand students gathered in buildings around the great stūpa to study the Mahāyāna doctrines. See Dutt, op.cit., pp. 29, 135, 327, 331-33 and 340. Although Sankisa during the period of Kyōm-ik's visit must have been one of the emerging academic institutions of India, it failed to attain university status. From the information given in Dutt, it is obvious that the Koreans went to the most famous and important academic establishments of either North or South India, Nālandā and Amarāvati.

We have accepted the reconstruction in Lee (op.cit., p.89) of the characters **阿離那跋摩** as Āryavarman. According to Eitel (op.cit., p.13), ārya is transliterated by the Chinese character **尊**. Varman, likewise, is rendered as **輪**. We conclude that Āryavarman's name in Korean could have been Chon-nyun.

(12) Kim, Tūk-hwang, op.cit., p.124.

Lee, Peter, op.cit., p.91.

Sō, op.cit., p.192.

Lee says that the **淨明經** is the Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa Sūtra (op.cit., p.91) to which Soothill adds (op.cit., p.427) that there have been three translations. The most famous are the ones by Kumārajīva and Hsüan-tsang. It was known as the **維摩詰所說經**. As vimala means pure or clean (Soothill, op.cit., p.357), **淨明經** must be a translation of the meaning of the title of this sūtra. Soothill (op.cit., p.427) says that this is an apocryphal sūtra which is supposed to be a record of a conversation between Śākyamuni and some righteous citizens of the city of Vaiśālī. **菩提** is the Chinese rendering for the Sanskrit bodhi, enlightenment. See Matthews Chinese-English Dictionary, Revised American Edition with Revised English Index (Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1944), p.744.

(13) So, op.cit., p.192.

Kim, Tūk-hwang, op.cit., p.124.

Lee, Peter, op.cit., p.92.

The **中論** and the **百論** are two of the three divisions of the **三論** of which the **中論** is the most important.

According to Soothill, it "opposes rigid categories of existence and non-existence". According to him the **中論** seeks a middle way. See Soothill, op.cit., pp.111, 217.

J. Takakusu tells us that Hyōn-cho's teachers at Nālandā were Ginaprabha and Ratnasimha. See I-tsing 義淨, A Record of the Buddhist Religion as Practised in India and the Malay Archipelago (A.D. 671 to 695), translated by J. Takakusu (Oxford, 1896, reprinted Taipei, Ch'eng-wen Publishing Company, 1970), p. lviii.

- (14) Kim, Tūk-hwang, op.cit., p.124.
 Lee, Peter, op.cit., pp. 95, 97.
 P S, p.937.
 Sō, op.cit., p.192.

Eitel (op.cit., p.84) tells us that 尼波羅 is Nēpalā, an ancient kingdom which was to the east of modern Katmandu. It is said that embassies passing between India and China used this route. It is interesting to note that Hyōn-t'ae chose to take this route. Judging by the location of Sankisa, one wonders if this was the route taken by Kyōm-ik in the sixth century.

We were not able to find any further reference to the monk Tao-hsi, or to the Ch'an master Chê.

土合渾 or variantly **吐合渾** is a region south and west of the modern province of Ch'ing-hai, south of Kan-su Province. See Herrmann, op.cit., pp. 28, 29, and C R C, map no. 12.

J. Takakusu (op.cit., p.xl) tells us that I-tsing encountered two priests from Shil-la who had fallen ill in the Malay Archipelago. This was in 婆魚師州, which is given the Korean pronunciation of P'a-lo-sa Chu. The C R C (map 12) shows 婆羅娑 (P'a-la-sa) as the northern end of the island of Sumatra at the beginning of the seventh century. This must be the place referred to as P'a-lo-sa.

- (15) P S, pp. 117-18.
 S K Y S, pp. 363-68, 396-401.

- (16) P S, pp. 117-18.
 S K Y S, pp. 363-68, 396-401.

- (17) P S, pp. 117-18; S K Y S, pp. 363-68, 396-401.

In the text of the S K Y S, Wu-t'ai Shan is referred as 清涼山, This is also the name for the abode of Mañjuśrī, which is to the northeast of the universe. The phrase 清涼 meaning clear or pure also appears in the title for the

fourth patriarch of the Hua-yen School, as 清涼國師. Wu-t'ai Shan is one of the four sacred mountains of Chinese Buddhism. The principal temple there was built in the last quarter of the fifth century. There was a monastery on the mountain which was called 清涼寺. See Soothill, op.cit., pp.125, and 357. Soothill (op.cit., p.125) refers to Wu-t'ai Shan by two Sanskrit terms, pañcaśīrsa and pañcaśīkha. Edgerton (op.cit., vol. 2, p.315) defines pañcaśīrsa as five-headed, to which Monier Monier-Williams adds that it is the name of a Buddhist mountain. See A Sanskrit-English Dictionary (London, Oxford University Press, 1899), p.577. Arthur A. Macdonald defines pañcaśīkha as the wearing of five top knots. See A Practical Sanskrit Dictionary (London, Oxford University Press, 1924), p.149. This must be a reference to the five peaks and terraces which compose Wu-t'ai Shan.

Soothill tells us that 勝 is used for the Sanskrit jina, meaning victorious, and which occurs in the phrase 勝乘, victorious vehicle, a reference to Mahāyāna Buddhism. Thus the name of the great temple in which Cha-chang resided for a while in Ch'ang-an meant the Brilliance of Mahāyāna. See Soothill, op.cit., p.367.

Chung-nan Shan is a mountain in Shen-si Province and interestingly enough is also the posthumous name of the founder of the Hua-yen Sect. See Soothill, op.cit., p.362. The P S (p.326) tells us that the Pun-hwang Temple was constructed in 634 and that both Cha-chang and Wōn-hyo are known to have been in residence there. The character in the name is the first character in the transliteration of the Sanskrit word punḍarīka, the white lotus. See Soothill, op.cit., p.280. The P S (pp. 324-25) adds that the white lotus was, of the four types of lotus, the most precious. It was also called, in Korean, in-chung-ho hwa 入中好花, the Flower of Harmony Amongst Men. It is highly praised in the Saddharma-punḍarīka Sūtra (Lotus Sūtra) 法華經 or 妙法蓮華經.

The Buddha which Cha-chang encountered in China and later in Shil-la, Mañjuśrī, is of unknown origin. The title is composed of the Sanskrit mañju, beautiful, and śrī, good fortune or virtue. He is perceived to be the guardian of wisdom and is placed on Śākyamuni's left. He is also seen as symbolizing eternal youth. His abode is described as 滹涼山, a mountain to the east of the universe, which is also another name for Wu-t'ai Shan, his principal pilgrimage site in China. Ennin's description of Wu-t'ai Shan as a mysterious and misty range of mountains is similar to the description of O-tae San in the legend told of Cha-chang in the S K Y S. Refer to Soothill, op.cit., p.153, Reischauer, op.cit., pp. 257-59, and S K Y S, pp. 363-64.

The title which was given to Cha-chang, tae kuk-t'ong, implied that he was the most important of the monks in the kingdom. According to the P S (p.146), there was a similar title in use in the T'ang Dynasty. We believe that tae kuk-t'ong is similar to 國師 in meaning, although this latter term was not in use until the Ko-ryō Dynasty. See P S p.86. Soothill (op.cit., p.344) translates the latter term as an imperial preceptor.

(18) Kim, T'uk-hwang, op.cit., pp. 115-17.

(19) Ibid.

Soothill, op.cit., p.339.

For a discussion of the kō-mun ko and the origin of the name, see Song, Bang-song, 'The Etymology of the Korean Six-Stringed Zither, Kōmun'go: A Critical Review', Korea Journal, 15, no. 10 (October 1975), pp. 18-23.

For a discussion of the philosophy of Wōn-hyo, see Yi Ki-yōng

李基永, Wōn-hyo Sa-sang 元曉思想 (Won-Hyo's Thought) (Seoul, Hong-bōp Wōn 弘法院, 1976.

Two translations of the Mahāyāna Śriddhotpāda Śāstra are of interest. The first is by the Chinese missionary Timothy Richard, The Awakening of Faith in the Mahayana Doctrine - the New Buddhism (Shanghai, Kelly and Walsh, 1918), which contains the original Chinese language text. A more accurate translation has been done by Yoshito Hakeda, The Awakening of Faith (New York, Columbia University, 1967). Hakeda says that the three finest commentaries on this work were done by Hui-yuan, Wōn-hyo, and Fa-tsang. As Fa-tsang was a close friend of Ūi-sang, who in turn was close to Wōn-hyo, one wonders what influence, if any, Wōn-hyo might have had on Fa-tsang. The Tae-sūng Ki-shin Non So-ki appears in the Taisho Tripitaka, vol. 44, pp. 202-26.

(20) H I T, p.583.
 K T, vol. 3, p.1097.
 P S, p.702.
 S K Y S, pp. 143-44.

(21) H I T, p.583.
 K T, vol. 3, p.1097.
 S K Y S, pp. 143-44.

(22) H I T, p.583.
 K I T, vol. 3, p.1097.
 P S, p.702.
 S K Y S, pp. 143-44.

The S K Y S tells us that Ūi-sang was twenty-nine when he took the tonsure. If the H I T is correct in saying that he was born in 625 and took the tonsure in 644, this would be impossible. The K T agrees with the H I T. Ūi-sang must have been nineteen at the time.

Again, the S K Y S states that Ūi-sang made his second attempt to enter T'ang in the first year of the Yung-hui era of the Emperor Kao-tsung. This would be 650. Both the K T and H I T state that he went in the first year of King Mun-mu, that is 661. If the S K Y S is correct, then he must have been in T'ang for twenty years before returning. If the dictionaries are correct, he would have been there for only ten years.

The cave in which Ūi-sang stayed is named, of course, for the Boddhisattva Kuan-yin. The temple which was built nearby, Nak-san Temple, could take its name from a shortening of **比羅婆洛山**, a mountain near Kapiśa. It is explained by the term **象堅山**, a mountain firm as an elephant. See Eitel, op.cit., p.93. The Pi-ma-ra Temple takes its name from the Sanskrit term vimala, meaning unsullied, pure. See Soothill, op.cit., p.306. **海印** is a symbol of the ocean, which indicates the vast extent of the meditation of the Buddha. The Buddha perceives all. See Soothill, op.cit., p.327.

The characters **梵** and **魚** both enter into many combinations, but neither Soothill nor Eitel give any usage in which they are put together. Hwa-ōm Temple obviously takes its name from the name of the sūtra.

Ch'en gives Fa-tsang's dates as 643 to 712, making him a much younger contemporary of Ūi-sang. Ch'en states that it is Fa-tsang who should be considered as the real founder of the Hua-yen School. Thus, his relationship to Ūi-sang takes on particular significance. It is said that his family had come from Sogdiana, but that he had been brought up in Ch'ang-an and was culturally Chinese. Fa-tsang in his youth was also supposed to have assisted Hsüan-tsang and possibly I-tsing with their translation work. See Ch'en, Buddhism in China, op.cit., p.314.

(23) H I T, p.501.

K T, vol. 3, p.1006.

P S, p.656.

(24) H I T, p.501.

K T, vol. 3, p.1006.

P S, p.656.

The story of the conflict between K'uei-chi and Wŏn-ch'ŭk was still current when Ennin visited T'ang. In his diary, he makes reference to the story of Wŏn-ch'ŭk's secreting himself so that he too would hear the great lecture. See Reischauer, Ennin's Diary, op.cit., p.272, and note 1017.

Reischauer (ibid) says that Wŏn-ch'ŭk's original name was Hyŏn-ch'ŭk 玄測.

(25) H I T, p.501.

K T, vol. 3, p.1006.

P S, p.656.

唯識, Soothill (op.cit., p.344) tells us, is the Sanskrit word viññānamātra, cittamātra. This he defines as Idealism, "the doctrine that nothing exists apart from mind". It is similar to 唯心. 顯識 is all that which is manifest, both good and bad, and stands for the Sanskrit word ālaya-viññāna. Of the eight types of cognition 八識, or priññānas, the eighth is the ālaya-viññāna 阿賴耶 "which is the storehouse, or basis from which come all 'seeds' of consciousness". It is the basic consciousness of sentient beings, and it is said to be at the root of all experience. It is also called 本識, or original mind. The Ta-ch'êng Hsien-shih Ching must have been a sūtra devoted to the exposition of this idea. We have not found any reference to it. Refer to Soothill, op.cit., pp. 40, 292, and 488. We cannot find a reference to P'u-yü or to the P'u-yü Ching.

Although we have been able to suggest reconstructions of the Sanskrit names of two of the Indian monks associated with Wŏn-ch'ŭk, we have been unable to suggest a plausible reconstruction for Po-che-yu-chi.

- (26) H I T, p.234.
 K T, p.471.
 P S, pp. 101, 207-08.
 S K Y S, pp. 55-58.

- (27) H I T, p.234.
 K T, vol. 2, p.471.
 P S, pp. 101, 207-08.
 S K Y S, pp. 55-58.
 Soothill, op.cit., p.335.

Soothill (op.cit., p.407) says that yōga practices were originally meditation, but that in later years they became mixed with Tantrism to become a blend of exorcism and sorcery. This resulting melange became known as the Yōgacāra Sect. Hsüan-tsang studied the doctrines and practices of this school and became an ardent proponent of them. It was this school with which Myōng-nang came into contact in T'ang.

I have found no references to **文豆婁秘密法** in the standard references. The sound of the first three characters in Korean is mun-tu-ru. The last three characters refer to the esoteric practices of Yōgacāra. Mun-tu-ru sounds like a transliteration of mandāra, which is normally written **曼陀羅**. Mandāra came to mean a magical formula or incantation, and latterly a magical circle. It was a practice which became associated with the Chên-yen Sect. See Eitel, op.cit., p.71, and Soothill, op.cit., p.352. **秘密** refers to the mystic nature of the mantras and especially to the esoteric concepts of the Chên-yen Sect. See Soothill, op.cit., p.333. The P S (p.203) says that **神印** is a translation of mun-tu-ru, which would seem to confirm this interpretation. The sect which Myōng-nang founded must have centred on the use of the mandāra.

The **眞言** are said to be the true words, the words of the Tathagata, which came latterly to be interpreted as magical formulas, spells and such. A special school grew up which was founded on the understanding of these mystical items. See Soothill, op.cit., p.333.

Ch'en (Buddhism in China, op.cit., pp.332-35) demonstrates that as early as 230, these esoteric practices were known in China, and that there is some record of their use in the fourth century. Fo-t'u teng, mentioned earlier, was one who used these practices to great effect. There is a continuous record of these esoteric rites up until the eighth century, when they were widely propagated by Āmōghavajra, an Indian who had gone at an early age to China. There were two forms of Esoteric Buddhism in Korea, but they vanished completely in the Yi Dynasty. See P S, p.832.

The raising of a great storm coincides with the belief that Yōgacāra masters could create rain. See Ch'en, Buddhism in China, op.cit., p.332.

The Four Heavenly Kings are the catur-mahārājas. These kings are generals who dwell on each side of the universe and ward off malicious spirits. The four are represented by symbolic colours, white for east, blue for south, red for west, and yellow for north. Their usage as temple guardian figures is supposed to have been introduced into China by Āmōgha. See Soothill, op.cit., p.173.

(28) An, op.cit., pp. 27-28.

S K Y S, pp. 14-16.

Soothill (op.cit., p.445) reminds us that there are four types of cakravartī-rājas, those of gold, silver, copper, and iron. Each of these rājas is said to possess the seven treasures **七寶**. These treasures are variously defined. One system refers to the treasures as gold, silver, lapis lazuli, crystal, agate, ruby, and cornelian. There is also the concept of the **七寶樹林**, the grove of the seven jewel trees, a reference to the 'Pure Land'. See Soothill, op.cit., p.12. This may connect with the idea of the Korean so-to being a sacred or paradisaical spot on earth.

Soothill (op.cit., p.318) gives **首圖馱那**, **輪頭檀**, and **閱頭檀** as variant transliterations of Śuddhōdana.

Eitel (op.cit., p.135) and Soothill (op.cit., p.358) both give **淨飯王** as a variant expression for the name of the father of the Buddha. Soothill (op.cit., p.437)

gives three forms for the name of the mother of the Buddha, **摩訶摩耶** or Great Maya, **摩耶第脾** or the Goddess Maya, and **摩耶夫人** or Lady Maya.

(29) An, op.cit., p.27.

Soothill, op.cit., p.455.

The tree under which Māitrēya will preach is variantly called

nāga-puṣpa 龍華樹, puṣpa-nāga 奔那伽, or

nāgavrkṣa 龍華樹. See Soothill, op.cit., p.455, and

P S, p.641. The 龍華會 is the assembly at which

Māitrēya will preach the Buddha-truth. A ceremony held

on the eighth day of the fourth lunar month at which

Buddhist images were cleansed in scented water was also

called by this name. See Soothill, op.cit., p.455.

Camphor, called in Sanskrit karpūra 羯灰羅 was known

also as 龍腦香, perfume made from dragon's brains.

See Eitel, op.cit., p.53. One wonders if this may be

the fragrance used in scenting the water in which the

images were washed. It would seem possible that the name

for the group gathered around Kim Yu-shin indicates that

they practised the rite of washing the images and

attended lectures at which the sūtras were expounded.

Another name for the Hwa-rang Mi-ri-rang was Mi-rūḥ

Sōn-hwa 彌草仙花, or Sacred Flower of Māitrēya,

which seems related to the concept of nāga-puṣpa.

See S K Y S, pp. 344-47.

(30) An, op.cit., pp. 28-29.

Lee, Peter, op.cit., pp. 15-16.

Lee, (op.cit., p.15) tells us that the 金光明經 is known

in three translations, one by Dharmarakṣa, one by Pao-

kuei, and one by I-tsing, It was used by the founder of

T'ien-t'ai. The complete title of the sūtra is 金光明

最勝王經, or the Suvarṇa-prabhāsa-uttamarāja Sūtra.

See Soothill, op.cit., p.280.

There are two principal translations of the 仁王經, one by

Kumārajīva, and another by Āmōgha. The one by

Kumārajīva is styled the 仁王般若經 and contains no

magical formulas. The translation by Āmōgha is called

the 仁王護國般若經 and does contain magical incanta-

tions. The services for the presentation of the sūtra

were styled 仁王會 or 仁王講 . See Soothill, op.cit., p.130. Wōn-ch'ŭk is known to have written a commentary on this sūtra according to Lee, op.cit., p.15.

Soothill (op.cit., p.41) refers to the P'al-kwan Hoe as the 八關齋 , or 八戒齋 . The Eight Prohibitions referred to here are 1) not to kill, 2) not to take what is not given, 3) not to indulge in sex, 4) not to lie, 5) not to drink wine, 6) not to use cosmetics, fancy adornments, nor to dance or make music, 7) not to sleep on a bed, but only on a mat on a floor, and 8) not to eat out of the prescribed hours. Refer to Soothill, op.cit., pp. 36-37.

(31) An, op.cit., pp. 28-29.

The Sōk-kur Am and its magnificent Buddha are not unique. The example of the Lung-men Caves which served as both monastic sites and as a pilgrimage centre was not uncommon. What is unique in the Korean case is that the cave is entirely artificial and demonstrates a high degree of scientific sophistication in its construction. See Kim Wōn-yong 金元龍, Han-kuk Mi-sul-sa 韓國美術史 (A History of Korean Art) (Seoul, Pōm-mun Sa 梵文社, 1973), pp. 189-90.

The I B J gives the forms T'u-huo-la 吐訖羅 , T'u-huo-la 吐火羅 , and T'u-hu-la 吐呼羅 for the land of Tukhāra. See I B J, p.693. Could 吐含 be another way of transcribing this? Another possibility is that 吐含 could be a rendering of the Central Asian region 土合渾 .

(32) Soothill, op.cit., pp. 93, 280-81 and 366.

金剛 or vajra in Sanskrit enters into many Buddhist terms. Firstly, it occurs in the title of the Chin-kang Ching 金剛經 (Diamond Sūtra) or the Vajra-cchedikā-prajñāpāramitā Sūtra a condensation of the Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra, first done by Kumārajīva. See Soothill, op.cit., p.282. The Vairocana Buddha is sometimes

referred to as the Vajra-buddha 金剛佛. See Soothill, op.cit., p.281. The term specifically refers to the rings of concentric iron mountains which encircle the universe. In Buddhist mythology, the 七金山 are the seven concentric rings of mountains around Sumeru, which is supposed to be the central mountain of the universe. Indra's Heaven is said to be situated at the top of Sumeru. It is also referred to as 妙顯山, the mountain of marvelous appearance, or as 妙高山 the mountain which is marvelously high. See Soothill, op.cit., pp.17, 236, 281-83, and 394. This implies that the Korean Kum-kang Mountains were conceived to be the centre of the universe, a place where the spiritual and material worlds met. This idea must have been very similar to the ideas held about Wu-t'ai Shan and O-tae San.

大白光神 is uttaraka, the deva of the Himālaya Mountains, who protects all beings with her snow-white umbrella. See Soothill, op.cit., p.93. It would seem that the choice of 太白 for the great mountain range of central Korea must have been made as an obvious reference to the Himālayas and its guardian deva. Perhaps there was some feeling that the deva would protect the nation of Shil-la and its inhabitants. Martin (op.cit., p.1697) points out that it was the ancient name for Paek-tu San, the spot where Tan-kun was said to have been born. The phrase 太白山 is also used for one of the five sacred mountains of Chinese Buddhism. They are situated near Hang-chou and Ning-po. These were established in China during the Period of the Five Dynasties on an analogy with the five sacred mountains of Indian Buddhism. See Soothill, op.cit., p.117.

2. The Period of the Establishment of Doctrinal Sects

- (1) Han, *op.cit.*, pp. 99-102.
Joe, *op.cit.*, pp. 144-51.
- (2) Ch'en, Buddhism in China, *op.cit.*, p.301.
- (3) *Ibid*, pp. 313-20.
- (4) *Ibid*, pp. 320-25.
- (5) *Ibid*, pp. 112-120.
- (6) *Ibid*, pp. 303-13.
Soothill, *op.cit.*, pp. 87 and 144.
- (7) Kim, T'uk-hwang, *op.cit.*, pp. 126-27.
Ch'en, Buddhism in China, *op.cit.*, pp. 303 and 313.
- (8) Kim, T'uk-hwang, *op.cit.*, pp. 127-28.
K T, vol. 5, p.1770.
- (9) Kim, T'uk-hwang, *op.cit.*, p.132.
Sō, *op.cit.*, pp. 200-01.
- (10) Kim, T'uk-hwang, *op.cit.*, pp. 128-29, 133.
P S, pp. 38-39.
- (11) Sō, *op.cit.*, p.200.
P S, p.835.
Soothill, *op.cit.*, p.425.
Soothill (*op.cit.*, p.283) tells us that 金山 is a reference to the Buddha or the Buddha's body. For information on the 七金山, see Chapter 5 Notes, Part D, Section 1, note 32. 占察 is a method of divination based on the use of Sanskrit letters. See Soothill, *op.cit.*, p.168.
- (12) Kim, T'uk-hwang, *op.cit.*, pp. 131-32.
Sō, *op.cit.*, pp. 198-99.
H I T, p.915.
- (13) Sō, *op.cit.*, p.198.
P S, pp. 126 and 294.
- (14) Kim, T'uk-hwang, *op.cit.*, pp. 129-31.
P S, p.951.

S K Y S, pp. 425-28.

Joe, op.cit., p.124.

The H I T (p.1026) points out that Wu-wei San-tsang, an Indian, is supposed to have entered China in 716, some fifty years after Hye-t'ong returned to Shil-la.

(15) H S S, p.1208.

Soothill, op.cit., pp. 108 and 280.

B G T K S, pp. 1-4.

Walter Fuchs has done a translation into German of the Wang O-ch'ōn-ch'uk-kuk Chōn. See 'Huei-ch'ao's Pilgerreise durch Nordwest-Indien und Zentral-Asien um 726', Sitzungsberichte der Preussischer Akademie der Wissenschaften, Sitzung der philosophisch-historischen Klasse, XXX (1938), pp. 426-69.

For recent reconsiderations of Hye-ch'o, see Jan Yun-hua, 'Hui-ch'ao and His Works: A Reassessment', Indo-Asian Culture, 12 (1964), pp. 177-90, and by the same author, 'South India in the VIII Century, Hui-ch'ao's Description Re-Examined', Oriens Extremus, 15, pp. 169-77.

The sūtra read by Hye-ch'o and Āmōgha is referred to as the

大乘瑜伽金剛海曼珠寶利千鉢大教王經 .

The term **大教** is a reference to tantrayāna. There is a sūtra which is called the **大教經** or variantly the **大金剛頂經** which could be the sūtra which Hye-ch'o is supposed to have examined. The term **曼殊室利** is a transliteration for Mañjuśrī. See Soothill, op.cit., p.89 and Eitel, op.cit., p.94.

Soothill (p.281) says that Āmōgha's teacher was called Vājramati not Vajrabodhi.

(16) Han, op.cit., p.101.

Joe, op.cit., pp. 126-27.

3. The Growth of Ch'an Sects in Shil-la

(1) Han, op.cit., pp. 111-19.

Joe, op.cit., pp. 144-57.

Sohn, op.cit., pp. 73-78.

- (2) Han, op.cit., pp. 111-19.
 Joe, op.cit., pp. 144-157.
 Sohn, op.cit., pp. 73-78.
- (3) Han, op.cit., pp. 111-19.
 Joe, op.cit., pp. 144-57.
 Reischauer, Edwin O., Ennin's Travels in T'ang China (New York, Ronald Press, 1955), pp. 281-87.
 Sohn, op.cit., pp. 73-78.
- (4) Han, op.cit., pp. 111-19.
 Joe, op.cit., pp. 144-157.
 Sohn, op.cit., pp. 73-78.
- (5) Han, op.cit., pp. 111-19.
 Joe, op.cit., pp. 144-57.
 Sohn, op.cit., pp. 73-78.

An interesting sidelight on the social disorder of the last phase of Shil-la's history is the attempt by the second son of Kyōng-ae 景莊王 (924 to 926), the penultimate king of Shil-la, to found a new state called Sa-pŏl Kuk 沙伐國 near modern Sang-ju 尙州. See Beautiful Korea (Seoul, Hŭi-mang Sa 希望社, 1974), pp. 606-07 and 791-92.

- (6) Ch'en, op.cit., pp. 350-64.
- (7) Ibid.
- (8) Kim, Tŭk-hwang, op.cit., pp. 133-35.
- (9) Ibid, pp. 135-36.
- (10) Ibid, pp. 136-37.
- (11) Ibid, p.137.
- (12) Ibid, pp. 137-38.
- (13) Ibid, p.138.
 Sŏ, op.cit., p.204.
- (14) Kim, Tŭk-hwang, op.cit., pp. 138-39.
- (15) Ibid, p.139.
- (16) Ibid, pp. 139-40.

(17) Ibid, p.140.

Sŏ, op.cit., pp. 206-07.

The choice of the names for the nine Ch'an sects reflects various aspects of Buddhist thought. The term **踞踞山** perhaps finds a parallel in the phrase **踞地獅子** for a crouching lion, Soothill, op.cit., p.444. The characters **師子** in the term Sa-cha San are identical with the ones in the phrase **獅子**. The Buddha is often compared to a lion because of his courageous character. Likewise, the characteristics of the Buddha are often compared to those of the lion. The name given to Ceylon is **師子國**. See Soothill, op.cit., p.324. **斷俗寺** must have reference to cutting oneself off from the worldly or secular life. Sŏng-ju San means the mountain of the sacred master. We take this to be a reference to one of the Bodhisattvas, possibly Mañjuśrī. To-kul San is Gṛdhrakūta, the Vulture Peak, one of the five sacred mountains of India. See Soothill, pp. 117 and 336. Soothill (op.cit., p.488) says this is the spot where the Lotus Sūtra is alleged to have been preached. The term Pong-nim San means a forest full of phoenix birds. As the phoenix is an auspicious bird, great power and mystery are indicated. Further, the term **鳳刹** meant a Buddhist monastery. See Soothill, op.cit., p.430. Su-mi San is Sumeru, the central mountain of the universe. With Sumeru in the centre, the Buddhist cosmology pictured the universe as consisting of eight concentric mountain ranges with eight seas between them, Soothill, op.cit., p.394.

(18) Lu Kuan-yu, Ch'an and Zen Teaching (London, Rider, 1960), vol. 1, pp. 235, 236, 238, and 241.

Dumoulin, Heinrich, History of Zen Buddhism, translated by Paul Peachey (London, Faber and Faber, 1963), pp. 98-99.

(19) P S, pp. 159, 521, 657, and 950.

MAP REFERENCES FOR CHAPTER 5

The outline for the map 5-1, Principal Sites in India and China Visited by Korean Monks and Routes Taken to India, is taken from C R C, map number 17. The information on it is taken from Herrmann, op.cit., pp. 22 and 37, C R C, map number 11, and Y P, p.7. The reader is recommended to compare the routes indicated in this map with the routes taken by other travellers. See:

C R C, maps 11, 13.

Giles, Herbert A., The Travels of Fa-hsien, op.cit., map facing p.92.

Herrmann, op.cit., pp. 16, 23, 27, 30-31, 32, 37.

Needham, Joseph, Science and Civilisation in China (London, Cambridge University Press, 1954), vol. 1, p.171.

Stein, Sir Aurel, On Ancient Central Asian Tracks (London, Macmillan, 1933), end map.

The outline for the map 5-2, Important Buddhist Centres in Unified Shil-la, is taken from C R C, map number 14. The information on it is taken from YP, p.9.

The chart 5-3, Relationship of Principal Ch'an Sects in T'ang and Shil-la, is an adaption of a chart in S⁸, op.cit., p.207. Compare this chart with charts in the following books:

Chou, Hsiang-kuang, Dhyana Buddhism in China (Allahabad, India, Indo-Chinese Literature Society, 1960), p.216.

Dumoulin Heinrich, The Development of Chinese Zen after the Sixth Patriarch in the Light of Mumonkan, translated by Ruth F. Sasaki (New York, First Zen Institute of New York, 1953), Table I.

Kim, Yong-t'ae 金煥泰, Han-kuk Pul-kyo-sa 韓國佛教史 (A History of Korean Buddhism), Second Edition, (Seoul, Chin-su Tang, 進修堂, 1970), p.79.

Wu, John C. H., The Golden Age of Zen (Taipei, National War College, 1967), p.29.

NOTES

UNIT IV CHRISTIANITY

CHAPTER 6 CHRISTIAN CONTACT WITH EAST ASIA PRIOR TO THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

A. The Nestorian Church in the T'ang Dynasty

- (1) Lee, Shiu-keung, The Cross and the Lotus (Hong Kong, The Christian Study Centre on Chinese Religion and Culture, 1971), pp. 2-5.
- Moule, A. C., Christians in China Before the Year 1550 (London, Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1930), pp. 38-40.
- Saeki, P.Y., The Nestorian Monument in China (London, Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1916, reprinted 1928), pp. 165-67, 262.
- Saeki (op.cit., pp. 204-07) suggests that A-lo-pên is a transcription for Abraham. A title, 大法主, which was conferred on A-lo-pên by the Emperor Kao-tsung (649 to 683) was an ascription of the Buddha, Soothill, op.cit., p.267. This syncretism of Buddhist and Christian terminology is further indicated by the titles used for a bishop, 大德, and for priests, 僧. The former is a translation of bhadanta, a title which honours the virtue of the Buddha, while the latter is the term which is used for a Buddhist monk. See Saeki, op.cit., pp. 176-80, and Soothill, op.cit., p.89. The term used for scripture, likewise, was 經 which is the term for a Buddhist sūtra. The importance of A-lo-pên's arrival is emphasized by the fact that he was met by a former Lord High Chamberlain and favourite of the Emperor T'ai-tsung, Fang Hsüan-ling 房玄齡 (578 to 648). Fang is remembered for his supervision of the writing of the Chin Shu. See Lee, op.cit., p.3, C B D, p.221. For a discussion of the role of Fang Hsüan-ling in the compilation of the Chin Shu, see Michael Rogers, The Chronicle of Fu-ch'ien, op.cit., pp.40-51. The tract

which A-lo-pên wrote was the Hsü-t'ing Mi-shih-so Ching
序聽迷詩所經 (The Sūtra of Jesus the Messiah).

See Lee, Shiu-keung, *op.cit.*, pp. 3, 118.

- (2) Lee, Shiu-keung, *op.cit.*, pp. 5-10.

Cary-Elwes, Columba, China and the Cross, (London, Longmans, Green and Co., 1957), pp. 25-27.

- (3) Lee, Shiu-keung, *op.cit.*, pp. 9-13.

Latourette, Kenneth Scott, A History of Christian Missions in China (London, 1929, reprinted, Taipei, Ch'eng-wen Publishing, 1966), pp. 54-55.

Moule, *op.cit.*, pp. 75-76.

Saeki, *op.cit.*, p.197.

- (4) Latourette, *op.cit.*, Christian Missions in China, pp. 57-60.

Lee, *op.cit.*, p.23.

- (5) Moule, *op.cit.*, pp. 92-93.

O Yun-t'ae 吳允台, Han-kuk Ki-tok-kyo-sa, Han-kuk Kyōng-kyo-sa P'yōn 韓國基督教史, 韓國景教史編

(The History of Christianity in Korea: The History of Korean Nestorianism) 3 vols (Seoul, Hye-sŏn Mun-hwa Sa

惠宣文化社, 1973), pp. 147-290.

See especially O's discussion of Pure Land Buddhism, pp. 147-89, and his discussion of the Sam-kuk Yu-sa, pp. 249-89.

Our conviction that there were at least some foreign Nestorians in Shil-la is strengthened by the knowledge that there was at least one such person who visited the Japanese court, and who has been identified as the Persian physician Milis, father of I-ssu. See Saeki, *op.cit.*, pp. 61-63.

Saeki attempts to develop the parallels between Christianity and Mahāyāna Buddhism by arguing that Nestorianism was the source both for the secret society called the Chin-tao Hui 真道會, and for certain beliefs of Mahāyāna Buddhism, such as the concept of the Vairocana Buddha as the Great Sun. See Saeki, *op.cit.*, pp. 53-61, 118-61, 200. Latourette (Christian Missions in China, *op. cit.*, p.55) quite correctly states that this kind of speculation has yet to be conclusively demonstrated. A more cogent argument may be made for the reverse influence of both Buddhism and Taoism on Nestorianism. Lee shows that in the earliest Nestorian work, the Hsü-ting Mi-shih-so Ching, Buddhist and Taoist terms were borrowed only for the purpose of conveying

Christian doctrine. In the ninth century work the Chih-hsüan An-lo Ching 志玄安樂經 (The Sūtra of Mysterious Peace and Joy) the Christian elements have become submerged in a mass of Buddhist thought. This sūtra, Lee Shiu-keung tells us was "more akin to Buddhism . . . than Christianity". See Lee, op.cit., pp. 20-22, 118.

B. Contacts of Mediaeval Christendom with East and Central Asia

- (1) Lee, Shiu-keung, op.cit., pp. 25-28.
- (2) Ibid, pp. 29, 34-37.
Cary-Elwes, op.cit., pp. 51-56.
Latourette, Christian Missions in China, op.cit., pp. 66-67.
Rowbotham, Arnold H., Missionary and Mandarin, the Jesuits at the Court of China, (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1942), pp. 9-13.
- (3) Latourette, Christian Missions in China, op.cit., pp. 68-72.
Lee, op.cit., pp. 38-43.
- (4) Labourette, Christian Missions in China, op.cit., pp. 73-77.
Lee, op.cit., pp. 44-47.
- (5) Sohn, et al, op.cit., pp. 116-20.

C. Roman Catholic Missions in China after the Mid-Sixteenth Century

- (1) Latourette, Christian Missions in China, op.cit., pp. 78-96.
Lee, Shiu-keung, op.cit., pp. 51-55, 57-60.
- (2) Latourette, Christian Missions in China, op.cit., pp. 102-08, 111-16, 120-30.
For a translation of the edict granting toleration, see Rowbotham, op.cit., p.110.
- (3) Latourette, Christian Missions in China, op.cit., pp. 131-55.
Lee, Shiu-keung, op.cit., pp. 51-55.
- (4) Latourette, Christian Missions in China, op.cit., pp. 131-55.
Lee, Shiu-keung, op.cit., pp. 51-55.
Rowbotham, op.cit., p.139.
For a contemporary record of the materials relating to the

arguments involved in the Rites Controversy see
Memoires for Rome Concerning the State of the Christian
Religion in China (London, 1710).

- (5) Latourette, Christian Missions in China, op.cit., pp. 156-61.
- (6) Ibid, pp. 161-66.
- (7) Ibid, pp. 167-175.
- (8) Ibid, pp. 175-84.

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CHAPTER 7 THE HISTORY OF THE LATE YI DYNASTY, FROM THE
HIDEYOSHI WARS TO THE OPENING OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

- (1) Han, op.cit., pp. 272 to 278.
- (2) Ibid.
- (3) Ibid, pp. 298-304.
- (4) Ibid.
B G T K S, pp. 309-20.
Joe, op.cit., pp. 389-91.
- (5) Han, op.cit., pp. 318-19.
H I T, p.822.
- (6) H I T, p.368.
Kim, Ch'ang-mun, Catholic Korea, Yesterday and Today (Seoul,
Catholic Korea Publishing Co., 1964), pp. 21-22.
- (7) B G T K S, pp. 348-50.
- (8) Ibid, pp. 290-92.
- (9) Ibid, pp. 351-53, 356-58.
- (10) Joe, op.cit., pp. 407-08.
- (11) B G T K S, pp. 369-74.
Han, op.cit., pp. 319-20.
- (12) B G T K S, pp. 392-97, 433-37.
- (13) Ibid, pp. 359-62, 412-16.
H I T, p.394.
- (14) H I T, p.1033.
Joe, op.cit., pp. 396-97.
- (15) B G T K S, pp. 441-44.
H I T, p.616.
Joe, op.cit., pp. 396-97.

- (16) B G T K S, p. 450-54.
Han, op.cit., p.326.
Joe, op.cit., pp. 396-97.

NOTES

CHAPTER 8 THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN KOREA

A. Catholic Influence in Korea to the Mid-Eighteenth Century

- (1) Cary, Otis, A History of Christianity in Japan, 2 vols.
(London, Fleming H. Revell, 1909), vol. 1, pp. 81, 115.

Dallet, Charles, Histoire de l'Église de Corée, 2 vols.
(Paris, 1874, reprinted, Seoul, Royal Asiatic Society,
Korea Branch, 1975), vol. 1, pp. 2-3.

Kim, Ch'ang-mun, op.cit., p.20.

Further comment on Father Cespedes is to be found in an article
by Ralph M. Cory, entitled 'Some Notes on Father
Gregorio Cespedes, Korea's First European Visitor',
Transactions of the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic
Society, 27 (1937), pp. 1-55.

Claude Charles Dallet, the H I T (p.1083) tells us was born in
1829, became a member of the Société des Missions
Étrangères, and compiled his history from the rich
sources available to him at the society's archives.
He set out on a tour of the Orient in 1877, visiting
Japan, Korea, China, and Cochin-China. He died in
Tonkin in 1887.

- (2) Dallet, op.cit., vol.1, pp. 3-5, 7-8.

Yu, Hong-nyŏl 육홍렬, Han-kuk ūi Ch'ŏn-chu-kyo 한국외천주교
(Korean Catholicism) (Seoul, Sei-chong Tae-wang Ki-nyŏm
Sa-ŏp Hoe 서종대왕기념사업회, 1976), pp. 34-35.

- (3) Kim, Ch'ang-mun, op.cit., p.20.

Yu, Korean Catholicism, op.cit., pp. 33-34.

- (4) Kim, Ch'ang-mun, op.cit., p.20.

Yu, Korean Catholicism, op.cit., pp. 35-36.

- (5) New Catholic Encyclopedia, 16 vols. (New York, McGraw-Hill,
1967), vol. 7, pp. 842-45.

Dallet, op.cit., vol. 1, p.5.

Yu, Korean Catholicism, op.cit., p.40.

- (6) Yu, Korean Catholicism, op.cit., pp. 40-42.

Kim, Ch'ang-mun, op.cit., p.876.

- (7) Chin-tan Hak-hoe 震檀學會, Han-kuk-sa 韓國史
(The History of Korea) 7 vols. (Seoul, Ūl-yu Mun-hwa Sa
乙酉文化社, 1965), vol. 4, p.504.

B. The Formative Period of the Korean Catholic Church
(1770 to 1801)

- (1) Dallet, op.cit., vol.1, p.12.

H I T, p.1048.

The contemplative life of a Christian solitary would be in harmony with certain aspects of Confucian and Taoist tradition. The tradition of the hermit seeker after wisdom, the shin-sŏn 神仙, is particularly characteristic of Taoism. For a brief discussion of this, see, Ch'en, Buddhism in China, op.cit., pp. 24-27. One is also reminded in this regard of the Ch'an meditative traditions.

The mountain to which Hong Yu-han retreated may have been in one of three places, in the Township of Paek-san 白山面 in the County of Kim-che 金堤郡 of North Chŏl-la Province, or in the Township of Paek-san in the County of Pu-an 扶安郡 of North Chŏl-la Province, or Paek-san Pong 白山峰 in Yu-song Ni 柳松里 in the South Township 南面 of the County of Yŏ-ch'ŏn 麗州郡 in South Chŏl-la Province. See H C S, p.258.

- (2) Dallet, op.cit., vol.1, pp. 13-16.

H I T, pp. 621, 634, 668, 834, 835.

Kim, Ch'ang-mun, op.cit., p.23.

- (3) Dallet, op.cit., vol.1, pp. 18-21.

H I T, pp. 57, 61, 103, 586, 668, 835, 958, 962.

Kim, Ch'ang-mun, op.cit., p.22.

There has been some question recently whether Yi Sŭng-hun could have gone to the Nan T'ien-chu Tang or to the Pei T'ien-chu Tang 北天主堂. For a discussion of this problem see Andrew Ch'oe, L'Erection du Premier Vicariate et les Origines du Catholicisme en Corée, 1592 to 1837, (Schoneck-Beckenried, 1961), p.26.

- (4) Dallet, op.cit., vol.1, pp. 26-29.

- (5) Ibid, pp. 30-56.

H I T, pp. 53, 565, 572, 613, 929.

- (6) Dallet, op.cit., vol. 1, pp. 57-80.

H I T, pp. 9, 89, 180, 1101.

- (7) Dallet, op.cit., vol.1, pp. 109-13.
Kim, Ch'ang-mun, op.cit., p.54.
- (8) Dallet, op.cit., vol.1, pp. 114-242.
- (9) Ibid, vol.1, pp. 198-210.
K T, vol. 5, p.1783.

C. Catholicism in the Nineteenth Century to the Persecutions of the Tae Wŏn-kun (1801 to 1871)

- (1) Dallet, op.cit., vol.1, pp. 243-64.
H I T, pp. 679-80.
Kim Ch'ang-mun, op.cit., p.93.
- (2) Dallet, op.cit., vol.1, pp. 264-96.
H I T, p.857.
Kim Ch'ang-mun, op.cit., p.93.
- (3) Dallet, op.cit., vol,1, pp. 297-383.
- (4) Ibid, vol,1, pp. 126-27; vol.2, pp. 1-130.
- (5) Ibid, vol.2, pp. 131-241.
- (6) Ibid, vol.2, pp. 242-335.
- (7) Ibid, vol,2, pp. 336-79.
- (8) Ibid, vol.2, pp. 380-500.
- (9) Ibid, vol.2, pp. 501-05.
- (10) Ibid, vol.2, pp. 521-34.
- (11) Ibid, vol.2, pp. 558-86.
- (12) Joe, op.cit., pp. 428-29.
- (13) Ibid, pp. 429-31.

Yu Hong-nyŏl **유홍렬**, Han-kuk Ch'ŏn-chu Kyo-hoe-sa 한국천주교회사 (The History of the Korean Catholic Church)
(Seoul, Ka-t'ol-lik Ch'ul-p'an Sa **가톨릭출판사**, 1964),
pp. 768-69.

Yi P'yŏng-do feels that if the Tae Wŏn-kun had not persecuted the Church, Catholicism could have had a significant and beneficial influence on Korea in the areas of lexicography, printing, painting, music, and architecture. An open door would have meant also a beneficial influx of Western technology. See 'The Impact of the Western World on Korea in the Nineteenth Century', Cahiers D'Historie Mondiale, 5 (1960), pp. 966-67.

- (14) Kim Ch'ang-mun, op.cit., pp. 79, 150-51, 155-56, 241, 243-44.
Paik, George Lak-geon, The History of Protestant Missions in Korea, 1832 to 1910, (P'yŏng-yang, 1927, reprinted, Seoul, Yonsei University Press, 1971), pp. 42-43.
- (15) Min, Kyŏng-suk, Catholic Socio-Religious Survey of Korea, Part 1, Findings of Content Analysis, The Spiritual Ethos of Korean Catholicism (Seoul, Social Research Institute, Sogang University, 1971), pp. 9-10, 14-18.
- (16) Ibid, p.18.
- (17) Paik, op.cit., pp. 42-43.
- (18) Clark, C.A., op.cit., pp. 144-48.
H I T, p.960.
Paik, op.cit., pp. 171-72.
See C. A. Clark (op.cit., pp. 155-172) for a description of the rites and concepts of Ch'ŏn-to Kyo.

D. The Growth of the Catholic Church to the Annexation of Korea by Japan (1871 to 1910)

- (1) Han, op.cit., pp. 368-78.
(2) Ibid, pp. 384-95.
(3) Ibid, pp. 401-02, 403-13.
(4) Ibid, pp. 424-25, 431-36.
(5) Ibid, pp. 445-49.

For a Japanese Christian view of Japan's intent in the Far East, see Kato Hoshino, The Mission of Japan and the Russo-Japanese War (Yokohama, Fukuin Printing Co., 1904), which is a fine mixture of Christian thought and jingoism.

- (6) Han, op.cit., pp. 450-53.

For an excellent example of the unhistorical use of mythology to justify Japanese imperialism, see a lecture presented to the Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch, by the Director of Foreign Affairs, Government General of Chōsen, Midori Komatsu, 'The Old People and the New Government', Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch, 4, pt.1 (1912-1913), pp. 1-12.

- (7) Kim, Ch'ang-mun, op.cit., pp. 298-99.
 (8) Ibid, pp. 300-13.
 (9) Ibid, pp. 313-15.
 (10) Ibid, pp. 316-19.
 (11) Ibid, pp. 319-321.

E. The Church under Japanese Domination (1910 to 1945)

- (1) Han, op.cit., pp. 464-69.

Sohn, op.cit., p.248.

- (2) Han, op.cit., pp. 470-75.

Sohn, op.cit., p.237.

- (3) Han, op.cit., pp. 475-78.

Sohn, op.cit., p.262.

For eye-witness accounts of the brutal Japanese suppression of the Sam-il Un-tong see The Korean Situation, Authentic Accounts of Recent Events by Eye Witnesses (New York, Commission on Relations with the Orient, Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, 1919), and F. A. McKenzie, Korea's Fight for Freedom (New York, Fleming H. Revell, 1920).

- (4) Han, op.cit., pp. 482-87.

Sohn, op.cit., p.268.

- (5) Han, op.cit., pp. 479-82.

Sohn, op.cit., pp. 284, 287, and 324.

- (6) Han, op.cit., p.490.

Sohn, op.cit., p.303.

Grayson, James Huntley, 'Mimana: A Problem in Korean Historiography', Korea Journal, 17, no.8 (August 1977), pp. 65-69. See especially footnote 2, p.68.

- (7) Han, op.cit., pp. 495-97.
- (8) Kim, Ch'ang-mun, op.cit., pp. 321-23.
Soltau, T. Stanley, Korea the Hermit Nation, and Its Response to Christianity (London, World Dominion Press, 1932), p.110.
- (9) Min, Kyōng-suk, op.cit., p.87.
Clark, Allen D., A History of the Church in Korea, revised edition (Seoul, Christian Literature Society of Korea, 1971), p.222.
- (10) Kim, Ch'ang-mun, op.cit., pp. 323-35, 883-84.
- (11) Min, op.cit., pp. 7, 88-90.
Soltau, op.cit., p.111.
- (12) Min, op.cit., p.89.

F. The Korean Catholic Church in the Post-Liberation Period (1945 to 1974)

- (1) Han, op.cit., pp. 497-501.
F E A, p.875.
- (2) Han, op.cit., pp. 501-05.
- (3) Ibid, pp. 505-07.
- (4) Ibid, pp. 507-09.
F E A, pp. 875-76.
- (5) F E A, p.876.
- (6) Ibid.
- (7) Ibid, pp. 876-77.
- (8) Ibid, pp. 877-78.
The author has supplemented the sources cited above with knowledge from his own experience during the period under discussion.
- (9) Kim, Ch'ang-mun, op.cit., pp. 337-339, 341.
- (10) Ibid, pp. 339-342.
- (11) Ibid, pp. 342-84.
Yu, Korean Catholicism, op.cit., p.189.

- (12) Kim, Ch'ang-mun, op.cit., pp. 385-388.
Yu, Korean Catholicism, op.cit., p.189.
- (13) Min, op.cit., pp. 93-95.
Yu, Korean Catholicism, op.cit., pp. 189-193.

SOURCES FOR CHART 8-1

The outline is based on C R C, map 14, and the information on it is drawn from Dallet, op.cit., vol.1, pp. 69-148.

NOTES

CHAPTER 9 THE PROTESTANT CHURCH IN KOREA

A. The First Protestant Efforts in Korea

- (1) Paik, op.cit., pp. 43-47.
Neill, Stephen, et al, A Concise Dictionary of the Christian World Mission, (London, Lutterworth Press, 1970), pp. 240-41.
- (2) Paik, op.cit., pp. 47-51.
- (3) Ibid, p.51.
- (4) Ross, John, in The Record of the Home and Foreign Mission Work of the United Free Church of Scotland, new series, no. 177, (1915), pp. 394-97.
Ross, John, in Missionary Record of the United Presbyterian Church, vol.v (1875), pp. 471-72, 559-60; vol.vi (1876), pp. 355-56.
In vol. v, pp. 559-60, Ross has some comments on the persecution of the Catholic Church under the Tae Wŏn-kun.

B. The Arrival of the First Missionaries (1884 to 1890)

- (1) Paik, op.cit., pp. 52-54.
- (2) Ibid, p.57.
Although Ross encouraged mission work in Korea, he did not actually make the proposal that his church ought to undertake work there until October 1891. See the letter to him from the Secretary of the Mission Committee of the United Presbyterian Church, dated December 31, 1891 (Manuscript Collection of the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, Manuscript no. 7666, p.484.
- (3) Ibid, pp. 73-80.
H I T, p.661.
- (4) Paik, op.cit., pp. 83-86, 97.
H I T, p.253.
- (5) Paik, op.cit., pp. 102-06.
- (6) Ibid, pp. 107-13, 128.
- (7) Ibid, pp. 117-18, 122-23.

- (8) Ibid, pp. 126-32.
- (9) Ibid, pp. 146-51.
- (10) Ibid, pp. 154-55.
- (11) Ibid, pp. 159-63.

C. The Expansion of Missionary Endeavour (1891 to 1897)

- (1) Paik, op.cit., pp. 177-81.
For a record of an early journey through Korea, see Elizabeth Bird Bishop, Korea and Her Neighbours (London, 1898, reprinted, Seoul, Yonsei University Press, 1970).
- (2) Ibid, pp. 184-98.
- (3) Ibid.
For information on the Anglican Church see C. J. Corfe, The Anglican Church in Korea (Seoul, The Seoul Press, 1905).
For further information on the early years of Yun Ch'i-ho, see Kim Hyung-chan (Kim Hyōng-ch'an), 'Yun Ch'i-ho in America: The Training of a Korean Patriot in the South, 1888-1893', Korea Journal, 18, no.6 (June 1978), pp. 15-24.
- (4) Ibid, pp. 199-201.
- (5) Ibid, pp. 215-20, 226-28.
- (6) Ibid, pp. 239-243.
- (7) Ibid, pp. 245-52.
- (8) Ibid, pp. 220-21, 252-53.
- (9) Underwood, Liliias H., Fifteen Years Among the Topknots (New York, American Tract Society, 1904), pp. 155-56, 158-62.
- (10) Clark, C.A., op.cit., p.42.

D. The Formal Organization of the Church (1897 to 1910)

- (1) Paik, op.cit., pp. 272-98.
- (2) Ibid, pp. 304-08, 387-91.
- (3) Ibid, pp. 308-30, 391-407.
- (4) Ibid, pp. 330-38.

- (5) Ibid, pp. 378-82.
Underwood, Liliias H., Underwood of Korea (New York, Fleming H. Revell, 1918), pp. 274-83.
- (6) Paik, op.cit., pp. 413-17.
Hulbert, Homer B., The Passing of Korea, op.cit.
Komatsu, Midori, op.cit.
MacKenzie, F.A., The Tragedy of Korea (New York, E. P. Dutton, 1908).
- (7) Paik, op.cit., pp. 367-82.
For a description of the revival see William Newton Blair and Bruce F. Hunt, The Korean Pentecost and the Sufferings Which Followed, (Edinburgh, Banner of Truth Trust, 1977).

E. The Church Under Japanese Domination (1910 to 1945)

- (1) Clark, Allen D., op.cit., pp. 186-90.
Copplestone, J. Tremayne, History of Methodist Missions, 4 vols., original author Wade Crawford Barclay (New York, The Board of Global Ministries, The United Methodist Church, 1949-1973), vol. 4 (1973), pp. 756-64.
The Korean historian Yi P'yŏng-do states that it was the Japanese suppression of democratic and progressive movements in Korea after the Russo-Japanese War which made Christianity the prime factor in stimulating social change. He adds that the church in its structure provided an example of democracy, and in its teaching indirectly nourished the desire for independence, justice, and equality, See 'The Impact of the Western World on Korea in the 19th Century', op.cit., pp. 971, and 974.
- (2) Clark, A.D., op.cit., pp. 190-96.
Copplestone, op.cit., vol. 4, pp. 758-59.
An English translation of the Imperial Rescript on Education may be found in Ernest E. Best, Christian Faith and Cultural Crisis, the Japanese Case (Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1966) p.183.
- (3) Clark, A. D., op.cit., pp. 196-201.
Copplestone, op.cit., vol.4, pp. 1176-80.
- (4) Clark, A.D., op.cit., pp. 196-201.
Copplestone, op.cit., vol.4, pp. 1176-80.
For an indication of the reaction of international bodies to the Japanese handling of the Independence Movement, see

the statement adopted by the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church of 1920, in Copplestone, op.cit., vol.4, p.1178.

- (5) Clark, A.D., op.cit., pp. 199-201.
Copplestone, op.cit., vol.4, pp. 1180-82.
- (6) Clark, A.D., op.cit., pp. 199-201.
Copplestone, op.cit., vol.4, pp. 1180-82.
- (7) Clark, A.D., op.cit., pp. 203-12.
- (8) Ibid.
- (9) Blair and Hunt, op.cit., pp. 88-93.
Clark, A.D., op.cit., pp. 221-25.
Sauer, Charles August, Methodists in Korea, 1930-1960 (Seoul, The Christian Literature Society of Korea, 1973), pp. 82-83, 87-88.
- Copplestone (op.cit., vol.4, pp. 1194-97) shows that the Christians in Japan had a fundamentally different approach to the Shintō Shrine Question. This was so for two reasons. First, Shintō was a part of Japanese culture and it could be argued plausibly that for Japanese Christians attendance at Shintō rites was nothing more than an act of patriotism. Second, in the climate of extreme nationalism which prevailed in the wake of the military take-over of the government, it was important if not necessary that Japanese Christians should be seen to be no less patriotic than their non-Christian compatriots. This issue has been explored in a thesis which compares the Japanese and Korean Christian reactions to Shintō nationalism. See Kun Sam Lee, The Christian Confrontation with Shinto Nationalism (Philadelphia, Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing Co., 1966).
- Sauer mentions how certain Korean Methodists who had been prominent in the Independence Movement had become co-opted by the Japanese in their later years. Examples of such men would be Shin Hŭng-u (申興雨, Hugh H. W. Cynn, 1883-1959), who wrote an important book against Japanese imperialism, The Rebirth of Korea, and Chōng Ch'un-su, who had been one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. See Sauer, op.cit., pp. 102-06, and H I T, pp. 415, 855. At least one Korean scholar feels that Christianity was so discredited by such actions that the Korean people do not trust either Christianity or Christian leaders. See Bong-young Choy, Korea: A History (Tokyo, Charles E. Tuttle, 1971), p.415.
- (10) Sauer, op.cit., pp. 81-100.

(11) Ibid.

For translations of the resolutions which the churches were compelled to adopt, see Sauer, op.cit., pp. 247-53.

For a survey of this period, see Stephen Neill, Colonialism and Christian Mission, (London, Lutterworth Press, 1966), pp. 213-24.

F. The Church in the Post-Liberation Period (1945 to 1974)

(1) Clark, A.D., op.cit., pp. 234-37.

Sauer, op.cit., pp. 147-49.

(2) Clark, A.D., op.cit., pp. 239-44.

(3) Ibid, pp. 239-244.

(4) Ibid, pp. 236-238.

Sauer, op.cit., pp. 149-160.

(5) Sauer, op.cit., pp. 182-95.

(6) Ibid, pp. 208-12, 216-21.

(7) Clark, A.D., pp. 274-77.

Sauer, op.cit., pp. 222.

(8) Clark, A.D., op.cit., pp. 387-89.

(9) Ibid, pp. 323-25, 371-75.

(10) Ibid, pp. 382-87.

(11) Ibid, pp. 404-08.

Ogle, George E., Liberty to the Captives (Atlanta, Georgia, John Knox Press, 1977), pp. 33-84.

(12) Clark, A.D., op.cit., pp. 255, 318-19.

(13) Ogle, op.cit., pp. 84-188.

The final chapters of Ogle's book describe the operation of the new constitution.

The New York Times for June 18, 1978, reported the expulsion of Rev. Stephen Lavender of the Uniting Church of Australia who had worked with the Urban-Industrial Mission in Sö-ul. The government accused him of non-religious activities because of his efforts to obtain better working conditions for young female workers.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION FOR CHARTS IN CHAPTER 9

The outline for Chart 9-1 is from C R C, map 14.

The information on it is taken from Solteau, op.cit., p.21.

The sources of the statistical information for Chart 9-2,
Comparative Church Growth Statistics are the following:

Coxill, H. Wakelin, and Sir Kenneth Grubb, World
Christian Handbook (London, World Dominion Press,
1949), p.245

---- 1957, p.52

---- 1962, p.179

---- 1968, p.169

F E A, p.914

Hapdong News Agency, Korea Annual, (Seoul, 1970), p.398

---- 1971, p.300

---- 1972, p.268

---- 1974, p.242

---- 1975, p.283

Min, op.cit., p.88

Soltau, op.cit., p.114

Yu, Han-kuk ūi Ch'ŏn-chu-kyo, p.189.

SOURCES OF STATISTICAL INFORMATION FOR CHART 10-1

- Beach, Harlan D., A Geography and Atlas of Protestant Missions, 2 vols. (New York, Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions, 1903), vol.2, pp. 22-23.
- Beach, Harlan D., and Charles H. Fahs, World Missionary Atlas (London, Edinburgh House Press, 1925), pp. 82, 98.
- Coxill, H. Wakelin, and Sir Kenneth Grubb, World Christian Handbook (London, World Dominion Press, 1949), pp. 244-45.
- 1957, pp. 46-49, 52.
- 1968, pp. 161-67, 169.
- Paik, op.cit., pp. 94-120.
- Soltau, op.cit., p.114.
- Ueda, Teijiro, Population Movement in Japan (Tokyo, Japanese Society of International Studies, 1939), p.8.
- Yamamori, Tetsunao, Church Growth in Japan (South Pasadena, California, William Cary Library, 1974), pp. 49, 105, 155-62.

A P P E N D I X

GLOSSARY OF TERMS IN CHINESE CHARACTERS

A. Sino-Korean Vocabulary

A-kul-ma	我堀摩	che-ching	體澄
A-lo-pên	阿羅本	Che-chu Province	濟州道
A-sa-tal	阿斯達	Che-ch'ôn	堤川
A-to	阿道	Che-foo	See Chih-fou (S-K)
Ae-tong Temple	哀公寺	che-ka	諸加
An Chǒng-bok	安鼎福	Che-mul P'ô	齊物浦
An Chung-gŭn	安重根	che-sa	祭祀
An Shih-kaio	安世高	Che-sǒk	帝貞釋
An-tong	安東	chen-kuan	貞觀
Ang-ang-hsi	昂昂溪	Chên-yen School	真言宗
Cha-chang	慈藏	Chi-chŭng, King	智詮王
Cha-pi, King	慈悲	Chi-hwang	智地冕
chae-ryang	才良	chi-kwan	地官
<u>Chan-ch'a Ching</u>	占察經	Chi-mao	己卯
Chan-jan	湛然	Chi-myǒng	智明
Chang-an	長安國	<u>Chi-pong Chip</u>	芝峰集
Chang-dang Kyǒng	藏唐京	<u>Chi-pong Yu-sǒl</u>	芝峰類說
Chang Kwang-chih	張光直	Chi-ri San	智異山
Chang Myǒn	張勉	Chi-shin	智說
Chang Po-ko	張寶鼎	Chi-tsang	吉藏大師
Chang-san Peninsula	長山半島	Chi-t'ong	智通
Chang San-wei	張三畏	Chi-wǒn Temple	祇園寺
Chang-su, King	長壽王	Chien-fu Temple	薦福寺
<u>Chao-hsien Ts'ê-lŭeh</u>	朝鮮策略	chih-che	智者
Chao Mêng-fu	趙孟頫	<u>Chih-fang Wai-chi</u>	職方外記
Chê	哲禪師	Chih-fou	芝果

Chih-hsiang Temple	至相寺	chin-sa	進士
Chih-i	智顓	Chin-sǒng, Queen	真聖王
Chih-k'ung	志空	Chin-tǒk, Queen	真德王
Chih-yen	智儼	Ching-ling	竟陵
Chik-san	稷山	chip-sa pu	執事部
Chin	秦	chǒ-ka	猪加
Chin	金	Cho Man-shik	曹晚植
Chin (Korean State)	辰	Cho-sǒn	朝鮮
Chin, Eastern	東	Cho-sǒn Min-chu Chu-üi In-min Kong-	
Chin (Tsin), Eastern	東	hwa-kuk	朝鮮民主主義
Chin, King of	辰		人民共和國
Chin, Later	後	Chǒk-che Chang-gun	赤帝將軍
Chin (Tsin), Western	西		
Chin-chang	真藏	Chǒl-chung	折中
Chin-chi, King	真智王	Chǒl-la Province	全羅道
Chin-chǒn Temple	陣田寺	Chǒn-chu	全州
Chin-chǒng	真定	Chon-nyun	全尊
Chin-chu	晉州	Chǒng-bang	正方
Chin-Han	辰韓	Chǒng Ch'un-su	鄭春
Chin-hǔng, King	真興王	Chǒng Ha-sang	丁夏
chin-kol	真骨	Chǒng-hae Persecution	丁亥迫害
<u>Chin Kuang-ming Ching</u>	金光明經		
		Chǒng-jo, King	正祖王
Chin-kuk	震國	<u>Chǒng-jong Tae-wang Shil-lok</u>	
Chin-ling	金陵		正宗大王實錄
Chin-ǒn Sect	See Chên-yen School	Chong-myo	宗廟
	(S-K)	Chǒng-so	貞素
Chin-p'yo	真表	Chǒng Sǒn	鄭歎
Chin-p'yǒng, King	真平王		

Ch'ong Tu-w'ôn	鄭斗源	Ch'im-nyu, King	枕流王
Ch'ong Yak-ch'ôn	丁若銓	Ch'in, Former	前秦
Ch'ong Yak-ch'ông	丁若鍾	Ch'ing	清
Ch'ong Yak-hy'ôn	丁若鉉	Ch'oe Che-u	崔濟愚
Ch'ong Yak-yong	丁若鏞	Ch'oe Ch'ang-hy'ôn	崔昌賢
Ch'ong Yong-guk	鄭龍國	Ch'oe In-kil	崔仁吉
Chou	周	Ch'oe Yang-ôp	崔良業
Chou-k'ou-tien	周口店	Ch'ôl-chong, King	哲宗王
Chou Wên-mu	周文謨	ch'ôl-kam	徹鑑
<u>Chu-kyo Yo-chi</u>	主教要旨	Ch'ôn-chu	天主
Chu-mong	朱蒙	<u>Ch'ôn-chu Kyo-hoe-sa</u>	天主教
Chuan-chou	泉州		會史
Ch'ul-mun Pottery	櫛文土器	<u>Ch'ôn-chu S'ông-b'ôm</u>	天主聖範
Chun, King	準王	<u>Ch'ôn-chu S'ông-gyo Kong-gwa</u>	
chung-in	中入	천주성교공과	
Chung-nan Shan	終南山	<u>Ch'ôn-chu S'ông-gyo Sa-cha Ky'ông-</u>	
Chung-ny'ông	竹嶺	<u>mun</u>	天主教四字經文
Chung Shan	鍾山		
ch'a-ch'a-ung	次次雄	ch'ôn-kun	天君
Ch'ae Che-kong	蔡齊恭	Ch'ôn-shin	天神
ch'an	禪	ch'on-shin	村神
Ch'ang-an	長安	Ch'ôn-tae Sect	See T'ien-t'ai Sect
Ch'ên	陳		(S-K)
ch'eng-kuan	澄觀	Ch'ôn-to-kyo	天道教
Ch'i, Northern	北齊	Ch'ông-je Chang-gun	青帝將軍
Ch'i-an	齊安		
Ch'ien-lung	乾隆	Ch'un-ch'u, Prince	春秋公道
Ch'im-ch'ung	沈忠	Ch'ung-ch'ông Province	忠清道

Ch'ung-sŏn, King	忠宣王	hai-tung shêng-kuo	海東盛國
Ehwa Hak Tang	See Yi-hwa Hak-tang		
	(S-K)		
Fa-ch'êng	法乘	Ham-kyŏng Province	咸鏡道
Fa-hsien	法顯	Han	漢
Fa-hu	法護	Han, Minor	蜀漢
Fa-shang	法上	Han Chi-yun	韓致淵
Fa-shun	法順	Han River	漢江
Fa-tsang	法藏	Han San	漢山
Fo-kuang Temple	佛光寺	Han U-kun	韓洙幼
Fo-t'u-teng	佛圖澄	Han Woo-keun	See Han U-kun (S-K)
Fou-sha Temple	浮沙寺	Hang-chou	杭州
Fu-ch'ien	符堅	Hap-tong	合同
Fu-yüan-chi Temple	佛授記	Ho-ko San	湖踞山
	寺下	Ho Kyun	許筠
ha-ho	戸	hŏm-chŭk	險側
Ha-na-nim	하나님	Hŏn-an, King	憲安王
ha-nal	하날	Hŏn-kang, King	憲康王
ha-nŭl	하늘	Hŏn-tŏk, King	憲德王
Ha-nŭl-nim	하늘님	hong-ch'ŏk	洪陟
Hae-chu	海州	<u>Hong Kil-tong Chŏn</u>	洪吉童傳
Hae-in Temple	海印寺		
Hae-mo-su	解慕漱	Hong-mun Kwan	弘文館
Hae-tong Hwa-ŏm Sect		Hong Tae-yong	洪大容
	海東華嚴宗	Hong Yu-han	洪有漢
<u>Hae-tong Ko-sŭng Chŏn</u>		Hsi-chou	西州
	海東高僧傳	Hsi-ming Temple	西明寺
Hae-tong Sect	海東宗	Hsi-tang	西堂
<u>Hae-tong Yok-sa</u>	海東歷史	<u>Hsi-yang-kuo Feng-su Chi</u>	西洋國風俗記

Hsien-shou	賢首	Hun-chun	琿春
Hsing-chiao Temple	興教寺	Hũng-bok Temple	興福寺
Hsing-szu	行思	Hung-chou	洪州
Hsiung-nu	匈奴	Hũng-dǒk, King	興德王
Hsü Kuang-ch'i	徐光啓	Hũng-guk Temple	興國寺
Hsüan-chang	玄彰	<u>Hung-i-p'ao T'i-pen</u>	
Hsüan-hsüeh	玄學		紅夷砲題本
Hsüan-tsang	玄奘	Hũng-nyung Temple	興隆寺
Hsüan-tsung	玄宗	Hwa-ōm Sect	See Hua-yen Sect (S-K)
hu	侯	Hwa-ōm Temple	華嚴寺
Hu, King	虎王	hwa-paek	和白
hu-chang	厚葬	Hwa-rang Do	花郎徒
hua-hu	化胡	Hwan-im	환임
<u>Hua-yen Ching</u>	華嚴經	Hwan-in	桓因
		Hwan-ung	桓雄
Hua-yen Sect	華嚴宗	Hwan-ung Ch'ōn-wang	桓雄天王
Huai-hai	懷海		皇福寺
Huai-jang	懷讓	Hwang-bok Temple	皇福寺
Huang Tsun-hsien	黃遵憲	Hwang-hae Province	黃海道
Hui-neng	慧能	Hwang-je Chang-gun	黃帝將軍
Hui-szu	惠思		黃嗣永
Hui-wên	慧文	Hwang Sa-yōng	黃嗣永
Hũi-yang San	曦陽山	Hwang Shim	黃黃龍
Hui-yuan	慧遠	Hwang-yong Temple	黃龍寺
Hũk-che Chang-gun	黑帝將軍	Hye, King	惠惠王
		Hye-ch'a	惠惠王
Hũk-ho-cha	黑胡子	Hye-ch'o	惠惠王

Hye-ch'öl	惠 哲	il-kwan	日 官
Hye-kong, King	惠 恭 王	Il-sön County	一 善 郡
Hye-kwan	慧 灌	Il-süng Pul-kyo	一 乘 佛 教
Hye-öp	慧 業	im-mok	立 木
Hye-p'yön	惠 便	In	印 法 師
Hye-ryun	慧 輪	In-ch'ön	仁 川
Hye-t'ong	惠 通	<u>Jen-wang Ching</u>	仁 王 經
Hyo-so, King	孝 昭	Jurchen	女 真
Hyo-söng Women's College	曉 星 女 子 大 學	Ka-chi San	迦 智 山
Hyök-kö-se	赫 居 世	Ka-kyo Kük-tan	架 橋 劇 團
Hyön-cho	玄 照	Ka-ya Federation	伽 伽 聯 盟
Hyön-kak	玄 恪	Ka-ya San	伽 耶 山
Hyön-kwang	玄 光	Kae-söng	開 城
Hyön-kye San	賢 溪 山	Kak-tök	覺 德
Hyön Söng-mun	玄 錫 文	Kang-hsi	康 熙
Hyön-t'ae	玄 太	Kang-nüng	江 陵
Hyön-uk	玄 昱	Kang Wan-suk	姜 完 淑
Hyön-yu	玄 遊	Kang-wön Province	江 原 道
Hyön-yuk	玄 育	<u>Kao-sêng Chuan</u>	高 僧 傳
hyöng	兄	Kao-tsu	高 高 祖
I-ch'a-ton	異 次 頓	Kao-tsung	高 高 宗
I-hsüan	義 挹	Kap-shin Coup	甲 申 政 變
I-lou	挹 利	Kêng-yin	庚 寅
I-öm	利 嚴	Ki-cha	箕 子
I-pul-lan Temple	伊 弗 蘭 寺	<u>Ki-hae Il-ki</u>	己 亥 日 記
I-ri	裡 里	Ki-hae Persecution	己 亥 邪 獄
I-ssu	伊 斯		

Ki-tok-kyo 基督教
 Ki-tok-kyo Cha-yu Tang 基督教自由黨
 Ki-tok-kyo Kyo-to Yōn-maeng 基督教教徒聯盟
 Ki-tok-kyo Sa-hoe Min-chu Tang 基督教社會民主黨
 Kim 金
 Kim Chōng-bae 金貞培
 Kim Ch'ang-shik 金昌植
 Kim-hae 金海
 Kim Han-shin 金韓信
 Kim Hōn-ch'ang 金憲昌
 Kim Hong-do 金弘道
 Kim Hong-jip 金弘集
 Kim Il-sōng 金一集成
 Kim Man-chung 金萬重
 Kim Pōm-mun 金梵文
 Kim Pōm-u 金範禹
 Kim Ok-kil 金玉吉
 Kim Su-hwan 金壽煥
 Kim Tae-chung 金大中
 Kim Tae-kōn 金大建
 Kim Tong-gil 金東吉
 Kim Tūk-shin 金得臣
 Kim Wōn-yong 金元龍
 Kim Yu-shin 金庾信

Ko-chong 高宗王
 Ko Chu-mong 高朱蒙
 Ko-ch'u-ka 高古鄒加
 Ko-ho San 高踞湖山
 Ko Ko-cha 高賈古子
 Ko-ku-ryō 高句麗
 Ko-ku-ryō, Later 高後高句麗
 Ko-ku-ryō kuk-wang 高句麗國王
 Ko-kuk-yang, King 高句麗國王
 kō-mun ko 高句麗
 Ko-ryō 高麗
 Ko-ryō P'a 高麗派
 Ko-ryōng 高麗靈
 kō-sō-kan 高居西干
 Ko-tae San 高孤大山
 Ko-to-nyōng 高大道寧
 Ko-tūng Shin 高高登神
 kok-ok 高曲玉
 kol-chang je 高骨葬制
 kol-p'um je 高骨品制
 Kong-ju 高公州
 Ku-cha 高龜茲
 Ku Feng-teng 高豐登
 ku-ka 高狗加

Ku-pon	求本	Kwang-ju (Ch'öl-la Province)	光州
<u>Ku-ün Mong</u>	九雲夢	Kwang-ju (Kyöng-gi Province)	廣州
Kuan-chung	關中	Kwön Ch'öl-shin	權哲身
Kuang-chou	廣州	Kwön Il-shin	權日身
Kuei-chi	窺基	Kwön Pok	權權複
Kul-p'o Ri	屈浦里	Kwön, Vincent	權謙益
Küm-chöng San	金井山	Kyöm-ik	遣支
<u>Küm-kang Sam-mi Kyöng-non</u>	金剛三昧經論	kyön-chi	甄萱宮
Küm-kang San	金剛山	Kyön Hwön	景福寺
Küm-kwang Temple	金光寺	Kyöng-bok Palace	景福寺
Küm-nyun	金輪	Kyöng-bok Temple	景德王
Küm River	金江	Kyöng-dök, King	京畿道
Küm-san Temple	金山寺	Kyöng-gi Province	京畿道
Kün-ch'o-ko, King	近肖古王	Kyöng-hüng	京鄉雜誌
Kun-san	郡山	<u>Kyöng-hyang Chap-chi</u>	京鄉新聞
Kung-ch'öng San	弓忽山	Kyöng-hyang Shin-mun	慶州
kung-no	國老	Kyöng-ju	慶州
kung-nye	弓裔	<u>Kyöng-se Küm-so</u>	輕世金書
kut	文	Kyöng-sun, King	敬順王
kwa-ha ma	果下馬	Kyöng-wön	慶源閣
Kwan-nük	觀勒	Kyu-chang Kak	奎章閣
Kwan-üm Cave	觀音窟	K'ai-yüan Temple	開元寺
Kwang-gae-t'o, King	廣開大王	K'ang Sêng-hui	康僧會
Kwang-hye Wön	廣惠院		
Kwang-hyön	光顯		
Kwang-jo Temple	廣照寺		

Mun-a	文 雅	Niu-chuang	牛 庄
Mun-cha, King	文 哲 王	No-ron	牛 老 論
Mun-mu, King	文 武 王	nong-no	農 奴
Myōl-ku-pi	滅 垢 疵	Nul-chi, King	訥 祇 王
Myōng-gwan	明 觀	Nūng-in	能 仁
Myōng-hyo	明 曉	O-chin	悟 真
Myōng-nang	明 朗	o-kyo	五 教
Na-chu	羅 州	O-pang Chang-gun	五 方 將 軍
Nae-mul, King	奈 勿 王	O-tae San	五 台 山
Nak-san Temple	洛 山 寺	o-tu p'um	五 頭 品
Nak-tong River	洛 東 江	Ō-ūm Ri	於 音 里
Nam-han Cho-sa	南 漢 祖 師	Ok-chō	沃 沮
Nam-kan, Lady	南 澗 夫 人	on-tol	溫 突
Nam San	南 山	Ong San	翁 山
Nam Tae-myo	南 大 廟	Pae-chae Hak-tang	培 村 學 堂
Nam-yōn, Prince	南 延 君	Pae-ron San	舟 論 山
Nan-ch'uan	南 泉	Pae-tal-ta	倍 達 多
Nan-shan Tsung	南 山 宗	Paek-ak San	白 岳 山
Nan T'ien-chu Tang	南 天 主 堂	Paek-che	百 齊 齊
Nang-gong	朗 空	Paek-che, Later	後 百 齊
Nang-nang	樂 浪	Paek-che Chang-gun	白 帝 將 軍
Nang-wōn	朗 圓	Paek-che Kuk	伯 濟 國
Newchwang	See Niu-chuang (S-K)	paek-chōng	白 浮
ni-sa-kūm	尼 師 今	Paek San	白 山
nim 日		Pai Chai Hak Tang	See Pae-chae
Ning-po	寧 波		

Hak-tang (S-K)		Pon Ka-ya	本伽倻
Pak	朴	pŏn-ye	樊濊
Pak Che-ka	朴齊家	Pong-nim San	鳳林山
Pak Chi-wŏn	朴趾源	Pong-nim Temple	鳳林寺
Pak Chŏng-hŭi	朴正熙	Pŏp, King	法王
pak-su 박수		Pŏp-chŏng	法定
Pak Yŏm-ch'ŏk	朴厭曷	Pŏp-chu Temple	法住寺
<u>Pan-kye Su-rok</u>		Pŏp-hŭng, King	法興王
	碯溪隨錄	<u>Pŏp-hwa Kyŏng Chong-yo</u>	
Pan-ko Temple	碯高寺		法華經宗要
Par-hae	渤海	Pŏp-kong	法空
<u>Par-hae Ko</u>	渤海考	pŏp-sa	法師
Pê-chang Shan	百丈山	Pŏp-sang Sect	法相宗
Pei-ching	北京	Pŏp-sŏng Sect	法性宗
Pên-chi	本寂	Pŏp-to	法度
Pi-ma-ra Temple	毗摩羅寺	Pŏp-ŭn	法雲山
pi-p'a	琵琶	Pu-san	浮石寺
pi-sŏk	碑石	Pu-sŏk Temple	浮石餘
Pil-lye Pond	빌레못	Pu-yŏ	扶餘神
Po-chang, King	寶藏王	Pu-yŏ Shin	
Po-che-yu-chi		Puk Che-chu County	北濟州郡
Po-tŏk	菩提流志	Puk-hak P'a	北學派
Pŏm-il	普梵德	<u>Puk-hak Ŭi</u>	北學議
Pŏm-nang	法梵日朗	Pun-hwang Temple	北芬皇寺
Pŏm-ŏ Temple	梵魚寺	Pyŏn-Han	韓若
Pŏm-su	梵修	P'a-yak	若者
		p'ae-cha	沛

P'al-kwan Hoe	八關會	Sam-non Sect	See San-lun Sect (S-K)
<u>P'al-to Chi-to</u>	八道地圖	Sam-nyang Temple	三郎寺
		<u>San-kuo Chih</u>	三國志
p'an-chiao	判教	San Kut	山古
p'an-su	判數	San-lun School	三論宗
P'eng-ch'eng	彭城	San-shin Kut	山神古
P'o-sök Pavilion	鮑石亭	sang-dal	상달
P'u-chou	蒲州	Sang-ga-na	常伽那
P'u-ti Temple	菩提寺	sang-ho	上戸
<u>P'u-yü Ching</u>	普雨經	Sang-je	See Shang-ti (S-K)
P'yö-hun	普表	Sang-wön	相源
P'yöng-an Province	平安道	Sang-wön County	祥原郡
P'yöng-wön, King	平原王	sar-hae	殺奚國
P'yöng-yang	平壤	Seng-kia-she	僧迦舍國
sa-cha	使者	Seng-lang	Sung-nang (S-K)
Sa-cha San	師子山	Shang-hai	上海
Sa Ch'ön-wang	四天王	Shang-ti	上帝
Sa Ch'ön-wang Temple	四天王寺	Shen-hsiu	神秀
sa-kan	沙干	<u>Shêng-chiao Ch'ieh-yao</u>	聖教切要
Sa-ro Kuk	斯廬國	Shêng-kuang	Pieh-yüan
<u>Sa-ssi Nam-chöng Ki</u>	謝氏南征記		勝光別院
sa-tu p'um	四頭品	<u>Shêng-nien Kuang-i</u>	聖年廣益
Sam-Han	三韓	Shih-tou	石頭
Sam-il Un-tong	三一運動	Shil	石實
<u>Sam-kuk Yu-sa</u>	三國遺事	Shil-che Temple	法師寺
sam-no	三老	Shil-la	實際羅

shil-lok	寶錄	Sŏ Sang-yun	徐相崙
Shil-sang San	寶相山	So-su-rim, King	小獸林王
Shil-sang Temple	寶相寺		
Shim-hŭi	審希	so-to	蘇塗
Shim-wang	心王	so-tong	誓幢
shin-chang	神將	Sohn Pow-key	See Son Po-ki (S-K)
shin-chi	臣智	Sŏk	昔
Shin-haeng	信行 or 神行	Sŏk-chang Ni	石壯里
		Sŏk-kur Am	石窟庵
shin-in	神人	Sok-san Temple	石谷山寺
Shin-in Sect	神印宗	Sŏl	薛薛
Shin Kyŏng-jun	申景濬	Sŏl Ch'ong	薛聰
Shin-min Hoe	新民會	Sŏn, King	宣王
Shin-mu, King	神武王	Sŏn See ch'an (S-K)	
Shin-mun, King	神文王	Son Po-ki	孫寶基
Shin-yŏng	神靈	Sŏn-tŏk, King	宣德王
Shin-yu Persecution		Sŏn-tŏk, Queen	善德王
	辛酉迫害	Sŏng, King	聖王
Shin Yun-pok	申潤福	sŏng-chu	成造
Shir-hak P'a	寶學派	<u>Sŏng-ch'al Ki-ryak</u>	
So-chi, King	炤知		省察記畧
Sŏ-hak	西學	sŏng-gol	聖骨
So-hyŏn, Prince	照顯世子	<u>Sŏng-gyŏng Chik-hae Kwang-ik</u>	
so-hyŏng	小兄	성경 징해 광역	
Sŏ-kang College	西江大學	Sŏng-gyun Kwan	成均館
So-paek San	小白山	<u>Sŏng-ho Sae-sŏl</u>	
So-ron	小論		星湖僊說
Sŏ Sang-u	徐相佑	sŏng-hwang dang	城隍堂

sǒng-hwang shin	城隍神	<u>Ta-ch'êng Hsien-shih Ching</u>	
Sǒng-ju San	聖住山		大乘顯識經
Sǒng-mun Temple	省門寺	Tae Cho-yǒng	大祚榮
Song-ni Temple	俗離寺	Tae-Han Min-kuk	大韓民國
Sǒr-ak San	雪岳山	tae-hyǒng	大兄
sot-tae 솟대		Tae-il Yo-rae	大日如來
sot-tae kan-tu 솟대竿頭			
sot-t'o 솟터		tae-ka	大加
Ssu-fen-lŭ	四分律	tae ka-ram	大伽藍
Su-mi San	須彌山	Tae Ka-ya	大伽倻
su-rit nal 수릿밭		Tae-ku	大邱 or 大丘
Su-shên	肅慎	tae kuk-t'ong	大國統
Su-ta Temple	水多寺	tae po-rum 大보름	
Su-wǒn	小原	tae-pu sa-cha	大夫使者
Sui	隋		
Suk-chong, King	肅宗王	tae-sa	大使
Sun-cho, King	純祖王	tae sa-cha	大使者
Sun-to	順道	<u>Tae-sŭng Ki-shim Non So-ki</u>	
Sung	宋		大乘起信論陳記
Sŭng-gwang Temple	勝光寺	tae tae-ro	大對盧
Sŭng-jang	勝莊	Tae-tong River	大同江
Sŭng-je	崇濟	Tae-wang Hŭng-nyun Temple	
Sŭng-jŏn	勝詮		大王興輪寺
Sŭng-nang	僧朗	Tae Wǒn-kun	大院君
Sŭng-nyung	僧隆	<u>Tae Yŏl-pan Kyŏng Chong-yo</u>	
Ta Chien-fu Temple	大薦福寺		大涅槃經宗要
		Tae-yul Temple	大律寺

Tal-ku-pol	達句伐	Tong-hap	同合
Tam-ching	曇徵	Tong-hwa Temple	桐華寺
Tam-shi	曇始	tong-maeng	東盟
Tam-yuk	曇育	Tong-ni San	桐裏山 or 桐裡山
tan-kol 단골		Tong-nip Ki-nyŏm Chŏn-to Hoe	獨立紀念傳道會
tan-kul 단골		Tong-nye	東歲
Tan-kun	檀君	Tong-nyun	銅輪
Tan-kun Wang-kŏm	檀君王儉	Tong-sa Kang-mok	東史綱目
tan-kung	檀弓	Tong-sam Tong	東三洞
Tan-sok Temple	斷俗寺	Tong-shou	東冬壽
Tan-yang	丹陽	Tong-sŏng, King	東城王
Tao-an	道安	Tou Wên-fang	東竇文方
Tao-hsi	道希	tsao-ching	藻宗
Tao-hsin	道信	Tsung-mi	密煌
Tao-hsüan	道宣	Tun-huang	敦煌
Tao-sheng	道生	Tung-fang Ta P'u-sa	東方大菩薩
To-chŭng	道證	Tung-i	東夷
to-gae-pi 도개비		tŭng-nan	得難
To-hyŏn	道顯	T'ae-cho, King	太祖
To-kul San	閣崑山	T'ae-chong Mu-ryŏl Wang	太宗武烈王
To-üi	道義	T'ae Mun	太文
To-yun	道允	T'ae-paek San	太白山
To-yung	道融	T'ae-paek San	太伯山
<u>Tong-guk Yŏ-chi-to</u>			
	東國輿地圖		
Tong-gyŏng Sŏng	東京城		
Tong-hak	東學		

t'ae tae-hyǒng	太 大 兄		
T'ae Yang-mal	太 良 末	T'ong Pul-kyo	通 佛 教
<u>T'aeng-ni Chi</u>	擇 里 志	T'sao-t'ang	草 堂
T'ai-tsung	太 宗	Ts'ao-tung	曹 洞
T'am-na Kuk	耽 羅 國	T'u-ku-hun	土 谷 渾
T'an-shih See Tam-shi (S-K)		u-ka	牛 加
T'an-yao	曇 曜	Ūi-cha, King	牛 義 義 慈
T'ang	唐	Ūi-chǒk	義 義 寂
T'ang, Later	後 唐	Ūi-chu	義 義 州
T'ar-hae, King	脫 解	Ūi Pyǒng	義 義 兵
T'ien	天	Ūi-sang	義 義 湘
T'ien-chu	天 主	Ūi-shin	義 義 信
<u>T'ien-chu Shih-i</u>	天 主 寶 義	Ūi-yǒn	義 義 淵
		Ūl-chi Mun-tǒk	乙 支 文 德
<u>T'ien-chu Shih-lu</u>	天 主 寶 錄		
		Ūl-hae Persecution	乙 亥 迫 害
<u>T'ien-chu Shêng-chiao Chih-lu</u>	天 主 聖 教 寶 錄		
		Ūn-chong	雲 聰
T'ien-tsin	天 津	Ung-ch'ǒn	熊 川
T'ien-t'ai Sect	天 台 宗	Ung-ch'ǒn Province	熊 川 州
<u>T'ien-wên Li-suan Shu</u>	天 文 曆 算 書	Ung-gi County	熊 基 郡
		Ung-ju	熊 州
<u>T'ien-wên Shu</u>	天 文 書	Ung-nyǒ	熊 女
<u>T'ien-wên T'u</u>	天 文 圖	ŭp-cha	熊 邑 借
T'o-ham San	吐 含 山	ŭp-kun	邑 君
T'o-pa	拓 跋	Wan-san Chu	完 山 州
T'ong-do Temple	通 道 寺	<u>Wan-wu Chên-yuan</u>	萬 勿 真 原
T'ong-il Chu-chei Kung-min Ūi-wǒn	統 一 主 題 國 民 議 院		

wang	王	Wu-tsung	武宗
Wang-hŭng Temple	王興寺	Wu-t'ai Shan	五台山
Wang Ko-tōk	王高德	Wu-wei San-tsang	無畏三藏
Wang Kōn	王建	Wu-yueh	吳越
<u>Wang O-ch'ōn-ch'uk-kuk Chōn</u>		Yang-chou	揚州
	往五天竺國傳	Yang-ji	郎智大師
wang-sōn	王仙	Yang-san County	梁山郡
Wei	魏	Yang-wōn	良圓
Wei, Northern	北魏	Yao	堯
<u>Wei-shih Lun</u>	唯識論	Ye-hak P'a	禮學派
<u>Wei Shu</u>	魏書	Ye-maek	滅貂
wei-yen	惟儼	Ye-san	禮山
Wen-hsüan	文宣	Ye-su-kyo	예수教
Wi-man	衛滿	Yen	燕
Wi-tōk, King	威德王	Yen, Former	燕前
Wōl-chi Kuk	月支國	Yen Fou-t'iao	嚴浮調
Wōn-chu	原州	Yi Chae-kyōm	李在謙
Wōn-ch'ŭk	原圓測	Yi Chung-hwan	李重煥
Wōn-hyo	元曉	Yi-hwa Hak-tang	李花學堂
Wōn-kwang	元光	Yi Ik	李李
Wōn-nyōng Temple	元寧寺	Yi Ka-hwan	李李家
Wōn-p'yo	元表	Yi Kwal	李李李
Wōn-san	元山	Yi Kwang-jōng	李李李
Wōn-sŭng	元勝	Yi Pyōk	李李李
Wu (State)	吳	Yi Pyōng-do	李李李
Wu, Emperor	武	Yi Shin-kyu	李李李
Wu, Empress	武		李李李
Wu-ti	武帝		李李李

Yi Su-chōng
 Yi Su-kwang
 Yi Sung-hun
 Yi Sung-man
 Yi Tan-wōn
 Yi Tōng-mu
 Yi Tong-uk
 Yi ũng-ch'an
 Ying-k'ou
 Yo-sōk Kung
Yōl-ha Il-ki
Yōl-pan Kyōng
 Yōl-pan Sect
 Yōm-kō
 Yōng-ch'ōn
 Yōng-hūng Temple
 Yong-hwa Hyang-do
 Yōng-jo, Ki
 yōng-ko
Yōng-se Tae-ūi
 yong-shin
 Yong-shin Kut
Yü-chia Lun
 Yu Hang-gōm
 Yu Hyōng-wōn

李樹庭
 李晬光
 李承薰
 李承晚
 李端源
 李德懋
 李東郁
 李應贊
 營口
 瑤石宮
 熱河日記
 See Nirvāṇa Sūtra
 (S)
 涅槃宗
 廉居
 永川郡
 永興寺
 龍華香徒
 英祖
 迎鼓
 영세머의
 龍神
 龍神
 瑜伽論
 柳恒儉
 柳馨遠

Yu-ka Sect See Yogācāra School (S)

Yu-shim An-nak To

遊心安樂道

Yu-shin Constitution

維新憲法

Yu Tūk-kong

柳得恭

yüan-chia

元嘉

Yüan-fa Temple

元法寺

yuk-tu p'um

六頭品

yul-sa

律師

Yul Sect See Lü Tsung (S-K)

Yün-chi Temple

雲際寺

Yun Ch'i-ho

尹致昊

Yun-kang

雲岡

Yun Po-sōn

尹潘善

Yun Yu -il

尹有一

Yung-chêng

雍正

Yung-hui

永徽

Zaitun See Chuan-chou (S-K)

B. Japanese Vocabulary

Bidatsu, King	敏達王	Reisen	靈仙
Daian Temple	大安寺	Saitō Makoto	齋藤實子
Daibetsu-ō Temple	大別王寺	Shōtoku Taishi	聖德太子
Donchō See Tam-ching (S-K)		Soga	蘇我
Ennin	圓仁	sōjō	僧正
Foucan Eion	不干一一	Sōryū See Sung-nyang (S-K)	
Genkō Temple	元興寺	Suiko	推古王
Hayasaka	早坂	Takeya, Cosme	竹屋一一
Hōryū Temple	法隆寺	tennō	天皇
Hōtei See Pōp-chōng (S-K)		Terauchi, Masataka	寺內正毅
Itō Hirobumi	伊藤博文	Tōgen See To-hyōn (S-K)	
Kanroku See Kwan-nūk (S-K)		Tokugawa	德川
Katō Kiyomasa	加藤清正	Tōyō Takushoku Kabushiki Kaisha	東洋拓殖株式會社
Keiben See Hye-p'yōn (S-K)		Toyotomi Hideyoshi	豐臣秀吉
Keiji See Hye-ch'a (S-K)		Unshū See Ūn-ch'ong (S-K)	
Keikan See Hye-kwan (S-K)		Wakida	脇田
Keizen	惠善尼	Yamato	大和
Konishi Yukinaga	小西行長	Yasukawa	安川
Kintō	金堂	Yokohama	橫濱
magatama	勾玉	Zen See ch'an (S-K)	
Nagasaka	永坂	Zenshin	善信尼
Nagasaki	長崎	Zenzō	禪藏尼
<u>Nihon Seiki</u>	日本世紀		
Ōmura	大村		

C. Sanskrit Vocabulary

Abhidharma-kośa-sāstra

俱舍論

Abhidharma-piṭaka

阿毘曇藏五部律

Abhidharma-sāstra

毘曇論

Āmōgha

不空

Āryavarman See Chon-nyun (S-K)Avataṃsaka Sūtra See Hua-yen Ching

(S-K)

Bodhidharma

菩提達摩

Buddhabhadra

佛陀跋陀羅

Cincā Vihāra

信者寺

Dharmarakṣa See Fa-hu (S-K)Gandhārachanda Monastery

犍陀羅山茶寺

Mahābodhi Vihāra

大覺寺

Mahāprajñāpāramitā Sūtra

大品般若經

Mālānanda

摩羅難陀

Nirvāṇa Sect

涅槃宗

Nirvāṇa Sūtra

涅槃經

Prajñā Sūtra

般若經

Prānyamūla-sāstra-tikā

中論

Saddharmapandarika Sūtra

法華經

Śatasāstra

百論

Sillānanda

實叉難陀

Śivahara

地婆訶羅

Vajrabodhi

金剛智

Vimalakīrtinir-deśa Sūtra

淨明經

Yogācāra School

瑜伽宗

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

D. English Vocabulary

Chinese Cultural Sphere

漢族文化圈

Eastern Cultural Sphere

東方文化圈

Five Principles for Life

世俗五戒

Forest of the Heavenly Mirror

天鏡林

Four Heavenly Kings See Sa Ch'ōn-wang (S-K)

ginseng See in-sam (S-K)

Gold Bell Tomb 金鈴塚

Gold Crown Tomb 金冠塚

Grain Spirit 穀神

Heavenly Treasures

天符印

Law of the Hwa-rang

花郎道

Lotus Sūtra See Saddharmapandarīka
Sūtra (S)

Lucky Phoenix Tomb

瑞鳳塚

Northern Cultural Sphere

北方文化圈

Old Cho-sŏn 古朝鮮

Oriental Development Company

See Tōyō Takushoku Kabushiki

Kaisha (J)

Piled Stone Wooden Coffin

Tumulus 積石木槨墳

Primitive Unmarked Pottery

原始無文土器

原始無文土器

Sacred Sandalwood Tree

神檀樹

Sea Dragon

海龍

Southerner

南人

Tomb of the Heavenly Horse

天馬塚

Unmarked Pottery See Mu-mun

Pottery (S-K)

Westerner

西人

White Footed Master

白足和尚

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