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Foreword

This is the third volume of our Journal, which is the only international academic journal about Korea in Poland, published by the Department of Korean Studies, Institute of Linguistics at Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznan. We wish to express our appreciation to each of the contributors to this volume, who took their time and effort to help us in developing Korean studies in Poland.

This volume contains papers devoted to Korean language, literature, history, politics and culture – almost all the fields of Korean studies.

Anna Borowiak examines the similarities and differences between attributes in Korean and Polish languages. She suggests the methods of classification of attributes in both languages. She tries to find out to which extent typological differences between Korean and Polish are reflected in the properties the attributes possess (and according to which they can be classified).

Sunghee Hong explores the new approaches to Korean poetry under dictatorships from late 1960s to 1980s in terms of ‘authenticity of snobbism’. She focuses on the double positioning of Korean literature as the accuser and the accused. She suggests a new way of reconciling the opposites rather than the way of dichotomy. **Seoyoon Choi** analyzes the paradox and irony in Kim Suyong’s poetry under the authoritarian Park Chung-hee regime in 1960s. She suggests a new way of reading his poetry arguing that the paradox of self-negation and self-reinvention can result in a sort of new ‘love’ and ‘hope’. **Mansu Kim** in his paper explains the patterns of Korean’s narrative based on the ‘rule of three’ in which the weakest finally beats the strongest. He points out that the ‘rule of three’ of Korean narrative reflects the geopolitical location of Korea at the collision point of the strong neighbouring countries through the analyses of the stories of General Yusin Kim and Great Monk Samyeong. **Yuliawati Dwi Widyaningrum** deals with how Korean teenagers represented in Indonesian teenage literary works are influenced by ‘Korean Wave’. She analyzes their characteristics in terms of the perspective of adolescence developmental psychology, relationship with peer groups and the context of education. **Seyon**

Jo analyzes the movie *Spirits' Homecoming* directed by Jeong-nae Cho which reveals two Korean “comfort women’s” lives, anguish and mourning as a result of ‘Japanese military sexual slavery’ during the World War II. She focuses on how Korean viewers reacted through mourning presented in the movie based on Derrida’s concept of mourning. **Kang-sok Cho** shows three perspectives on Korea represented in foreigners’ travel records in early 1900s. He examines the travel records of Jack London, Georges Ducrocq, and E. Burton Holmes to explain three conspicuous aspects on Korea. **Yeong-mi Lee** deals with the book *Korea: Klucz Dalekiego Wschodu (Korea: Key to the Far East)* (1905) written by a Polish writer Waclaw Sieroszewski. She tries to find out the significance of *KKDW* considering the history of Western literature on Korea. She focuses on the favourable attitude of the book toward Korea compared with other books written by foreign visitors to Korea during the early 20th century.

Grażyna Strnad presents complex problems connected with the change of political system of South Korea. She focuses on the roles and participation of political leaders from the 1980s to the late twentieth century. She argues that political leadership in the democratization of South Korea was still authoritarian, because of the presence of the cultural heritage of Confucianism in politics. **Huang Xiuzhi** examines the political conflicts between the Korean Joseon dynasty and the Chinese Ming dynasty in the late 16th century. He analyzes the problems of political relations and diplomacy between the two countries focusing on the book *Haidongzhuguoji*.

The main goal of our Journal is to develop Korean studies in Poland. We will do our best to achieve it. We express our sincere thanks to all of our colleagues, especially from the Center for Korean Studies of Inha University and the Department of Korean Studies, Institute of Linguistics of Adam Mickiewicz University.

03 June 2017
Kyong-geun Oh

서문

우리 학술지는 폴란드에서 유일한 한국에 관한 국제학술지로서 포즈난 소재 아담 미츠키에비츠 대학교의 언어학연구소 한국학과에 의해 매년 발행되고 있다. 이번 제 3 권이 발간되기까지 논문을 보내주신 분들과 기꺼이 심사를 맡아주신 분들, 그리고 폴란드에서 한국학의 발전을 위해 변함없이 아낌없는 도움을 보내주신 모든 분들께 감사드린다.

이번 호에는 한국의 언어, 문학, 역사, 정치, 문화 등 한국의 거의 모든 분야에 관한 논문들이 실렸다.

Anna Borowiak 은 한국어와 폴란드어의 관형어 사이의 유사점과 차이점을 분석하였다. 논문은 각각의 언어에서 관형어 분류의 새로운 방법을 제시하고 있다. 한국어와 폴란드 간의 유형적 차이가 어느 정도까지 그 분류의 기준의 될 수 있는 관형어들의 속성에 영향을 미치고 있는가를 중점적으로 연구하였다.

홍성희는 ‘속물의 진정성’이란 주제로 1960년대 후반에서 1980년대까지 독재정권 하의 한국시를 바라보는 새로운 방법을 모색하였다. 저자는 한국문학의 ‘비난하는 자’와 ‘비난받는 자’로서의 동시적-이중적 성격에 주목하여, 그러한 이분법적인 시각을 초월하여 두 상반된 것들 간의 화해와 상생을 추구하는 새로운 방법을 제시하였다. **최서윤**은 1960년대 박정희 독재정권 하 김수영의 시에 나타난 역설과 아이러니를 분석하였다. 그는 ‘자기부정’과 ‘자기 재창조’라는 역설이 ‘사랑’과 ‘희망’의 새로운 언어로 탄생될 수 있다고 주장함으로써 김수영의 시에 대한 새로운 이해의 시각을 제시하였다. **김만수**는 그의 논문에서 가장 약한 자가 결국엔 강자들을 제압하는 ‘3의 법칙’에 근거하는 한국의 서사형식들에 대해 논하였다. 그는 한국 서사들 속의 ‘3의 법칙’은 오래 전부터 주변의 강대국들이 충돌하고 있는 접경지역에 위치한 한국의 지정학적 상황을 반영하고 있는 것임을 밝히고, 김유신 이야기와 사명대사 이야기의 분석을 통해 그 논거를 제시하였다. **Yuliawati Dwi Widyaningrum**은 최근 ‘한류’의 영향을 받아 인도네시아 청소년 문학에 새롭게 등장한 한국 청소년들의 모습을 분석하였다. 그는 인도네시아 작가들이 쓴 작품들 속에서 묘사되고 있는 한국 청소년들의 성격적 특성을 성장기 청소년 심리학, 동년배들과의 관계 그리고 교육적 맥락의 측면에서 고찰하였다. **조세연**은 2차대전 시 ‘일본군대의 성적노예’였던 두 ‘위안부’ 여성의 삶과 고뇌, 그리고 그들에 대한 애도를 보여주는 조정래 감독의 영화 <귀향>을 분석하였다. 저자는 영화에서 재현된 애도에 대한

관객들의 반응 그리고 데리다의 이론에 근거한 ‘애도’의 개념 분석에 집중하였다. **조강석**은 1900년대 초기 한국을 방문한 외국인들의 여행기록 속에 묘사된 한국에 대한 세 가지 시각을 논하였다. 저자는 한국에 대한 뚜렷이 구별되는 그 세 가지 관점을 보여주기 위해 Jack London, Georges Ducrocq, E. Burton Holmes 의 여행기록을 각각 자세하게 분석하였다. **이영미**는 1905년 폴란드 작가 Waclaw Sieroszewski가 쓴 책 <Korea: Klucz Dalekiego Wschodu>(한국: 극동의 열쇠)를 고찰하였다. 그는 당시 서양인들이 쓴 한국에 대한 책들 가운데 **KKDW**가 갖는 의미에 주목하였고, 20세기 초반 한국을 방문한 외국인들의 저작들과 비교하여 이 책에서 발견되는 한국에 대한 긍정적인 면들에 대해 논하였다.

Grazyna Strnad 는 한국의 민주적 정치체제 이행 과정에서 발생한 총체적 문제들을 다루었다. 그는 특히 1980년대에서 20세기 후반까지의 정치지도자들의 역할과 참여에 주목하였고, 한국의 민주화 과정에서도 정치적 리더십이 권위주의적이었던 것은 정치에서 유교적 문화유산이 여전히 잔재하고 있기 때문이라 주장한다. **Huang Xiuzhi** 는 16세기 후반 한국의 조선왕조와 중국의 명왕조 사이의 정치적 갈등을 고찰하였다. 그는 당시 <해동제국기>로 인해 발생한 두 나라 간의 정치적 갈등과 그것의 해결을 위한 외교적 노력들을 집중 분석했다.

우리 학술지가 지향하는 바는 폴란드에서 한국학의 발전을 위한 계속된 노력이다. 그것을 위해 우리는 최선을 다해 나갈 것이다. 이번 호가 발간되기까지 도와주신 모든 분들께, 특히 인하대 한국학연구소, 그리고 아담 미츠키에비츠 대학교의 언어학연구소와 한국학과 분들께 진심으로 감사드린다.

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오경근

A DRAFT CLASSIFICATION OF ATTRIBUTES IN KOREAN AND POLISH LANGUAGES

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Abstract: Analyzing various classifications of sentence parts in Korean and Polish, it is easy to identify the existence of attributes in both of them, although the English term itself is not actually being used by Korean linguists, and thus might not be well known. Nevertheless, since the function of *gwanhyeonge* (Kor. 관형어) in Korean, and attributes in Polish is similar, for the sake of transparency, this particular term will be used.

The aim of this article is to propose a comprehensive classification of attributes in both target languages based on formal, syntactic and semantic parameters. In order to do it in the most exhaustive way, firstly different approaches concerning the definition of attributes, as well as the methods of their classification, proposed by various linguists in both languages will be examined. The author hopes to find out to which extent the typological differences between Korean and Polish are reflected in the attributes' properties, according to which they can be classified.

Key words: Korean, Polish, attribute, property, parameter, classification

한국어와 폴란드어의 관형어 분류 초안

논문초록: 한국어와 폴란드어에 각각 존재하는 다양한 문장 성분의 분류를 분석해 보면 양국 언어에서 관형어의 실재를 쉽게 확인할 수 있다. ‘Attribute’란 용어 자체가 한국 언어학자들에 의해 실제로 사용되지 않음으로써 잘 알려져 있지 않지만, 한국어 문장에서 관형어의 기능은 폴란드어 문장에서의 ‘attribute’와 기능이 유사하기 때문에 연구의 명확성을 위해서 ‘attribute’라는 용어를 사용할 것이다.

본 연구의 목적은 두 언어에서의 형태적·통사적·의미적 매개 변수를 바탕으로 둔 포괄적인 관형어의 분류를 제안하는 데에 있다. 이 과제를 최대한 철저히 수행하기 위하여 먼저 한국과 폴란드의 여러 언어학자들이 관형어를 어떻게 정의하고 분류해 왔는지를 알아볼 것이다.

본고는 한국어와 폴란드어 간의 유형론적인 차이가 관형어의 속성을 분류하는 방법에 어느 정도 반영되는지를 밝혀 내고자 한다.

주제어: 한국어, 폴란드어, 관형어, 특질, 매개 변수, 분류

ZARYS KLASYFIKACJI PRZYDAWEK W JĘZYKU KOREAŃSKIM I POLSKIM

Streszczenie: Porównując różne klasyfikacje części zdania, istniejące w języku koreańskim i polskim, potwierdzimy występowanie przydawek. Pomimo, iż angielski termin określający przydawkę - ‘attribute’ nie jest stosowany przez koreańskich lingwistów, ze względu na podobieństwa *gwanhyeongeo* (kor. 관형어) w języku koreańskim i przydawkami w języku polskim oraz dla zachowania przejrzystości, termin ten będzie stosowany.

Celem niniejszego artykułu jest zaproponowanie klasyfikacji przydawek w języku koreańskim i polskim, opartej na parametrach formalnych, syntaktycznych oraz leksykalnych. Aby precyzyjnie scharakteryzować przydawki, najpierw zostaną przeanalizowane różne definicje tej części zdania oraz metody ich klasyfikacji, zaproponowane przez różnych koreańskich i polskich językoznawców. Autor żywi nadzieję, iż niniejsze badanie ujawni, do jakiego stopnia różnice typologiczne istniejące pomiędzy językiem koreańskim i polskim są odzwierciedlone we własnościach, według których przydawki w obu językach mogą zostać sklasyfikowane.

Słowa kluczowe: język koreański, język polski, przydawka, własność, parametr, klasyfikacja

1. Introductory Remarks

Despite the genetic and structural differences between Korean and Polish language, the classifications of sentence parts reveal the existence of common attributes in both of them. There are however, some differences concerning the membership of sentence components in their subclasses.

In Korean language the sentence components are usually divided into the three following categories:

- (i) the main parts of the sentence (*juseongbun*, Kor. 주성분) - a subject (*jueo*, Kor. 주어), an object (*mokjeogeo*, Kor. 목적어), a predicate (*seosureo*, Kor. 서술어) and a complement (*boeo*, Kor. 보어),
- (ii) the subsidiary (or complementary) parts of the sentence, sometimes also called *modifiers* (*busokseongbun*, Kor. 부속성분) - (*gwanhyeongeo*, Kor. 관형어) and an adverbial (*busaero*, Kor. 부사어)¹,
- (iii) the independent part of the sentence (*dongnipseongbun*, Kor. 독립성분) - (*dongnibeo*, Kor. 독립어) (cf. 남기심 and 고영근 2006, 나찬연 2007 etc.).²

It is worth mentioning that the subject literature published in Korean, including the one for foreign learners, despite providing English translation for all sorts of linguistic terms such as the names of the parts of speech, fail to give the corresponding terms for some names of the above sentence components. Even though the English equivalents concerning the main parts of the sentence are relatively

¹ Although the Korean term *busok* (Kor. 부속) can be translated as ‘subsidiary, complementary, accessory’ etc. in this article words, which modify the meaning of the superordinate word – namely attributes and adverbials, will be referred to as ‘the secondary parts of the sentence’, understood as the second most important sentence components after the main parts of the sentence. The term ‘non-obligatory sentence components’ could also be used, however, in some cases from semantic reasons attributes as well as adverbials have to be used, which means they would become obligatory sentence components and thus they would have to be excluded from this class.

² Some linguists such as 김광혜 et al. (1999: 209) instead of three categories distinguish only two of them. Here the third category is simply included into the second one.

frequently given (cf. 김기혁 2001, 나찬연 2007, 황경수 2009), those belonging to the last two classes are not. Nonetheless some scholars, such as 나찬연 (2007), took the attempt and translated the names of the secondary parts of a sentence into English as ‘adnominal phrase’ and ‘adverbial phrase’ respectively.

In the author’s opinion however, both terms are not precise ones, since the attribute can be formed not only by a syntagma, but also by a single word, such as *sae* or *yet* (Kor. 새, 옛) meaning ‘new’ and ‘old’ respectively. This especially concerns attributes of Korean affiliation, represented by *gwanhyeongsa* (Kor. 관형사) usually referred to as a *qualifier* or a *determinant*.³ The adverbial can also be expressed by a single word only, e.g. *dahaenghi* or *uyeonhi* (Kor. 다행히, 우연히), meaning ‘luckily’ and ‘accidently’ respectively.

Among sentence components distinguished in Polish are: a subject, a predicate, an attribute, an object and an adverbial. It is worth to mention, that there are two kinds of objects, namely a direct and an indirect one. The first one is expressed in positive sentences in the accusative case, and in the negative sentences usually in the genitive case, rarely in the instrumental one. The indirect object is expressed with the dative, instrumental or locative case.

These components can be grouped into the main and the secondary parts of the sentence (Pol. główne i drugorzędne części zdania) (cf. Kokowski 1917: 5). Nevertheless the third category - the words outside of syntactic relations’ (Pol. wyrazy w zdaniu poza związkami) is mentioned only by very few linguists, among them Klemensiewicz (1986: 132) and Podracki (1997: 186).

- (i) the main parts of the sentence (Pol. główne części zdania) - a subject and a predicate,
- (ii) the secondary parts of the sentence (Pol. drugorzędne części zdania) - an attribute, an object and an adverbial,
- (iii) the words being outside of the syntactic relations in a sentence⁴.

³ These bound forms are also called *prenouns* (cf. Lee and Ramsey 2000: 104-7) or *adnouns* (cf. Yeon and Brown 2011: 402). In this research however the term ‘determiner’ (Pol. determinant, określnik) will be used. In Author’s opinion it is the most precise term.

⁴ Podracki (1997: 188) explains that the term ‘words outside of syntactic relations’ should not be understood literally. Physically they are a part of a sentence as other

Although both of the above classifications confirm that attributes are included into the secondary parts of the sentence, at the same they also reveal some differences concerning not only the syntactic categories of the components but also their membership in the subclasses of those classifications.

First of all, in Polish language only a subject and a predicate are included into the main sentence components, while in Korean an object and a complement also belong there. In both languages an attribute as well as an adverbial constitute the secondary parts of the sentence, however in Polish an object also belongs there.

Second of all, while an object in Polish can be divided into the direct and indirect one, in Korean only the first one is actually referred to as an object. Consequently, Polish indirect object is treated as a complement in Korean. There are, however, some differences between them too, in Polish both direct and indirect objects can be expressed by more than one case each, while Korean uses only one case to indicate an object, namely the allomorphic form of the accusative case (*mokjeokgyeokjosa*, Kor. 목적격조사) - *eul/reul* (Kor. -을/를) and one allomorphic form for the complement (*bogyekjosa*, Kor. 보격조사) -*i/ga* (Kor. -이/가). What is more, the form of just mentioned *bogyekjosa* is identical with the nominative case particle (*jugyeokjosa*, Kor. 주격조사). It is also worthy to mention that the complement is used only when ‘to become/ to be not (somebody/ something)’ (Kor. ‘되다’ and ‘아니다’ respectively) are used as predicates.

In addition, in Korean unlike in Polish an interjection or an exclamation (Kor. 감탄사) as a part of speech becomes separately distinguished part of the sentence in Korean - called *dongnibeo* (Kor. 독립어). It is despite the fact that exclamations form in Polish one class of words and can constitute an independent utterance by themselves.

The aim of this article is to propose the set of parameters, according to which attributes in Korean and Polish language could be classified. Prior to dividing them into formal, syntactic and semantic ones, which systematize the properties that attributes possess - two aspects will be examined – namely (i) how Korean -

components do, their function is however different, and thus they are not contained in a sentence understood as a network of syntactic relations.

and Polish scholars define the term attribute and how that definition has evolved over the years, and (ii) on the basis of what criteria this particular part of sentence is being classified. The Author hopes to find out to what extent the typological differences between Korean and Polish are reflected in the above-mentioned parameters, which could systematize the properties of attributes.

2. An Attribute – Different Approaches Towards the Definition

The term ‘attribute’ comes from Latin *attributus*, which is the past participle of *attribuere* meaning ‘to attribute’ composed of ‘ad-’ and ‘tribuere’ meaning ‘to bestow’. Its first known usage dates back to the 14th century (cf. Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary).

As far as the term ‘attribute’ is concerned, Korean linguists generally use one term, namely *gwanhyeongeo* (Kor. 관형어) (cf. 남광우, 이응백 and 이을환 1991, 김기혁 1996, 김광해 et al. 1999, 김기복 1999, 김기혁 2001, 임지룡 et al. 2005, 남기심 and 고영근 1985/2006, 나찬연 2007, 김선효 2011, 오규환 2016 etc.). This term is also used in high school grammar books ‘고등학교문법’ (2002/2005). However, in traditional grammar, either the term *maegimmal* (Kor. 매김말) (cf. 최현배 1937/1961; 김봉모 1978ab, 리의도 1982, 허웅 1983, 한길 1997 etc.) or *maegim kkumimmal* (Kor. 매김 꾸밈말) (최현배 1937/1961) is used. In North Korean linguistic terminology an attribute is called *gyujeongeo* (Kor. 규정어) (cf. 리동빈 1999/2004: 124, 우형식 2002: 309). 김기복 (1999) in the English abstract of his thesis uses the term ‘attributive’ while referring to attributes, while 한길 (1997) refers to the m as the ‘determinatives’. Curiously enough, despite the fact that the dictionary of applied linguistics by 박경자 et al. (2001) has e.g. ‘attributive adjective’ (Kor. 한정 형용사) and ‘attributive use’ (Kor. 한정적 사용) as its entries, the term ‘attribute’ is nowhere to be found. It is also noteworthy, that Korean grammar books published in Korean, despite providing English equivalents for all sorts of grammatical terms fail to give the one for ‘attribute’. Foreign scholars, on the other hand in order to denote them use either the term ‘attribute’ (cf. Ramstedt, 1939: 34,

185)⁵, or ‘modifier’ (cf. Yeon and Brown 2011: 444; Martin 1992: 19)⁶.

Also in Polish language generally one term is being used, namely ‘przydawka’ (Eng. attribute). However, its Latin equivalent - *attributum* (cf. Bańcerowski, Pogonowski and Zgółka 1982: 269) or polonised version of the word, namely ‘atrybut’ (cf. Arct 1899: 27, Nagórko 2005: 283) are also in use. Nevertheless some linguists such as Frankowska (1982) while referring to attributes prefer to use the term ‘determiner’ (Pol. determinator), which could in fact be treated as a *hyperonym* for both an attribute and an adverbial. In English books on Polish language either the term ‘attribute’ (Zagorska-Brooks 1975: 381-386), ‘attributive modifiers’ (Fisiak, Lipińska-Grzegorek, Zabrocki 1978:81) or ‘modifier’⁷ (Swan 1981: 4) are being used.⁸

2.1. Definitions of Attributes in Korean

The definition of what an attribute in Korean is, evolved with time. 최현배 (1937/1961: 757) defines it as ‘something, which in order

⁵ Nevertheless it is referred to only in a short paragraph when discussing the indeclinable nature of nouns and their morphological structure. The author treats syntagmas such as ‘a Korean house’ (Kor. 조선 집) or ‘a new house’ (Kor. 새 집) as compounds, explaining that the preceding part, which remains unchanged, plays the attributive function.

⁶ Yeon and Brown (2011: 444) use the term as the opposition to a complement, Martin (1992: 19) however, mentions it while explaining word spacing in Korean ‘which reflects the potential pause between various constructions’, among which he mentions those built from ‘modifier and N’ (e.g. ‘such person’, Kor. 그런 사람) and those built from ‘modifier and quasi-free N’ (e.g. ‘such thing’, Kor. 그런 것).

⁷ It is worth to notice that the term ‘modifier’ can also be used while referring to adverbials.

⁸ In Polish-Korean Dictionary compiled by 정병권 (2002: 703) the Polish term for ‘attribute’ is translated into Korean as ‘a determiner such as adjective or adverb’ (Kor. 한정사 – 형용사, 부사 따위), as ‘a modifier’ (Kor. 수식어) and as ‘an adjunct’ (Kor. 부가어). The mistranslation of the first term not only reveals the fact that the Polish term denoting one of the parts of the sentence was compared with Korean part of speech, but also that among attributes, apart from adjectives, adverbs are also enumerated, which should not take place. Although the attribute can be referred to as a modifier, it is worth to mention that not every adjunct really is an attribute.

to describe parts of a sentence expressed with substantives⁹ (*imjassi*, Kor. 임자씨) is placed before the m'. 김봉모 (1978a: 19, 1978b: 50-1) indicates, that it not only describes the head but also limits its scope, which is considered to be the major property of attributes. It also forms the endocentric construction (*naesim gujo*, Kor. 내심 구조)¹⁰ with its head noun. 남광우, 이응백 and 이을환 (1991: 151) focus on their structure and explain that it is a substantive used with the genitive particle (referred there as 'the attributive particle').

김기복 (1999: 1-2) notices that the attribute is the secondary part of a sentence (and as such cannot become the major sentence component), which describes the following head, being one of the main parts of the sentence. He refers to three types of function an attribute can have, namely:

- (i) the modifying function, which means the reduction of the scope denoted by the head itself or its properties (*susik gineung*, Kor. 수식 기능),
- (ii) the static function (*jeongtaejeok gineung*, Kor. 정태적 기능) meaning that an attribute can only describe the state of the head and cannot become a predicate {by itself},
- (iii) the indicative function (*jisi gineung*, Kor. 지시 기능).

He also points out that while it is clear that an attribute can describe the substantives (*cheeon*, Kor. 체언), it is not specified which word classes included by Korean linguists into the substantives - namely nouns, pronouns and numerals, can actually be modified by it. It is very important observation since despite the fact that so-called determinative attribute (*gwanhyeongsa gwanhyeonge*, Kor. 관형사관형어) can form a syntactic relation with its head noun, it cannot do the same with a pronoun or a numeral, regardless of the fact that all of the m, as already mentioned, are in fact substantives in Korean.

⁹ The term *substantives* cannot be replaced with the Latin term *nomen*. It is because in Korean it is used as a *hyperonym* of nouns, pronouns and numerals, while *nomen* as Gołąb et al. (1968: 379) point out, according to the terminology of the ancient grammarians, denotes a category of words with declension such as nouns, adjectives and numerals. Korean adjectives conjugate, as verbs do that is why using the above-mentioned term *nomen* could be misleading.

¹⁰ 김봉모 (1978b: 51) actually uses the term *dongjungsim guseong* (Kor. 동중심 구성).

What is more, while the attributive forms (*gwanhyeongsahyeong* {*jeonseongeomi*}, Kor. 관형사형 {전성어미}) of verbs and adjectives can modify pronouns the y cannot be used with numerals.

서정수 (1994) describes the syntactic and semantic nature of attributes by stating that the attribute as a *modificand*, forms a phrase with its head noun, pointing out that every attributive element, which modifies the head noun, is treated as an attribute. He also indicates that despite the fact that it is not a mandatory element of the NP, it complements or completes its meaning.

김기혁(2001: 337) focuses on the formal, syntactic and semantic properties of an attribute, by saying that this class is formed by determiners (*gwanhyeongsa*, Kor. 관형사), attributive forms of verbs and adjectives, and the substantives with the genitive case particle. Since attributes cannot be used by themselves, their usage requires the presence of the head, namely the *modificand* (*pisusigeo*, Kor. 피수식어).

남기심 and 고영근 (2006: 265) while defining the term ‘attribute’ refer to the syntactic category of the head it can modify, namely a subject or an object. They also point out that although it is not an obligatory part of a sentence [being the complementary part of the sentence] if the head is a bound noun their have to be used. 리의도 (1982: 123) notices that its function can be performed by various units, such as a word, a phrase or a clause (Kor. 낱말, 이은말, 마디 respectively, according to the terminology he uses).

한길 (1997: 6-8) strongly disagrees with widely accepted opinion that an attribute, unlike a subject or an object, neither directly affects a predicate nor it is under its grammatical influence, since as many scholars point out its influence is limited only to the head it describes. To prove his point and confirm that an attribute is ‘indirectly lead by the predicate’ he analyzes the aspect of *honorification of the person* appearing in attributes (attributive forms).¹¹ However, above all, he also points out a very important criterion, which should also be taken into account while distinguishing

¹¹ *Honorification* in Korean is usually divided into: *the subject honorification* (Kor. 주체 높임), *the object honorification* (Kor. 객체 높임) and *the hearer honorification* (Kor. 상대 높임). 한길 convinces that apart from them the honorification of a person who appears in attributes (Kor. 매김말로 등장하는 사람 높임) should also be distinguished.

attributes - namely the fact that the bigger focus should be placed on the type of words an attribute modifies, rather than on what sentence components do they represent. In other words, it is not the part of the sentence being modified but the part of speech used as particular part of the sentence, which is being described, determines whether something is or is not the attribute. Consequently, if an attribute has a noun (or its equivalent e.g. the nominalized verb) as its head, it can modify every part of a sentence, namely: a subject, a direct object, a predicate (formed from a noun and a copula), a complement, another attribute, an adverbial or even an independent component of the sentence (Kor. 독립어).¹² The distributional criteria in distinguishing attributes as well as their dependency on the head is also referred to by 한국방송통신 대학교 평생교육원 (2005: 138).

2.2. Definitions of Attributes in Polish

[In Indo-European languages] the attribute is usually defined as a word or phrase, which is syntactically subordinate to the word it describes and, which serves to limit, identify, particularize, describe, or supplement the meaning of the form [the head], it is in construction with.¹³ Zagorska-Brooks (1975: 831) specifies the head, which can be modified by the attribute - namely, a noun or nominal expressions.

The above definition however, is not precise, since it neither says to which word class the head¹⁴ belongs, nor what is its function

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- ¹² E.g. a) 저 사람이 밥을 먹고 있다. That man is eating. (the subject)
b) 여자가 뜨거운 차를 마시고 있다. A woman is drinking a hot tea. (the direct object)
c) 수미가 영리한 학생이다. Sumi is a smart student. (the predicate - noun + copula)
d) 여동생이 훌륭한 의사가 되었다. My younger sister became an excellent doctor. (the complement)
e) 나는 그 사람의 자동차를 봤다. I saw this man's car. (another attribute)
f) 오빠가 좁은 마당에서 테니스를 치고 있다. My older brother is playing tennis in the narrow yard. (the adverbial)
g) 못난 사람아! You foolish/ stupid man! (the independent part of the sentence)

¹³ cf. <http://www.dictionary.com/browse/attribute> (accessed August 13, 2016).

¹⁴ In linguistic literature 'the head' is also called the *determinatum*, the *modificand*, the *qualificatum*, the qualified word or the superordinate word, while the terms

in a sentence. Overlooking this particular prerequisite leads, without a question, to including e.g. adverbials into the category of attributes, since they also, as syntactically subordinate sentence constituents 'limit' or 'describe' the form, they are in construction with. That is why Bańczerowski, Pogonowski and Zgółka (1982: 271) while defining the term 'attribute' recall its syntactic function, pointing out the fact that it can be the determination of a subject, a (direct) object or another attribute. This particular question was also noticed and addressed by Podracki (1997: 101), later followed by Bąk (2004: 426), who emphasized that an attribute is every single description of a noun despite its function in a sentence. Podracki (1997: 103) also accentuates that apart from 'What? Which? How many? Whose?' etc. questions, the attribute gives answers to, and thus is perceived as a noun modifier, it can as well answer the same questions originally used to identify an object or an adverbial. The difference lays however, in the above-mentioned word class, to which the head belongs.¹⁵ That is why he proposed to enclose in the definition as a necessary prerequisite the fact, that it can also answer the questions originally answered by the object or the adverbial, that is e.g. 'How? or Where?'.

Szober (1924: 92) perceives attributes as a part of a subject or a complex predicate (Pol. orzeczenie rozwinięte), which indicating its property gives additional information about a noun, an adjective, a verb or an adverb.¹⁶

Klemensiewicz (1963: 56) starts his definition of attributes with the enumeration of word classes, which as heads can be modified by the m, namely: noun, nominal pronoun (Pol. zaimek rzeczownikowy), nominal numeral (Pol. liczebnik rzeczownikowy), nominalized (or substantivized) adjective (Pol. urzeczownikowiony przymiotnik) and declinable participles (Pol. imiesłów odmienny), by which he means adjectival participles. He also notices that nouns are the most frequently used as heads and adds that thanks to the fact that attributes indicate certain properties of the head, it is easier

determinans, determinant, qualificator or the qualifying word are used to indicate the subordinate word.

¹⁵ E.g. a) listening in silence - an attribute, b) The students were listening in silence. - an adverbial.

¹⁶ According to traditional grammar among complex predicates are those built from e.g. a copula with a noun or an adjective.

to distinguish the head (an object) from similar objects.¹⁷ The definition by Klemensiewicz was often referred to by other linguists and used in general definitions of this sentence component.

Polański (2003: 470-2) also refers to the syntactic function and semantic features of attributes, which is being the subordinate part of the sentence defined by the subsidiary relation (Pol. *związek poboczny*) with a noun as its superordinate. Semantic definition says that it indicates a property of an object; nevertheless as he explains, the term 'property' has a somewhat ambiguous meaning.

Nagórko (2005: 283) also refers to the subordinate nature of an attribute in a NP with a head noun, emphasizing at the same time the differences between its attributive relation with the superordinate and the predicative relations between the subject and the predicate (since it lacks the time characteristics)¹⁸. She also notices that in complex NPs one attribute can be subordinate towards another attribute, which was previously indicated by Bańcerowski, Pogonowski and Zgółka (1982: 271). She also convinces that syntactically analyzable NPs with attributes are, from the formal point of view similar to idiomatic expressions, as in '*biały kruk*' or '*gwiazda polarna*' meaning 'a rare book' and a '*lodestar*' respectively (cf. Nagórko 2005: 284).¹⁹

The above definitions presented in 2.1 and 2.2 sections of this paper confirm that scholars while defining the term attribute in Korean

¹⁷ An attribute is a description in a relationship with a noun, rarely nominal pronoun, nominal, nominalized (or substantivized) adjective and declinable participles as its head (an object). Its basic function is the determination (pol. *określanie*) of that object. Most often it is a property, which characterizes the object as to its structure, appearance, essence, application, use, etc. and, which thanks to this specific property that particular object, can be distinguished from other similar ones. This type of attribute is called property attributes (Pol. *przydawka właściwościowa*), apart from which a complimentary, subjective, adverbial and predicative ones exist (cf. Klemensiewicz 1983:56).

¹⁸ E. g. in '*nienormalne dziecko*' (abnormal child) *versus* '*Dziecko jest nienormalne.*' (The child is abnormal.) (Nagórko 2005: 284). The NP cannot be complemented by any of the adverbs of time, while the sentence can, as in '*To dziecko jest dziś jakieś nienormalne.*' (This child is today somehow abnormal.)

¹⁹ Interestingly enough not every research on attributes actually gives their definition. Frankowska (1982) can serve as an example here. Despite devoting her entire monograph to the subject of the obligatory determiner in NPs, not only she does not define the term but also she chooses to use the term 'dependent' (Pol. *podrządnik*) instead.

and Polish focus on its various properties. Nonetheless despite some definitional differences, in both languages it is unequivocally described as one of the secondary parts of a sentence (Kor. 부속성분, Pol. drugorzędna część zdania) - in Korean along with an adverbial, and in Polish with an adverbial and an object too.

3. Various Approaches to the Classification of Attributes

The attribute, as a part of a sentence, is generally distinguished and classified on the basis of its syntactic function and semantic properties. In the following sections their classifications in both languages will be looked into.

3.1. Classifications of Attributes in Korean

Korean linguists such as 김봉모 (1978: 18), 리의도 (1982), 김기복 (1999: 1), 남기삼 and 고영근 (1985/2006) as well as many others, following the traditional grammar, despite using various terms, unanimously include to the category of attributes:

- (i) the attributive forms of *predicatives* - verbs, adjectives as well as those formed from a substantive and a copula (*purissi*, *purissihyeong*, *yongeonui gwanhyeongsahyeong*, Kor. 풀이씨, 풀이씨형, 용언의 관형사형 respectively),
- (ii) the substantives with or without the genitive case particle (*imjassihyeong*, *cheonui gwanhyeonghwa*, Kor. 임자씨형, 체언의 관형화 respectively),
- (iii) the determiners (*maegimssi*, *maegimssihyeong*, *gwanhyeongsa*, Kor. 매김씨, 매김씨형, 관형사 respectively).

However, apart from word classes enumerated above, there are also other language units (Kor. 언어 단위), which should be included into the category of attributes, since they can perform

the same role in a sentence - namely phrases (e.g. noun or attributive phrases, *myeongsagu*, *gwanhyeongsagu*, Kor. 명사구, 관형사구 respectively) (cf. 한길 1997: 9) and attributive clauses (*gwanhyeongjeol*, Kor. 관형절) (cf. 김정숙 외 2005: 75, 한국방송통신대학교 평생교육원 2005: 137-8).^{20,21}

Among criteria used by Korean linguists to classify attributes are:

- (i) word-class affiliation (e.g. 김기복 1999, 오규환 2016),
- (ii) structure (e.g. 오규환 2016),
- (iii) the type of function (e.g. 김봉모 1978, 리의도 1982).

김기복 (1999) divides attributes from formal point of view into:

- (i) *determinative* attributes (*gwanhyeongsa gwanhyeongeo*, Kor. 관형사 관형어)²²
 - descriptive determiners (*seongsang gwanhyeongsa*, Kor. 성상 관형사)
 - demonstrative determiners (*jisi gwanhyeongsa*, Kor. 지시 관형사)

²⁰ E.g. a) 날씨가 춥기 때문에 - because of the cold weather (the nominal phrase),
b) 아주 헌 자전거 - a very old bicycle (the attributive phrase),
c) 마리아가 산 사과 - the apple(s) that Maria bought (the attributive/adnominal clause).

²¹ 한국방송통신대학교 평생교육원 (2005: 137-8) emphasize the necessity to distinguish attributive clauses (Kor. 관형절) from attributive phrases (Kor. 관형구) and point out that if only the attributive forms of *predicatives* are used they should be treated as phrases, however when the subject of the clause is elided as in ‘a red flower’ (Kor. 붉은 꽃) it should be treated as a clause, since ‘red’ in ‘a red flower’ comes from the sentence with the subject-predicate structure, namely ‘The rose is red.’ (Kor. 꽃이 붉다), that is why it can be perceived as a clause. Nevertheless in case of ‘downright lie’ (Kor. 새빨간 거짓말) since the structure ‘The lie is downright.’ (Kor. *거짓말이 새빨강다) does not exist, in other words it does not come from the subject-predicate structure it cannot become a clause. Yeon and Brown (2011: 5) and others call structures such as ‘마신 술’ (Eng. drunk alcohol) as ‘a modifying clause complementing the noun’.

²² 김기복(1999: 125-6) in English abstract of his thesis actually uses the following terms: (i) determiners (state, quantitative and demonstrative ones), (ii) nominal attributives and (iii) verbal attributives. In this paper however (i) and (iii) will be referred to as ‘determinative attributes’ and ‘predicative attributes’ respectively. The reason is that the term ‘determiner’ is also used as a name for Korean part of speech and that the ‘verbal attributives’ also include adjectival ones, although the name does not imply it.

- quantitative determiners (*su gwanhyeongsa*, Kor. 수관형사)
- (ii) *substantive* or nominal attributes (*cheeon gwanhyeongeo*, Kor. 체언 관형어)
 - those, which can be used with or without the genitive particle,
 - those, which cannot be used with the genitive particle,
- (iii) *predicative* attributes (*yongeon gwanhyeongeo*, Kor. 용언 관형어)
 - verbal participles (*dongsauwi gwanhyeongsahyeong*, Kor. 동사의 관형사형),
 - adjectival participles (*hyeongyongsauwi gwanhyeongsahyeong*, Kor. 형용사의 관형사형).²³

As far as the above classifications are concerned, although 김기복 among attributes of the first type enumerates three subclasses of the determiners (Kor. 관형사), which are in fact word-class and not attributes, we could, following the classification proposed by 한국방송통신대학교 평생교육원 (2005: 139), name them respectively as:

- (i) shape or state {condition} attributes (*moyangina sangtaereul natanaeneun gwanhyeongeo*, Kor. 모양이나 상태를 나타내는 관형어),
- (ii) demonstrative attributes (*jisi gwanhyeongeo*, Kor. 지시 관형어),
- (iii) quantitative attributes (*suryangeul natanaeneun gwanhyeongeo*, Kor. 수량을 나타내는 관형어).

²³ There are also more general and thus less precise formal classifications of attributes. 임지룡 et al. (2005: 246) distinguish only two kinds of them, namely those expressed with determiners and those expressed with substantives (which can be used without the genitive case particle). 한국방송통신대학교 평생교육원 (2005: 139) mention only three kinds of attributes belonging to the class of determiners (namely those which indicate the location, number and shape or state, Kor. 지시 관형어, 수량을 나타내는 관형어 and 모양이나 상태를 나타내는 관형어 respectively).

오규환 (2016: 197) focusing on complex attributes with free and bound nouns as their heads proposes the following classification:

- (i) attributes related to *substantives* (*cheeon gwallyeon gwanhyeonge*, Kor. 체언 관련 관형어)
 - postpositional phrases with the genitive case particle (Kor. ‘-의’ 조사구)
e.g. tree root{s} (Kor. 나무의 뿌리)
 - words with the genitive particle (‘X-*ui*’ *hyeong daneo*, Kor. ‘X-의’ 형 단어)²⁴
e.g. the chance of a lifetime (일생일대의 기회), smile of satisfaction (Kor. 희심의 미소)²⁵

- (ii) attributes related to *predicatives* (*yongeon gwallyeon gwanhyeonge*, Kor. 용언 관련 관형어)
 - attributive forms of *predicatives* (*yongeonui gwanhyeongsahyeong*, Kor. 용언의 관형사형),
e.g. a beautiful flower (Kor. 예쁜 꽃),
 - *predicatives* of incomplete affiliation (*yongeonui burwanjeon gyeyeolhyeong*, Kor. 용언의 불완전 계열형)²⁶,
e.g. very/ extremely long winter (Kor. 기나긴 겨울), generous love (Kor. 아낌없는 사랑),
 - lexicalized determiners (*eohwihwahan gwanhyeongsa*, Kor. 어휘화한 관형사)
e.g. different place (Kor. 딴 데), old/ shabby clothes (Kor. 현 옷).

오규환 (2016: 199) also notices, that the above-mentioned types of attributes form two kinds of structures with their heads, and thus can also be classified into:

²⁴ It is difficult to grasp the structural difference between the ‘postpositional phrases’ and ‘words used with the genitive particle’, proposed by 오규환. One could presume that it lies in the origin of the words to which the particle is attached, since given examples of the first kind are Korean native words (e.g. a tree), while those belonging to the second category Sino-Korean ones (cf. pp. 211-15).

²⁵ 오규환 (2016) however does not address the question of omission or the obligatory usage of the genitive case particle in the NPs with a nominal attribute.

²⁶ Although not explicitly explained, attributes included into this category are verb and adjectives’ stems, which are the result of derivation or composition. This differs them from the first subclass, namely ‘adnominal forms of *predicatives*’.

- (i) syntactic structures
(attributes which are the attributive forms of *predicatives* and those formed with the genitive case particle),
- (ii) morphological structures²⁷
(attributes which are lexicalized determiners and *predicatives* of ‘incomplete affiliation’).

김봉모(1978) and 리의도(1982) based their classification of attributes on functional criteria, namely, as they explain on the way in which the attribute limits the meaning of the head, and distinguished those which have:

- (i) the restrictive function (*jehan{jeok} gineung* or *hanjeongjeok gineung*, Kor. 제한{적} 기능, 한정적 기능 respectively),
- (ii) the non-restrictive function (*bijehan{jeok} gineung* or *bihanjeongjeok gineung*, Kor. 비제한{적} 기능, 비한정적 기능 respectively).

The first one by indicating some feature of the head narrows its semantic scope, as in ‘red rose{s}’ (*ppalgan jangmikkot*, Kor. 빨간 장미꽃), where thanks to the attribute not all, but only red roses are referred to. The second type of attributes, on the other hand, gives additional or relevant information about the head, as in ‘Warsaw, the capital of Poland’ (*pollandeu sudoin bareusyaba*, Kor. 폴란드 수도인 바르샤바).

김기복 (1992: 2) indicates that the attributes with the restrictive function reveal characteristic or likely properties of the head. 리의도 (1982: 127-8) however, points out that the meaning expressed with these attributes is not universal or general and it can be either true or not. What is more, the relation between the head and its *determinans* does not have so-called ‘sufficient correlation’

²⁷ 오규환 (2016: 215) mentions that some of the heads modified by attributes reveal some restrictions concerning their distribution, while the others have a high possibility of being perceived as one word, by which he means a compound. Some similarities between determiners and prefixes in respect to the headword (or root) convinced him to include them into the morphologically complex attributes (*hyeongtaeronjeok bokhap gwanhyeonge*, Kor. 형태론적 복합 관형어).

(*chungbunhan sanggwanseong*, Kor. 충분한 상관성), by which 리의도 means that, if something is e.g. brown it does not have to be e.g. a dog, and if we are talking about a dog, it does not have to be brown. That is why this kind of *relation* is referred to as *arbitrary* or *temporary* one (*imui gwangye*, *ilsi gwangye*, Kor. 임의 관계, 일시 관계 respectively).

Since the attributes with non-restrictive function indicate universal, well-known facts as well as general or inevitable facts (cf. 리의도 1982: 130-1, 김기복 1992: 2) and as such do not give any new information whatsoever, their usage is not obligatory. In other words, the sentence they might be used in conveys the complete information, which does not require any complementation. The head they modify is a unique or individual concept (*dandokgaenyeom*, Kor. 단독개념), while the *relation* between the head and its *determinans* following the terminology proposed by 리의도 can be called *inevitable* (*piryeon gwangye*, Kor. 필연 관계) or *permanent* (*yeonggu gwangye*, Kor. 영구 관계). Attributes with the non-restrictive function are exemplified below.

- (3.1) a) 1443년에 한글을 만든 세종은 큰임금님이다.
1443nyeone hangeureul mandeun sejongeun keunimgeumnimida
King *Sejong*, who created *Hangeul* in 1443, is a great king.
- b) 거북선을 만든 이순신은 위대한 영웅이다.
geobukseoneul mandeun isunsineun widaehan yeongungida
Yi Sun-shin, who made a *Turtle Ship*, is a great hero.

In this context the restrictive attribute simply narrows the meaning of its head, while the non-restrictive one, since the meaning of the head is already limited, provides only some additional information. In other words if the relation between the head and an attribute is arbitrary or temporary one, the attribute is of restrictive type. However, if the relation is inevitable or permanent, than the attribute is of non-restrictive type.

Another feature concerning the usage of the non-restrictive attributes is the necessity to use a pause (*swim*, *hyuji*, Kor. 쉼, 휴지) between an attribute and its head. If there is no pause, the whole expression is often perceived (in a daily conversation) as somewhat unnatural or causing a confusion as to its meaning. Using the pause

results placing the stress on the head, which is a natural and a common thing (cf. 리의도 1982: 139-140).

Nevertheless as 김봉모 (1978: 21) points out, both types of attributes are expressed with the same endings, despite the function they have.²⁸ 리의도 (1982: 138-9) goes even further by saying that having the same structure of the sentence, it is the perception of the relation between the head and its *determinans*, which influences the speaker's decision concerning the nature of the attribute. This means that if he or she would consider it to be an arbitrary one the attribute would have the restrictive function, otherwise the non-restrictive one as in e.g. a hard-working Chinese (*bujireonhan junggugin*, Kor. 부지런한 중국인).

3.2. Classifications of Attributes in Polish

Since the primary function of an adjective in a sentence in Polish language is modifying the head as an attribute, it is not a surprise that it is the adjectives, which are usually mentioned as first, when referring to word classes, which can become attributes in a sentence. Nevertheless this function can also be performed other various word classes or linguistic units, all of which are listed below.

- (i) adjectives,
- (ii) adjectival pronouns (possessive, demonstrative, indefinite, negative pronouns etc.),
- (iii) adjectival participles (active and passive adjectival participles),
- (iv) numerals (cardinal, ordinal, multiplicative, main-fold numerals, etc.),
- (v) nouns (in the nominative and dative case),
- (vi) prepositional phrases,

²⁸ 김봉모 (1978: 32) also explains when the attribute has one of the referred functions. Namely, if the head is a common noun, a proper noun used as a common noun or a numeral. The non-restrictive function have the attributes, which describe a proper noun being a unique referent (*yuil jisimul*, Kor. 유일 지시물) or a pronoun. He also argues that determiners have only the restrictive function.

- (vii) infinitives,²⁹
- (viii) attributive (subordinate) clauses (Pol. zdanie podrzędne przydawkowe)³⁰.

Although various classifications of attributes in Polish language do exist, they are usually based on one or more than one of the following criteria nevertheless the most widely used ones are those based on more than one of them (e.g. formal and semantic properties):

- (i) semantic properties,
- (ii) formal properties (morphologically inflected type),
- (iii) syntactic properties (the type of syntactic relation with the head).

As far as the semantic classification is concerned Gębka-Wolak (2000), Jadacka (2005) and Nagórko (2005), propose to divide attributes into:

- (i) qualitative attributes (Pol. przydawka jakościowa),
- (ii) classificatory attributes (Pol. przydawka klasyfikująca)³¹.

Qualitative attributes ‘characterize the noun from the point of view of its quality or characteristic’ (Zagorska-Brooks 1975: 382), they indicate regular or common features (Nagórko 2005: 285) or describe somewhat random properties, which indicate regular

²⁹ Very few linguists actually mention the usage of infinitives as attributes; among them are Klemensiewicz (1963: 58) and Bańcerowski, Pogonowski and Zgółka (1982: 271).

³⁰ Klemensiewicz (1986: 138) divides attributive (subordinate) clauses into three following types:

- (i) The relative clauses (Pol. zdania względne) e. g. Zły to ptak, co własne gniazdo kała. (It’s an ill bird that fouls its own nest.)
- (ii) The conjunctive clauses (Pol. zdania spójnikowe) e. g. Czyny Twoje nie są takie, abyś się z nimi musiał ukrywać. (Your actions are not {that bad so} that you would have to hide doing them.)
- (iii) The asyndetic clauses (Pol. zdania bezspójnikowe) e. g. Dokoła były sarnie i jelenie rogi z napisami gdzie, kiedy te łupy zdobyto. (There were roe and deer horns, with inscriptions where, {and} when those booties were obtained.)

³¹ Although there are two terms used to indicate ‘przydawka klasyfikująca’ in Polish - namely *classificatory* (cf. Linde-Usiekiewicz 2013) and *classifying* (cf. Cetnarowska 2013) in this paper the former one will be used.

quality (cf. Jadacka 2005: 169-170) of the head, such as ‘good, delicious, interesting, extraordinary, valuable’ etc., and as such precede the head noun. Classificatory attributes, on the contrary, form the elements of closed terminological or classification systems, and as such are placed after the superordinate word.³² Their both types are exemplified below.

- (3.2) a) *niezwykła literatura* (‘*exceptional literature*’)
b) *literatura piękna* (*Belles-lettres*)

Curiously enough the same attribute, depending on its prepositional or postpositional order in regards to the head, can in one NP become a qualitative one and in another a classificatory one, which is shown in the below Ex. 3. It is also worth to mention that the reversed word order differentiates loose syntagms (Pol. luźne syntagmy) from undivided phrases used as proper names.³³ NPs exemplified below appear in the following order - syntactic groups versus proper names. In this context Gębka-Wolak (2000: 24) and Jadacka (2005: 171) point out that adjectives in noun-adjective phrases have ‘meaning-creative function’, which was also taken up by Nagórko (2005: 261), who convinces that the meaning of NPs depends on the location of the attribute and in this context she refers to two just mentioned types.

- (3.3) a) *śpiewający ptak* (a *singing bird*)
 versus ptak *śpiewający* (a *songbird*),
b) *kulturalny attaché* (*well-mannered attaché*)
 versus attaché *kulturalny* (a *cultural attaché*),

³² The criterion of gradation can also help to distinguish these two types of attributes, since only the qualitative ones can actually form degrees of comparison and in fact have lexical antonyms (e.g. good-bad *versus* Japanese - ?) (cf. Jadacka 2005: 170).

³³ Willim (2000: 37-70) analyzing the relation between the head and the adjective points out that some NPs can be separated while the others cannot. She calls them juxtaposition (Pol. zestawienie) and free or unrestricted combination (Pol. swobodne połączenie) respectively. Rutkowski et al. (2005: 2) along with just cited Willim (2000:41) notice that the first kind of adjectives cannot be coordinated with other adjectives and they tend not to have the predicative function, they neither have the gradation nor a {lexical} antonym, since they refer to entity and not properties.

Despite the differences in the function of attributes in just cited noun phrases and their position in regard to the head, the rules ‘the qualitative attribute + the head’ and ‘the head + the classificatory attribute’ are not always strictly followed. Jadacka (2005: 170) exemplifies their reversed word order with medical terms such as ‘*cesarskie cięcie*’ (*Caesarean* section), ‘*kurza ślepotą*’ (moon blindness) and idiomatic expressions, with denominal adjectives of historical and mythological genesis, derived from proper nouns such as ‘*syzyfowa praca*’ (*Sisyphean* labours) or ‘*bajonkie sumy*’ (*king’s* ransom), which came from *Sisyphus* and the *Bayonne*, meaning and the king of Ephyra and a French city respectively.

It is also worth to mention, that both *topic-comment* structure as well as the context, determine the sequence of words in a sentence.³⁴ However, if the context does not change the word order, the classical order is recommendable - namely the subject (with attribute(s)), predicate and complement(s).³⁵

Although several classifications of attributes from the formal point of view do exist (e.g. Klemensiewicz 1986³⁶, Podracki 1997³⁷,

³⁴ Although Gębka-Wolak (2000: 32) convinces that they do not determine but only modify it.

³⁵ Weinsberg (1983: 189-94) however proposes different classification of Polish attributes based on their meaning. Although he distinguishes three kinds of them, namely: genitive (Pol. *dopełniaczowe*), possessive (Pol. *dzierżawcze*) and specifying (Pol. *wyznaczające*) ones. The first two are in fact discussed together and subdivided into 4 subcategories according to the properties of the head noun, described by an attribute into, those which are: (i) a concrete non-relational noun, (ii) a concrete relational noun, (iii) those, which are the name of an activity or a feature or (iv) the name of the unit of measurement. The specifying attributes (Pol. *przydawki wyznaczające*) are defined as those, which characterize the very unique property of the head (e.g. ‘the world’s only talking dolphin’).

³⁶ Klemensiewicz (1986: 128-31) uses the term ‘proper attribute’, to which he includes quality attributes, nominal attributes (expressed in the nominative case), genitive attributes and prepositional ones. Outside of this category are adverbial, objective and subjective attributes.

³⁷ Podracki (1997: 105) divides the attributes in a similar way to Klemensiewicz (1986), however he does not include genitive and prepositional attributes into nominal ones instead. He proposes a subclass of ‘formally peculiar attributes’ (Pol. *przydawki formalnie osobliwe*), some of them Nagórko (2005) includes into the category of nominal attributes (those expressing comparative constructions). Nevertheless Podracki to the category of formally peculiar attributes includes also attributes expressed e.g. with an infinitive (e.g. *czas pracować* – time to work). Klemensiewicz (1963: 57) to the category of ‘formally peculiar attributes’ includes however not only

Bąk 2004³⁸ etc.), the one proposed by Nagórko (2005: 285-88) in author's opinion, appears to be the most transparent one. It is based on the morphological and inflectional type (Pol. typ morfologiczno-fleksyjny), according to which she distinguishes:

- (i) adjectival attributes (Pol. przydawki przymiotne)
 - the subordinate word being in concord with the head takes the same case, number and gender as the superordinate word)³⁹ e.g. *pierwsze przymrozki/ the first frost; okoliczni mieszkańcy/ local residents; te łzy/ these tears*⁴⁰;

- (ii) nominal attributes (Pol. przydawki rzeczowne)
 - they are expressed by subordinate nouns and can be classified according to the inflectional form of the noun into three following types (cf. Nagórko 2005: 285-6):
 - a) nominative attributes (Pol. przydawki mianownikowe)
 - the y stay in concord with the superordinate noun or are combined with the head through comparative conjunction, such as 'jak' meaning 'like'. e.g. nos *jak kartofel/ a nose like a potato*;

 - b) genitive attributes (Pol. przydawki dopełniaczowe) - are the most common type, e.g. kostka *masła/ a stick*

those expressed with infinitives, but also with comparative constructions, adverbs and clauses.

³⁸ The classification by Bąk (2004: 426-430) partially overlaps with the one proposed by Podracki (1997: 105) since he also mentions adjectival, nominal and prepositional attributes, nevertheless he does not distinguish the category of 'formally peculiar attributes', but instead he adds: (i) adverbial attributes (Pol. przydawki okolicznikowe); and (ii) appositional attributes (Pol. przydawki dopowiadające or dopowiedzenia).

³⁹ Although the relation in traditional grammar is called the 'agreement' Nagórko (2005:284) uses the term 'accommodation'.

⁴⁰ Bąk (2004: 426-7) following Klemensiewicz (1963: 56-63) subdivides the adjectival attributes according to their word-classes into: adjective, participial, pronominal and numeral attributes. The first two kinds answer the 'What?' question, while pronominal and numeral ones (expressed by ordinal numbers) answer the 'Which?' and 'Whose?' questions and those expressed by cardinal numbers give the answer to 'How many?' question.

of *butter*; *dom kolegi/ friend's house*. Semantic relations between the two nouns are of various types and thus it is difficult to enumerate all of them, however, the subordinate nouns usually characterize the property, affiliation or the quantity, as in e.g. *liść klonu/ a maple leaf*, *litr mleka/ liter of milk*.⁴¹

c) attributes expressed with a preposition - they are placed after the word being described and their case depends on the preposition, e.g. *kawa bez cukru*_(GEN) (coffee without sugar), *odpoczynek na powietrzu*_(DAT) (relaxation in the open air);

- (iii) appositions (Pol. *dopowiedzenia*) the *y* are a special type of postposition and are expressed with nominal attribute always placed after the noun or nominal pronoun and can be also used with other attributes. They are typical to rhetoric styles and frequently used in romantic poetry (cf. Nagórko 2005: 287).

e.g. *Patrzę w niebo, gwiazd szukam, przewodniczek łodzi.*
I'm looking at the sky, searching for stars, *boats' pointers*.

- (iv) *predicative* attributes (Pol. *przydawki predykatywne/ orzekające*) - this type of attributes not only semantically connects with the superordinate word (e.g. noun), but also with the predicate. Their grammatical categories are however influenced by the subject of the sentence and its categories, e. g. *Zosia obudziła się chora./ Sophie woke up sick* (cf. Nagórko 2005: 288).

Urbańczyk (1999: 304) on the other hand, as a primary criterion for classification of attributes uses the type of syntactic relation with a head noun - that is a concord (also called agreement

⁴¹ Nagórko (2005: 287) also points out that complements in the genitive when nominalized are replaced by the genitive attributes, as in e.g. *budować dom/ to build a house* → *budowa domu/ the building of a house*.

or parataxis)⁴² or a regimen (also referred to as government, rection or hypotaxis)⁴³. Another dimension taken into account is the inflectional type.

- (i) attributes bonded with the head noun in a concord:
 - a) adjectival attributes (Pol. przydawki przymiotne),
 - b) pronominal attributes (Pol. przydawki zaimkowe),
 - c) numeral attributes (Pol. przydawki liczebnikowe),
 - d) participial attributes (Pol. przydawki imiesłowowe),

- (ii) attributes bonded with the head noun in a regimen⁴⁴:
 - a) genitive attributes (Pol. przydawki dopełniaczowe).

Polański (2003: 471-2) following Klemensiewicz (1963: 56-65 and 1986: 128-31) gives the classification of attributes used in Polish grammatical tradition. It reveals that apart from the semantic dimension, the syntactic one was also used here:

- (i) property attributes (Pol. przydawki właściwościowe) - they are the most important ones and can be further subdivided according to the semantic features they have into:
 - a) characterizing attributes (Pol. przydawki charakteryzujące)
e.g. *ubogi człowiek/a poor man; drewniany most/a wooden bridge,*
 - b) affiliating attributes (Pol. przydawki przynależnościowe)

⁴² 'Agreement' is a requirement of the superordinate towards the subordinate word and it usually involves making the value of some grammatical category such as gender or person "agree" between the words in a phrase or parts of the sentence.

⁴³ Here the government refers to 'the case government' (the government of the grammatical case of verb arguments, when a verb or preposition is said to 'govern' the grammatical case or its noun phrase complement) – meaning that the subordinate word has to take a particular case required by the superordinate word, as in 'widzę psa' [GEN] (I see a dog.) or 'wierny przyjacielowi' [DAT] (faithful to a friend).

⁴⁴ They characterize the property of the head, show its affiliation or indicate the quantity (cf. Urbańczyk 1999: 304).

- e.g. łódź *rybacka*/ a *fishing* boat; *moje* dziecko/ *my* child,
- c) individualizing/ distinctive attributes (Pol. przydawki wyodrębniające)
e.g. *ten* dom/ *this* house; *każdy* obywatel/ *every* citizen,
- d) quantitative attributes (Pol. przydawki ilościowe)
e.g. *pierwszy* prezydent/ the *first* president; *dwóch* posłów/ *two* deputies⁴⁵
- (ii) complimentary attributes (Pol. przydawki dopełnieniowe)
e.g. pamięć *o* *zmarłych*/ the memory of the *deceased*;
budowa mostu/ construction *of a* *bridge*,
- (iii) subjective attributes (Pol. przydawki podmiotowe)
e.g. atak *lotnictwa*/ *air force* attack; *wściekłość* *wroga*/ the rage of the *enemy*,
- (iv) adverbial attributes (Pol. przydawki okolicznościowe)⁴⁶
e.g. podróż *nocą*/journey by [*at*] *night*; dom *nad jeziorem*/ a house by *the lake*,
- (v) predicative attributes (Pol. przydawki orzekające)⁴⁷
e.g. *Chory na tyfus*, Piotr leży w szpitalu./ *Ill with typhus* Peter is in a hospital.

It is also worth to mention some terminological differences concerning attributes. Bąk (2004) while referring to attributes expressed with the genitive case as in ‘brat *ojca*’ meaning ‘*father’s* brother’, does not call them genitive attributes (Pol. przydawki dopełniaczowe) as e.g. Klemensiewicz (1986), Podracki (1997),

⁴⁵ Formally property attributes (Pol. przydawki właściwościowe) are divided into the adjectival attributes (Pol. przydawki przymiotne) and the nominal attributes (Pol. przydawki rzeczowne) (cf. Polański 2003: 472). The first one creates a concord with the head as, in e.g. *dobry* człowiek/ a *good* person’, while the second one creates regimen as in e.g. minister *finansów*/ the *finance* minister [the minister *of finance*]’ or the relation of belonging (związek przynależności) as in ‘*mężczyzna z brodą*/ a man *with a beard*’.

⁴⁶ Despite the fact that they do correspond to adverbials they are not in fact called ‘adverbial attributes’ (Pol. przydawki okolicznikowe) but ‘circumstances indicating attributes’ (Pol. przydawki okolicznościowe) in Polish (cf. also Gołąb et al. 1968: 467). Nonetheless for the transparency reasons the Author decided to translate them as adverbial ones.

⁴⁷ *Predicative* attributes combine the function of an attribute and a predicate. They are written with commas and are in apposition (cf. Polański 2003: 471-2).

Urbańczyk (1999) and Nagórko (2005) do, but refers to them as complimentary attributes (Pol. przydawki dopełnieniowe) or complementary attributes (Pol. przydawki dopełniające). Bąk (2004) explains, that the y differ from quality, nominal and prepositional attributes, since they do not indicate the color, size or amount etc. but the y supplement the meaning in the same way as complements do. He also explains that this is the reason why they are used only with deverbal or deadjectival nouns, which take complements as in 'pisanie zadania' meaning 'homework writing' (from 'piszę zadanie'/ I am writing [my] homework) or 'budowa domu' meaning 'house building/ building of a house' (from 'buduję dom'/ 'I am building a house') (cf. Bąk 2004: 428-9). Klemensiewicz (1986: 130-1) on the other hand perceives the genitive attribute (Pol. przydawka dopełniaczowa) and the complementary one (Pol. przydawka dopełniająca) as two different types of attributes, so do Gołąb et al. (1968: 476).

4. Parameters for Classification of Attributes in Korean and Polish

As shown in the above sections 2 and 3 - both Korean and Polish linguists apart from defining what the attribute is introduced several classifications based on various criteria. Consequently, taking into consideration morphological, semantic and syntactic properties that attributes in both languages possess, we can propose the classification based on a set of parameters, which reflect the m.

Since the classification, as Szulc (1984: 110) points out, means grouping elements, which stay in the paradigmatic relation with one another, within one class of elements, the classification understood as a set of items (or properties) χ , should satisfy few conditions, defined by Mostowski (1948: 137) and recalled by Wójcik (1965: 14, 35). They are as follows:

- (i) every element of the set X has at least one of the properties belonging to χ ,
- (ii) if properties Y and Z belong to χ , the y are equal or separable.

This means that the classification is a set of sets, understood a set of properties of objects, which meet certain conditions. Good classification should fulfill formal conditions - that is being comprehensive and separable (Pol. wyczerpująca i rozłączna) (cf. Kotarbiński 1963: 41 after Wójcik 1965: 16-7).⁴⁸ The first criterion is satisfied, when the sum of the partial ranges (Pol. zakres cząstkowy) equals with the entire range (Pol. cały zakres). The second one means, that none of the elements of the range can belong to two different partial ranges, on which the entire range is divided. Bańcerowski, Pogonowski and Zgółka (1982) also add that none of the subsets in a set can be empty, which means that it has to have at least one element.

Bearing in mind those indispensable conditions, the Author would like to propose a set of parameters, which could not only help to characterize attributes in Korean and Polish in a more comprehensive way, but also thanks to which their classification in both languages would be more transparent. Consequently, the attributes in question can be divided according to formal, semantic and syntactic parameters, as follows:

- (i) formal parameters:
 - a) membership in *partes orationis* (nouns, pronouns etc.),
 - b) the type of language unit they represent (words, phrases etc.),
 - c) inflection, namely the presence or absence of morphological markers (declinable *versus* indeclinable attributes),
 - d) structural complexity (simple *versus* complex attributes),
- (ii) syntactic parameters:
 - a) the syntactic category of the head being described,

⁴⁸ Also Ajdukiewicz (1965: 48) while explaining the essence of logical division refers to two conditions - namely the separability and the adequacy (Pol. warunek rozłączności i adekwatności). Their meaning overlaps with the conditions mentioned by Kotarbiński (1963).

- b) linear position with regard to the head (prepositional *versus* postpositional order),
 - c) the type of the syntactic relation with the head (concord *versus* regimen),
 - d) the type of syntactic relation with another attribute if used,
- (iii) semantic parameters:
- a) the degree of *obligatoriness* (obligatory *versus* non-obligatory attributes),
 - b) attribute *sequentialization*⁴⁹.

Table 1. The parameters of attributes in Korean and Polish

Parameters		Language		KR	PL	
F O R M A L	Formal representation of attributes	W o r d s	Nouns	+	+	
			Pronouns	+	+	
			Adjectives (Participles) ⁵⁰	+	+	
			Verb	Participles ⁵¹	+	+
				Infinitives	-	+
			Determiners	+	-	
		Numerals	+	+		
		Phrases	NPs	+	+	
	PPs		-	+		
	Clauses	Relative clauses	+	+		
	Flection	Cases		+/-	+/-	
		Endings		+	+	
	Structure complexity	Simple attributes		+	+	
Complex attributes		+	+			

⁴⁹ In both languages there are attributes, which despite their formal differences, convey the meaning of e.g. shape, size, color, material, temperature, age, origin etc. However, the question of meaning based *sequentialization* of them is a very complex issue, which requires in-depth analysis. That is why this particular parameter will not be discussed here.

⁵⁰ They can also be called ‘adjectival participles’.

⁵¹ They can also be referred to as ‘verbal participles’.

	of attributes			
SYNTACTIC	Syntactic category of the head	Subject	+	+
		Object (direct object)	+	+
		Predicate (N + copula)	+	+
		Complement (indirect object)	+	+
		Attribute	+	+
		Adverbial	+	+
		<i>Exclamative</i> (Kor. 독립어)	+	* ⁵²
	Linear position with regard to the head	Prepositional	+	+
		Postpositional	-	+
	The type of the syntactic relation with the head	Concord (agreement)	-	+/-
		Regimen (government)	+	+
	The type of syntactic relation with another attribute	Coordination	+	+
		Subordination	+	+
	SEMANTIC	The degree of obligatoriness	Non-obligatory attributes	+
Obligatory attributes			+	+

Despite the typological differences between Korean and Polish language, as regards to the existence of attributes and their properties, there are a lot of similarities, which the above <Table 1> shows. As far as the formal parameters are concerned, in both languages words as well as phrases and clauses can modify the head. Among words, which can be used attributively in both languages are: nouns, pronouns and numerals. Although the primary function of adjectives in Polish is to restrict the meaning of the superordinate

⁵² Polish traditional grammar does not distinguish *exclamative* as a separate syntactic class. Nevertheless expressions, which function in Korean as *dongnibeo* (Kor. 독립어), can also be found in Polish. Klemensiewicz (1986: 132) refers to them as ‘words being outside of the syntactic relations in a sentence’, pointing out that they can neither become a modifier nor be modified, and exemplifies it with e.g. ‘Do licha!’ meaning ‘Damn!’, ‘What on earth!’ etc. However, ‘Do licha *jasnego!*’ or ‘Do *jasnego* licha!’ with reversed order confirm that at least some of them can be modified by attributes. Moreover, some of those expressions in fact contain attributes and will not be used without them as e.g. ‘Do *jasnej* ciasnej!’

word as modifier (despite requiring case, number and gender change) it is in Korean, where the adjectives undergo bigger transformation. It is because their primary function is not the attributive but the predicative one. That is why next to adjectives the participles were also distinguished. Although in both languages verbs can function as attributes only in Polish, apart from participles, infinitives can also be used. Since Polish has no separately distinguished word class of ‘determiners’ (*gwanhyeongsa*, Kor. 관형사) only in Korean they can modify the head as attributes.

In both languages apart from already mentioned words, the meaning of the head can also be modified by phrases (syntagmas) and clauses (relative clauses). While noun phrases are used in Korean and Polish, only in the latter the prepositional phrases can perform the attributive function. That is because Korean language has no prepositions and thus prepositional phrases do not exist.

As far as the morphological markers (inflection) revealing the attributive function of the above mentioned units in Korean are concerned, attributes can be divided into two groups - those which do have and those, which do not have any markers whatsoever. The first group of attributes is composed of units, which take different markers, whose kind depends on the word class, to which the word performing the attributive function belongs. In other words, whether it inflects or not, and consequently e.g. nouns and pronouns, as indeclinable words⁵³, will take the genitive case particle (-*eu*, Kor. -의)⁵⁴, while declinable words such as adjectives and verbs will take

⁵³ According to Korean linguists (cf. 남기십 and 고영근 2006: 65 and many others) only verbs and adjectives are declinable words (*gabyeoneo*, Kor. 가변어), which means that the rest of word classes, including those taking particles (*josa*, Kor. 조사) - nouns, pronouns and numerals, are considered indeclinable words (*bulbyeoneo*, Kor. 불변어) since they do not take endings (*eomi*, Kor. 어미).

⁵⁴ According to 남기십 and 고영근 (2006: 269) and 한길(1997: 9) the criteria when it is alright to omit the particle are not exactly known. Nevertheless 김정숙 et al. (2005: 823) notice that when the relation between two nouns indicate ‘whole-part relationship’ it can be omitted, however if it is used as a metaphor it cannot. The ‘whole-part relationship’ can however refer to: family or relative relationship, ‘the possessor-possession’ kind of relation or literal ‘whole-part relationship’ (cf. 안연령 2011). On the other hand, the omission of the genitive particle apart from the metaphoric usage, is also impossible in phrases with a classifier (phrases with order: *du janui keopi* (Kor. 두 잔의 커피, two cups of coffee) or when between the N+GEN and N another attribute is placed, as in *seourui nun oneun geori* (Kor. 서울의 눈 오는 거리, Seoul’s snowy streets).

attributive endings or connective endings (coordinate sentence endings), whose form not only depends on their word class affiliation but also varies according the category of time, *honorification* etc. as in ‘the present for {my} great grandmother’ (*jeungjohalmeonikke deuril seonmul*, Kor. 증조할머니께 드릴 선물) shows. Both types of endings are exemplified in the below (4.1) and (4.2).

(4.1) Attributive endings

- a) *-teon*, Kor. -던 (the retrospective modifying form),
- b) *-neun*, Kor. -는 (the present tense modifying form used only with verbs),
- c) *-n*, *-(eu)n*, Kor. -ㄴ/ -(으)ㄴ - the past tense, state/ result modifying form (attached to verbal and adjectival stems),
- d) *-(eu)l*, Kor. -(으)ㄹ the future/ prospective modifying form (as the previous one, it is used with both verbs and adjectives)

(4.2) Connective endings (coordinate sentence endings)

- a) *-go* (Kor. -고),
- b) *-(eu)myeo* (Kor. -(으)며),
- c) *-(eu)myeonseo* (Kor. -(으)면서)

Verbs in Polish language also conjugate, which means that the usage of proper endings, which would allow them to perform the attributive function, is mandatory. Nevertheless apart from the category of time, the y also signify e.g. the number and gender, as in ‘*plonący statek*² NOM, MASC, SG (a *burning* ship).

In both languages however there are words, which despite having no attributive markers whatsoever do function as attributes. In Korean language it concerns the determiners (e.g. *sae*, Kor. 새, meaning ‘new’) or co-called *gwanhyeongmyeongsa* (Kor. 관형명사) - words, which are formally nouns, but function as determiners (*gwanhyeongsa*, Kor. 관형사). In vast majority they are of Chinese origin and describe the following noun in the NP, however they can appear only as the first noun in the NP and can be used only as attributes.⁵⁵ Despite the fact that Polish is inflectional language

⁵⁵ 김선호 (2002: 66-68) explains that this type of nouns neither can take any particles nor be described by other attributes, as in e.g. *eotteon gukje* (Kor. *어떤 국제), *meotjin gukje* (Kor. *멋진 국제). Some of them can however derive free nouns with

and that adjectives are inflected words, not every adjective used as an attribute will have morphological markers reflecting the categories of the head. This concerns adjectives of foreign origin such as 'khaki'. The form of this adjectival attribute stays the same, regardless of the inherent gender the head, its number or case.

The structural complexity of attributes can be understood in two aspects - namely morphological one (meaning simple, derivative or compound attributes) or in respect to their formal representation (words, phrases etc.). Although in both languages simplex and complex words do function as attributes, in this research only the second aspect is being referred to. The attributive function in both languages can be performed either by single words functioning as simple attributes e.g. determiners (as in *heon jajeonge*, Kor. *현 자전거*, *old bike*) in Korean, or nouns in both languages. Korean *namu{ui} uija* (Kor. *나무{의} 의자*, a *wooden chair*) and Polish 'wściekłość wroga' meaning 'the rage of the *enemy*' can serve as examples here. In both languages, apart from single words and phrases clauses can also function as attributes. They however create complex attributes and can be exemplified with for example *nega eoje bon yeonghwa* (Kor. *네가 어제 본 영화*; the movie *you saw yesterday*; film, *który wczoraj widziałeś*).

As far as the syntactic parameters are concerned, attributes' properties in both languages can be classified according to the syntactic function of the head they modify. Curiously enough, it turns out that an attribute can generally describe every part of the sentence, as long as it is performed by *substantives*, which also concerns predicates composed of a noun and a copula.

There are some differences however in regards to the linear position of attribute towards the head. While in Korean every attribute despite its structure, meaning and length appears in preposition, in Polish these three parameters decide, whether an attribute precedes or follows the head. Consequently, the prepositional word orders have: qualitative attributes (Pol. *przydawki jakościowe*), pronominal attributes (Pol. *przydawki zaimkowe*) and participial attributes (Pol. *przydawki imiesłowowe*), while postpositional one: classificatory attributes (Pol. *przydawki klasyfikujące*), nominal attributes (Pol.

suffixes such as *-hwa* (Kor. *-화*) or *-seong* (Kor. *-성*) or verbs, when joined with *-hada* (Kor. *-하다*).

przydawki rzeczowne), adverbial attributes (Pol. przydawki okolicznościowe⁵⁶) along with those composed of prepositional phrases (Pol. przydawka przyimkowa). It is worth to mention that the longer the attribute is, the stronger tendency to place it after the word being modified. It is done so in order to make easier to grasp the meaning of the whole phrase or sentence. Nevertheless also noteworthy is the fact that the same adjective can be used as pre-head and post-head modification - the first one exhibits the modifying function, while the second one the classificatory one, when combined with the head. This means that when used postpositionally it usually indicates of what kind the superordinate word is, as in e.g. *szkoła podstawowa* (a *primary* school) - meaning a type of school.

As far as the types of syntactic relations between or among attributes in both languages are concerned, both coordination and subordination can be observed. The first one however, is much more frequently observed and it suggests that attributes can change their order although with some semantic change e.g. *ttokttokago jalsaenggin namja* (Kor. 똑똑하고 잘생긴 남자; Eng. an *intelligent and handsome* man, Pol. *inteligentny i przystojny mężczyzna*). Nonetheless, modifying one attribute by another one⁵⁷ creates the subordinate relation. Here the change of attributes' order if impossible influences the meaning, as in e.g. *nae chinguui yeodongsaengeun chigwauisayeyo* (Kor. 내 친구의 여동생은 치과의사예요. Eng. My friend's younger sister is a dentist. / Pol. Młodsza siostra mojego kolegi jest stomatologiem.). While in Polish the following change in the order of attributes is possible e.g. Młodsza siostra kolegi mojego jest stomatologiem. (Eng. {literal translation} A younger sister of a friend of mine is a dentist.) in the Korean it is not.

While discussing the properties of attributes, the question of their obligatoriness also has to be addressed here. Both Korean and Polish linguists agree that although attribute is generally not an obligatory part of the sentence and their omission does not

⁵⁶ The term 'adverbial attribute' (Pol. 'przydawka okolicznościowa' and not 'przydawka okolicznikowa') was used e.g. by Klemensiewicz (1963: 64, 1986: 131), Polański et al. (2003: 471) etc. and it is defined as attribute which answers the same questions as adverbial modifying the predicate does. This kind of attributes has a deverbal or deadjectival noun, simple noun etc. as its head and answers the same questions concerning the place, time, manner etc. as an adverbial does (cf. Klemensiewicz 1963: 64).

⁵⁷ An attribute can modify the subject, the object or another attribute (cf. Bańcerowski et al. 1982: 271).

influence the grammatical correctness of the sentence, in some cases they have to be used. In Korean it concerns the situation when the bound nouns are used as heads, and in Polish when common nouns such as hands, hair, eyes etc. are used. Although in both cases it is explained that semantic reasons stand behind the obligatory usage of attributes, curiously enough in Korean it generally concerns synsemantic nouns such as *geot* (Kor. 것, ‘thing’), *te* (Kor. 데, ‘place, spot’), *jeok* (Kor. 적, ‘the time {when}, an experience’), *su* (Kor. 수, ‘a way; possibility, likelihood’), while in Polish the autosemantic ones, as already cited e.g. parts of the body. This means that it is the attribute that bears the informative load by defining the feature of the head noun and, as such, if omitted not only the noun would be deprived of its description, but also the phrase would become incomplete (e.g. *dziewczyna o oczach/ *a girl with eyes). Grzegorzczkova (1998: 24) calls the groups with obligatory determiner (Pol. grupy z determinatorem koniecznym) ‘the special type of groups’ and explains that the necessity to use the attribute (although the term itself is not used the re) is caused by semantic reasons. ‘Height, hair’ etc. are *immanent properties* (Pol. cechy immanentne) and thus the attribute specifying them is simply indispensable.⁵⁸

5. Concluding Remarks

Attributes despite being generally the non-obligatory sentence components in Korean and Polish they are very eagerly used in various registers of the spoken and written language. Giving the fact that both languages belong to different language families and are classified as different types of languages, one could presume that the parameters, according to which attributes could be classified, will differ significantly. Nevertheless as it turns out, being the agglutinative or inflected language has relatively minor influence as far as the classification of attributes is concerned, since they are very much the same.

⁵⁸ In ‘dziewczyna o ładnych oczach’ (a girl with beautiful eyes) the attribute cannot be omitted while in ‘rozmowa o ładnych oczach’ (the conversation about beautiful eyes) can.

The syntactic function and semantic properties of attributes in both languages are similar. Nevertheless, the closer examination of e.g. the structure of NPs with an attribute reveals some differences. As for example, the equivalent of NP with an attribute in Polish can be a compound noun or even a simple noun in Korean (e.g. *lewa ręka/ a left hand/ 왼손*; *zadanie domowe/ a homework/ 숙제* respectively). Various word classes and various linguistic units, the majority of which are common in both languages, can function as attributes. The attribute as a subordinate element of a phrase or a sentence needs to appear with the superordinate, with which it forms the endocentric construction. In Polish the head is an autosemantic word, while in Korean it can be a synsemantic one as well.

As far as the morphological structure is concerned, the *determinans* in NPs in Polish such as adjectives, nouns, pronouns or numerals are generally accommodated, which means that their forms, when used as modifiers, depend on the categories taken by the head, in other words their form has to agree in gender, number and case with the word they modify. The phenomenon of syntactic accommodation in Korean is slightly different since it does not concern categories such as number, gender or case. Firstly, it is because Korean nouns do not have the category of inherent gender, which would have to be followed by an attribute. Secondly, *-deul* (Kor. -들) – the particle conveying the meaning of plurality is often omitted, and even if it is used, it is not attached to forms used as attributes. And finally, words used as attributes do not take the same particles as the head does. It is because some words such as e.g. so-called determiners (*gwanhyeongsa*, Kor. 관형사) or already mentioned *gwanhyeongmyeongsa* (Kor. 관형명사) do not take any particles whatsoever, while others such as adjectives and verbs when used in attributive function instead of particles take attributive endings (*gwanhyeongsahyeong jeonseongeomi*, Kor. 관형사형 전성어미). Even though the *se* endings indicate their subordination towards the head and the relation towards another attribute if it is used, they also do not reflect the gender or number of the head. Nonetheless taking e.g. the attributive or honorificative *-(eu)si-* (Kor. -(으)시-) endings taken by verbs and adjectives, can be compared to the regimen in Polish language, where the superordinate requires the usage of proper forms from its subordinate(s).

As far as the structure of NPs is concerned, usually one or two attributes belonging either to the same or to different word classes are

used at the same time, although three and more can also to modify the same head. Regardless of the number and morphological structure of attributes, in Korean they always appear in pre-nominal position, while in Polish depending on their meaning (also function) and length they have either prepositional or postpositional word order, which means that in one NP they are located on both sides of the head if the qualitative and classificatory attributes are used at the same time. Nevertheless in both languages when few attributes, especially those represented by various word classes or linguistic units are used, word order reveals their *sequentialization*, which only to some extent can be considered as free.

This research presenting a draft classification of attributes in Korean and Polish can be treated as an introduction for further studies on this particular part of the sentence in both languages. The word order of attributes, their grammatical and semantic features etc. are only few topics, which definitely deserve more attention. Particularly noteworthy is the need for Korean-Polish and Polish-Korean comparative studies, as well as those focused on glottodidactics, taking into account e.g. the growing importance of Korean language education in Poland. The author hopes to continue the research on the subject of attributes in due time.

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I CALL MYSELF SNOB: POLITICS OF AESTHETICS OF KOREAN POETRY UNDER DICTATORSHIPS

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Abstract: This study addresses the issue of politics of aesthetics in Korean poetry in regards of ‘authenticity of snobbism’ manifested in poems and essays published from late 1960s to 1980s under dictatorships. The special attention is on the double positioning of oneself as the accuser and the accused. The questions of the politics of aesthetics of Korean poetry, even the recent argument, has discriminated ‘authenticity’ from ‘snobbism’, in the needs to qualify literature as the accuser of the opportunism and passivism under the dictatorships. However, this dichotomy has restricted the political-aesthetic possibilities of literature to an exclusive property of poets or (poets as) ‘citizens’. This study explores how Korean poetry generated the possibility of political aesthetics from every single snobbish corner of lives by placing ‘the accuser’ of the dictatorial government on the position of ‘the accused’ through its own voice. Poems and essays of Kim Soo-young, Kim Kwang-kyu and Lee Seong-bok will be significantly examined as what manifested the autoimmunity of literature beyond the pose of self-reflection.

Key words: authenticity, double-positioning, autoimmunity, Kim Soo-young, Kim Kwang-kyu, Lee Seong-bok, aesthetic politics

나는 자신을 속몰이라 부른다: 독재 정권 하 한국시의 미학적 정치성

논문초록: 이 글은 ‘속몰의 진정성’이라는 주제로 한국 시의 미학적 정치성을 다루는 글이다. 1960년대 후반에서 1980년대까지 독재 정권 하 출간된 시와 산문을 다루면서, 이 글은 ‘비판하는 자’와 ‘비판 당하는 자’로서 스스로를 동시에 위치시킴으로써 ‘겹쳐있는 존재’가 드러내는 가능성을 논한다. 그간 한국 시의 정치성과 미학성과 관련하여 ‘진정성’은 언제나 ‘속몰성’과 명확히 차별되는 무엇으로 논의되어 왔다. 그 기저에는 독재 정권 하 기회주의자 혹은 ‘소시민’을 ‘비판하는 목소리’로서, 문학이 더 나은 세계의 가능성을 배태하는 공간이 되어야 한다는 절박한 요청이 자리하고 있었다. 그러나 이러한 ‘진정성’ 기획은 정치적-미학적 가능성을 소수의 문학인이나 그들이 상징하는 ‘시민’의 형상만이 전유할 수 있는 것으로 제한하였고, 그로써 문학의 정치성과 예술성은 고립된 방식으로만 논의될 수 있었다. 그러나 한국 시는 가장 ‘속몰스러운’ 일상의 세목에서 그 속몰성을 비난하는 자와 속몰로서 비난 당하는 자의 목소리가 겹쳐지는 방식으로 ‘진정성’의 이분법을 초과하는 정치적-미학적 가능성을 형성해내고 있었다. 이 글은 김수영의 시와 산문, 김광규와 이성복의 시를 통해 한국 시가 ‘자기 반성’의 포즈를 넘어서는 ‘자기면역’을 수행함으로써 독재 정권 하 문학의 정치성과 미학적 윤리성을 추구해나간 방식을 독해해보고자 한다.

주제어: 진정성, 이율배반적 겹침, 자기면역, 김수영, 김광규, 이성복, 미학적 정치성

NAZYWAM SIEBIE SNOBEM – POLITYKA ESTETYKI KOREAŃSKIEJ POEZJI W OKRESIE DYKTATURY

Streszczenie: Niniejszy artykuł porusza kwestię polityki estetyki w koreańskiej poezji, w odniesieniu do „autentyczności snobizmu” zobrażowanej w wierszach oraz esejach autorstwa Kim Soo-young, Kim Kwang-kyu oraz Lee Seong-bok, opublikowanych w okresie dyktatury (od końca lat 60. aż po lata 80). Szczególną uwagę poświęcono zagadnieniu umieszczenia siebie w podwójnej roli – jako oskarżyciela i oskarżonego. Pytania dotyczące polityki estetyki w poezji koreańskiej, odróżniały „autentyczność” od „snobizmu”, co miało na celu zakwalifikowanie literatury jako oskarżyciela oportunistów i pasywności w okresie dyktatury. Jednakże ta dychotomia ograniczyła polityczno-estetyczne możliwości wspomnianej literatury. Celem niniejszego artykułu jest zbadanie, w jaki sposób mogło dojść do powstania w poezji koreańskiej estetyki politycznej poprzez umieszczenie „oskarżyciela” dyktatorskiego rządu w pozycji „oskarżonego”.

Słowa klucze: autentyczność, podwójna pozycja, autoimmunizacja, Kim Soo-young, Kim Kwang-kyu, Lee Seong-bok, polityka estetyczna

Introduction

This study, entitled “I Call Myself Snob: the politics of aesthetics of Korean poetry under dictatorships,” addresses the issue of politics of aesthetics in Korean poetry in regards of ‘authenticity of snobbism’ manifested in poems and essays published from late 1960s to 1980s, as a key part of a bigger project I am working on. The questions of the politics of aesthetics of Korean poetry, even the recent argument, has discriminated ‘authenticity’ from ‘snobbism’, in the needs to qualify literature as the accuser of the oppressive violation and passivism under the dictatorships. However, Korean poetry has shown far beyond this binary structure. To show that, I would like to pay special attention to how poets, who closely focused on their ordinary everyday lives instead became “the accused” by themselves for indulging in opportunistic and obedient snobbism under the oppressive dictatorships. At the same time, I will show how ‘the accused’ became ‘the accuser’ through their own voice of criticism of themselves. Drawing on the works of Kim Soo-young, Kim Kwang-kyu, and Lee Seong-bok, I would illustrate how their self-positioning against-within snobbism developed into a poetic aesthetics and how their poetry was able to generate an ‘authentic’ politics through an autoimmune process.

Needs for Literature as Authenticity of the Era

To begin with, it will be helpful to look through how the idea of ‘authenticity’ has been constructed in Korean literary criticism field. It is well known that the ‘authenticity’ arose as critical value literature had to secure in 1980s among literary people, who encountered the brutal massacre of civilians by the military dictator on May 1980 questioning what the duty of literature is after such a tragedy. However, the ideal form of authenticity had already been manifested

in the field of literary criticism since late 1960s through different notions to discover the people as ‘the subjects’ who actively survived the dictatorships: ‘the people [minjung]’, ‘the national [minjok]’, ‘the citizen [simin]’ and ‘the individual [gaein]’.

Under the harsh condition of dictatorships, which encouraged people to be the passive or opportunist suit to the standard of the strong censorship, the critics urged themselves to question, what literature should be in the society. The question itself was a request for literature to be a realm of possibility which embraces the reality as it is but takes it far beyond from present condition. There was found the needs for ‘authentic’ reason for being of literature, severing itself from the ‘inauthenticity’ of the world. Only when literature embodies ‘the authenticity’, it could qualify itself as the critic of the world and the explorer of the new world. Configuration of the ‘authentic subject’, were called here to materialize this needs for authenticity of the literature. Baek Nakcheong, for example, claiming the realistic voice of oppressed people enables the political movement through solidarity, developed the notion ‘the people’ into the idea of ‘the nation’ and ‘the citizen’, the genuine people who would lead the progress of the world in right way. On the other hand, Kim Hyun found the imaginative power of ‘the individual’ significantly, which enables people to penetrate the truth of the world without overconfidence on any prerequisite value and seek for new possibility from the despair of given reality.

The notions the critics found as the figure of the subject differed according to which value they chose to concentrate, but the common denominator between the differences was that the figures were drawn as an ideal form of authenticity, such as ‘authentic class’, ‘authentic community’, ‘authentic mind’, and ‘authentic inside’. The ‘authenticity’ allowed these idealized subjects to qualify themselves as ‘the innocent’ who takes off the charge of snobbism, which includes passivism and opportunism, and as ‘the accuser’ of the world. Presenting these figures of the subject, literature has found and confirmed its role as the genuine critics of the present and the active explorer for the new since then. A recent article, which has summarized and developed the arguments on the politics of poetry in 2000s, shows that the faith in the authenticity of literature against snobbism is still unshakable in literary field by asking a familiar question; “Here, who owns the authenticity?”

The reason this presupposition of the authenticity

is problematic, even though it effectively helped critics to find the ontology of literature under the harsh condition, is because it offers literature the authority to idealize itself in its own necessity avoiding the self-accusation. If literature takes the position of critic of the world as what is 'authentic' and therefore 'qualified' without accusing its own idealization of authenticity, it would not be able to perform the role to precisely penetrate the structure of the world, as it would end up isolated from the society stuck in its own structure of self-satisfaction.

Researchers recently have criticized the limitation of the ideal figures of 'authentic' politics and aesthetics of literature claimed in criticisms since 1960s, focusing on how ineffectively the ideals could interact with the society. However, it is critical to see beyond the 'legitimacy' of the criticisms and penetrate the 'needs' for authenticity underlying them to read political and aesthetic power of Korean literature far beyond the binary structure of 'authenticity'. Therefore, this study aims to find the 'authenticity' as 'needs', which Charles Guignon called "the project of being authentic", and show politics of aesthetics in Korean poetry, which has already been beyond the 'project'. In next two chapters, I would like to examine poets, who has not been prepossessed with the needs for authenticity but still could generate political aesthetic possibilities of literature in their own way.

Kim Soo-young: Becoming the 'Genuine' 'Snob'

Kim Soo-young, who actively wrote poems and essays from the liberation in 1945 to his death in 1968, is one of the most beloved poet in Korea. Here is a famous quote among the public from his poem: "Why am I indignant over mere trifles". People like to quote this phrase sighing for their passiveness. However, Kim Soo-young's works in general show far beyond a pose of 'self-reflection'. While self-reflection somehow goes with self-justifying or self-soothing, Kim Soo-young does not leave a space for justification, for neither himself nor anyone else. He accuses everyone, including himself, as vividly manifested in his critical essay on snobbism.

Asking me to write criticism of snobs is the same as asking Mr. So-and-so to set up a barbed-wire around the wall of the house that he himself has burgled, which is as awkward as it gets. (...) This kind of snobbism is, as I keep emphasizing, not just other people's problem but also mine. "The Sublime Snobs" (1967).

It is important to find that he is accusing himself with others through his own voice, which I'd like to call "double positioning of the accuser and the accused". This double positioning underlies much of Kim Soo-young's works, generating political-aesthetic possibilities beyond the 'authenticity' of the subject. For example, in a poem "James Deang", he describes his anger against a supervisor of a newspaper company who looks like 'James Deang', which might be James Dean. This guy visits the poet's house in a snowy morning to ascertain if the old boy that has delivered newspaper did not pocket the charge, before replacing the position with another boy. This situation itself and the man's minatory bossiness, which somehow reminds him of 'slave trade', provoke the poet. He describes this scene and his rage at the coercive air in the first half of this poem. However, the poem is continued with these lines:

Pale pink brazier in barbershop
Papering over the broken glasses,
Until my face reflected on the frozen glasses turns into as Jame Deang's
Suffering that I have undergone, that I will undergo
Is infinite.

"James Deang" (1965)

The reason his face is overlapped with James Deang's is not because he realized that he is not so different from the minatory and bossy guy. Rather, it is because he realized his own hostility. Like the red ink the barber marked on the misspelling on newspaper, he condemned the guy's job and attitude as "the wrong" and "the violence" qualifying himself as "the right" and "the innocent". He finds this dichotomous relationship of right and wrong as 'hostility', 'a light dream of winter', which let him attached to one and only 'right' thought, ultimately making him as a 'slave' of the structure of thought. So long as he stays in the position of 'the right', 'the innocent', therefore 'the accuser', he would end up in being outraged at the man, 'the accused' only, not

being able to see the structure of the world which generates the system of 'slavery' as a whole between producer, messenger, and consumer. He would not find that he himself is a part of the system as a consumer, by naively calling himself as 'the innocent reader'. This unsuspecting hostility is what he found in the poem as "my arrogant dream", "my oversight".

Kim Soo-young refuses to see the world through 'right and wrong' binary structure not because he does not see the wrong as wrong, but because he believes he can be a performer of freedom when he is the one who realizes the strategy of the structure *inside* of it, which makes him feel 'innocent' and be "indignant over mere trifles" so that he can't see the structure itself. Only as the one, who is inside of the wrong of the structure but still can see the wrong as wrong, as 'the genuine snob who is self-destructible' as he mentioned in the criticism on snobbism, he himself, and his poetry itself could 'generate' the 'autoimmunity' of the society, the condition the structure cannot be completely dominant, and therefore the 'possibility' the world can be changed. In other words, by voluntarily positioning himself as the accuser and the accused at the same time, Kim Soo-young exercised his poetry to be a void of the world where the inevitability of revolution is ingenerated and, rather than to be the salvation by itself as studied before, to be a symptom, moment by moment, of salvation. This double positioning of 'the accusing accused' was the unique way of political-aesthetic performance of Kim Soo-young's poetry, which even penetrated its own desire to be THE 'authentic' 'savior' of the world.

Kim Kwang-kyu, Lee Seong-bok: Two Voices, Two Bodies

While Kim Soo-young's double positioning in 1960s was performed based on active rage against the reality, Kim Kwang-kyu and Lee Seong-bok show different aspects of accusing-accused positioning. The dictatorship of 1960s ends in 1979 when the dictator was assassinated, but another military dictatorship era arrives in 1980, along with tragic repression of pro-democracy movement. Under the persistent despair, the self-destructing awareness of 'the genuine snob' turns into divided voices and bodies, which form different

aspect of political-aesthetics in 1970s and 1980s.

Kim Kwang-kyu's first collection of poems published in 1979 shows the irreconcilable but also indivisible relationship between internalized voice of the accuser and lethargic language of the accused. In a poem "Dream and Sleep", for example, 'I' awakes from a paralyzing dream and finds himself in a coffin, dead. Hearing familiar voices mourning his death, he calls his crying family, but no one can hear him and his body is moved to crematorium. In the moment of burning, he catches the fire and flies to his house with the power of light. He calls the family again, but they still do not hear him and go inside the house closing the door leaving him behind. He, crying desperately, falls asleep again.

There are two voices in this poem: the one of people present at the funeral and the speaker's. The speaker's voice accuses the people of not realizing what is really happening. But it remains inaudible. Meanwhile, the audible voice of 'the accused', which is 'real' for them, remains neglected by 'the accuser'. Then, what is really happening here? Which voice is 'real' and 'authentic'?

It would be easier to understand if we consider the accusing voice as what comes from outside of a self as in another poem of Kim Kwang-kyu.

Isn't it shameful
Isn't it shameful
Half listening the whisper of wind
We talked about health issue of middle age in vain
Moving one more step deeper into a swamp
"Shadow of Blurred Bygone Love" (1978-9)

The whisper of wind is a voice accusing 'us', who once used to be the subject of democratization movement on April 1960, of turning into "the generation afraid of revolution". 'We' almost hear the voice but cover it with a voice of snob, settling down in the given reality. Here, the accusing voice is not purely authentic as it remains merely as a 'shadow of blurred bygone love', and, at the same time, the voice of the accused is not merely inauthentic as it is the one that is real here. But importantly, both voices are actually the speakers own.

In this simultaneity of irreconcilability and indivisibility of voice, there is aporia poetry of the era had to deal with. For the question what poetry can do in this reality, Kim Kwang-kyu's

poems did not decide one side between ‘bygone revolution’ and ‘passive snobbism’ but chose to carry out the question itself with two voices of a self. Doing so, he endured the suffering of his generation which is manifested in the last few lines of his collection: “It can’t be started all over again / But it can’t be over this way / Now I see that”

On the other hand, Lee Seong-bok, younger generation than Kim Kwang-kyu, shows different way of dealing with the aporia of the era. What the revolution in 1960 left to him was not an assertive ‘voice’ but a ‘body’ which spills pus or wither with no reason, a body of lethargic anesthesia. Since then, the weeping and itching body kept lying down, falling asleep, fossilizing, playing dead, or drowning, still staying safe and unharmed.

I jump if feeling too dizzy that is so, safe
Yet I have never injured no matter ears eyes mouth and nose are decaying
Everything is lie

“About Memories” (1978-9)

Meanwhile, there is another body. This body hurts, swells up, or passes away over and over again while being cut down, nailed, or abused. It is a woman’s body, mostly mother’s or sister’s. Remarkably, these two bodies fit with reversed states of mind.

Into the music my sister listens to a guy was
coming slowly I hated that My music
is dark and gloomy more than death and there to keep my feet
from escape weeds grows, that guy
who is he would it be okay if she has beautiful loving relationship
wondering it I fell asleep

“At Beloved Prostitute Quarters” (1978-1979)

The inside of ‘I’ is dark and gloomy because he thinks “everyone is taken ill but no one is sick”. And because he thinks so, he wonders if his sister’s happiness is acceptable. However, paradoxically, his own body is not sick, staying unharmed, while his sister’s body experiences ceaseless violence. Here, which one between his own illness in mind and the sister’s physical suffering is genuine? Which one is the ‘authentic’ agony? Even though Lee Seong-bok’s poems are

mostly full of the narration of 'I' with sick mind and weeping body, but he always reminds himself of the suffering bodies of mother and sister.

Mom, one day pushing out clouds of evening sweet
this is Jerusalem my room with wall made of wail
Jordan, calm Jordan, cross now, hurry if you say

Would I cross? Which one is ferryboat? No
that is my sister fallen mom, she is sick

“Love Diary” (1978-9)

The suffering body of woman lets him find his own body weeping and drowning, see his own great suffer of mind, but also acknowledge his falling but still unharmed body, and therefore, it lets him finally imagine the agony of the woman's body and her mind which he always will see with love. Not satisfying himself with his own suffer in mind but keeping loving the suffering body of others which remains un-imaginable, 'I' holds himself between two bodies and two minds of this era. This is how Lee Seong-bok's poetry goes beyond its own question of authenticity and generates the possibility of politics and aesthetics of 'sickness.' Two voices in Kim Kwang-kyu's poetry and two bodies in Lee Seong-bok's were two different aspects of questioning how a subject would shoulder the undeniably internalized double positioning of the accusing-accused, and answering that own question with practice of indivisibly divided or divisively entangled selves that would thirst for 'authenticity' but never allow themselves fulfill it.

Conclusion

This study briefly showed how Korean poetry has attempted to overcome the needs for authenticity to find its own position in harsh political and aesthetic condition under dictatorships. I've mentioned that what Charles Guignon called “the project of being authentic” restricts literature to self-assurance as a qualified, trustworthy critic of the world, which would limit possibility of literature itself. I believe

the poetry of the three poets I have drawn effectively shows how Korean literature has encouraged itself to find new political and aesthetic possibilities from enduring the double-positioned state with no one true authenticity.

In the project I would like to work on, the questions of how ‘snobbism’, beside ‘authenticity’, has worked in Korean literary field, and how ‘politics’ and ‘aesthetics’ of Korean literature have developed as indivisibly divided idea while being considered to be irreconcilable by critics and poets would be closely examined. The final goal of my project will be to show how Korean contemporary literature has developed the ethics of ‘truth’ as ‘ugly truth’ with political aesthetics or aesthetic politics of the double positioning of the accused and the accuser with snobbish authenticity and authentic snobbism.

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**LIBERTY AS THE IMPOSSIBLE,
THE LANGUAGE OF SILENCE:
IN REREADING KIM SUYŎNG'S WORKS
IN 1960s**

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Abstract: This article examines several works written by Kim Suyŏng in the 1960s with a focus on negation as the poetic method in accordance with revolution. He lived through a late colonial period, the Korean War, the April Revolution, and Park Chung Hee's regime and he was keenly aware Koreans had not spoken of liberty as the invention of modernity in our mother tongue throughout our history. He dedicated all his poems to demonstrating why liberty was impossible to be spoken in Korean. In the course of his writing, his authentic poetic language developed into silence as a martyr, the language of death and love. In so doing, he could "live liberty" through his poetry in accordance with his conscience in the authoritarian society.

Key words: Kim Suyŏng, liberty, negation, revolution, self-directed violence, death, silence, love

불가능한 자유, 침묵의 언어: 1960년대 김수영의 텍스트 다시 읽기

논문초록: 김수영은 ‘자유’의 시인이다. 그에게 근대의 산물인 자유는 한국인들이 모국어로서 발화하지 못한 것이었다. 1960년대 한국에는 박정희 정권이 집권했다. 군사 독재 정권 하에서 자유에 대한 발언은 억압당했는데, 김수영은 그러한 사태를 ‘불가능’으로 접수했다. ‘불가능’으로 존재하는 자유를 시로써 발화하는 것은 혁명의 수행을 의미한다. 그는 시작 과정에서 혁명을 부정의 문법으로 실천했고, 그것은 시에서 화자의 자기 폭력으로 나타난다. 그러한 시적 방법은 화자의 죽음으로 메지 나며, 이 때 침묵이 발화된다. ‘침묵’은 자유를 시로써 말할 수 있는, 그의 ‘양심’에 근거한 독특한 언어이다. 침묵은 그가 스스로를 끝까지, 무한히 부정함으로써 다른 이를 위해 자유를 상상할 수 있게 했던 ‘사랑의 언어’이다.

주제어: 김수영, 자유, 부정, 혁명, 자기 폭력, 죽음, 침묵, 사랑

WOLNOŚĆ JAKO NIEMOŻNOŚĆ, JĘZYK MILCZENIA: PONOWNIE CZYTAJĄC POEZJĘ AUTORSTWA KIM SUYŎNG

Streszczenie: W tym artykule rozważa się kilka prac napisanych przez Kim Suyŏng w latach sześćdziesiątych, w których występuje negacja jako metoda poetycka zgodna z trendem rewolucyjnym. Autor przeżył późny okres kolonialny, wojnę koreańską, kwietniową rewolucję i reżim Parku Chung Hee'a, i był w pełni świadomy, że Koreańczycy nie mówili o wolności jako w swoim języku ojczystym. Swoje wszystkie wiersze poświęcił uświadomieniu ludziom, dlaczego o wolności nie można mówić po koreańsku. W toku pracy twórczej ukształtował się jego prawdziwy język poetycki stanowiący pomnik milczenia męczennika, język śmierci i miłości. Dzięki temu to mógł „żyć wolnością” tworząc poezję zgodnie ze swoim sumieniem jednocześnie żyjąc w społeczeństwie autorytarnym.

Słowa kluczowe: Kim Suyŏng, poezja koreańska, wolność, metody poetyckie

Preface

Before embarking upon an analysis of the work of Kim Suyŏng, we will briefly examine the main features of his poetry. First, the theme of his poetry is liberty. Since Kim Hyŏn, one of the foremost Korean literary critics, proposed this in 1974 in "Liberty and Dream", this has not changed. He said that Kim Suyŏng "cried for liberty"(Kim, 13).

Kim Suyŏng addressed, "poet recites freedom, and lives freedom through language. (...) Liberty is novelty; novelty is liberty" in his prose titled "The Real Life and Poetry" in 1964. Secondly, he lived under the authoritarian Park Chung Hee regime; so seeking for liberty was politically suppressed. Kim Suyŏng's poetry is based on his real life, which was a matter of conscience for him. He emphasized that a poet must write her or his poem in accordance with one's conscience. Lastly, he focused on the impossibilities for reaching out to the ideal. That is why his poetic method is negation. Living in an authoritarian society, he negated the society, the Korean literary circle, and above all things, himself.

The Problem of Love

This article attempts to examine the several works of Kim Suyŏng in 1960s with a focus on negation as the poetic method in accordance with revolution. Raymond Williams suggests the basic formula of the revolution: rejecting the old leads to the transformation of the present society (Williams, 2010). From this formula, we learn "negation" falls into the rejection of the old. Yet then, in order to complete the revolution, how did he transform the old into the new by writing poetry?

That question of poēsis brings us to the other important theme of his work: love. In light of the revolution, transformation is interconnected with love. Generally, love is understood in two ways. First, love is unknown, which is related to the concept of it being a potential. Second, love is the act of embracing the other without condition. Hence, we could say that love brings novelty in a positive way.

With respect to negation, however, what is problematic love is its positivity. As mentioned earlier, Kim Suyŏng lived through the authoritarian government, so it was (almost) impossible to live up to his ideal of a better, more emancipated life. Taking this into the consideration, how did he end up considering love as a constituent of the revolution? In response, he talked about love in light of poetry. He mentioned that "the real poetry is the work of love that allows [a poet] to kill her or himself and become the other" in "The Matter of Death and Love as the Antipole Is the Essence of Poetry(<죽음과

사랑>의 대극은 시의 본수)” in 1967. This, yet again, pose another question: if this is so, is love the absolute self-negation in spite of positivity embedded in it?

The April Revolution and the Task of Poiēsis

The April Revolution took place in 1960. It is the first turning point of his oeuvre. Kim Suyŏng felt the April Revolution was miraculous scene that the modern revolution such as French revolution finally came to occur albeit the backwardness of Korea. In turn, the revolution made him recalibrate the notion of liberty and the role poetry would play in the revolution.

So to call it, poetry accomplishes an absolute completeness, whereas revolution accomplishes a relative completeness. Then, what is the poetry conforms or aids revolution. It plays a role to either sublimate, or appear to sublimate revolution to accomplish relative completeness up to the absolute completeness. Even though poets and revolutionaries could be succored, there is no revolution whatsoever.¹

This passage, an excerpt from his diary written in two months after the April Revolution, is crucial in understanding his authentic view on poetry in relation to political revolution. He thought poetry tries to sublimate the political revolution up to the absolute. It indicates that he thought literature could not be reduced to political interests.

Those who have soared aloft/ for the sake of freedom/ know/
why it is/ the skylark sees/ that makes it sing;/ they know why
the smell of blood/ must mingle with freedom,/ why
revolution/ is a lonely thing/ why revolution/ is bound
to be a lonely thing²

¹ All translations are my own, unless otherwise noted.

² Suyŏng Kim., Siyoung Lee. & Kyongnim Shin (eds.). 2001. *Variations: 사랑의 변주곡: Three Korean Poets*. Tr. By B. Anthony of Taizé, and Youngmoo Kim, (Ithaca, NY: East Asia Program, Cornell University),

In the second stanza of "The Blue Sky", the speaker says he can detect the smell of blood embedded in liberty. "The smell of blood" embodies the sacrifice accompanied by violence in the course of revolution. According to Raymond Williams, violence is what draws a line between evolution and revolution in terms of transformation (Williams, 2010). Put another way, it is violence that makes the old world be overthrown and the new world come into being. In the following, I will try to examine how self-directed violence (i.e. self-torture) is at work as the underlying structure of his poetry in his own response to the revolution.

Infinite Betrayal as Self-directed Violence

(1) Self-torture is regarded as being heinous from society, but I have not found the religion equivalent of the virtue of self-torture. How on earth could I live [in this society] as a snob without this kind of excuse? We do not have faith in our so-called Literature. Camus made an assertion. What did Rimbaud declare beforehand? Poetry must be absolutely modern. Therefore, we must absolutely disdain our poetry.

(2) Poet is an eternal traitor. He turns renegade every second. He betrays himself who betrays himself, who betrays himself who betrays himself who betrays himself...(...)
He is the traitor who betrays [the other] infinitely.

As you may notice, he thought self-torture was the "modern" method to produce the new poem. As mentioned earlier, self-torture is an underlying structure of his poiēsis, so let me divide it into three parts. First, the object is him. He did not want to write a poem for a making a living, but he could not help it because he had a family. Of particular significance is that he referred to himself as a snob, and the enemy. Second, self-directed violence is the permanent self-betrayal. The premise of the self-torture is this: if s not a poet, he cannot perform the revolution. That is a contraposition; if he instigates revolution on his everyday life, he can be a poet. Hence,

self-torture is a paradoxical method to practice the revolution driven by self-hatred. In this regard, ironically enough, the necessary and sufficient condition for it is to be a snob. However, being a snob over the course of permanent self-betrayal is a partial negation of himself. In this sense, it is close to relative completeness, not the absolute one.

Then, how did he perform "absolute completeness" by writing poetry?

Language of Silence as a Martyr

In the preceding pages, we have discovered his task in mid-1960 was the absolute self-negation. However, he declared in the 6th note that he was able to solve his task. Before developing this argument, it is worth noting that the significant of this note was proven relatively recently (Chung, 2008; Cho, 2010; Kang, 2013).

- (1) But painting, (...) I think it has no future in our civilization. Neither does sculpture. What we might call bad painting-that has a future.
- (2) There is no hope of expressing my vision of reality. Besides, if I did, it would be hideous something to look away from.

This is an excerpt from Giacometti's interview (Lake, 1965), which Kim Suyŏng translated into Korean at that moment. The word "hideous" is associated with the aesthetic concept, the ugliness. According to Küplen, the one of the characteristics of the ugliness is "to produce one of the unwelcome and unexpected surprise by violating our expectation as to how the world is supposed to be"(Küplen, 2015). In his article, Chung suggested that what Giacometti and Kim Suyŏng had in common was a rejection of surrealism (Chung, 2008). He said this was also the reason why Kim Suyŏng resonated with what Giacometti mentioned intensely by default. However, in a note, Kim Suyŏng suggested that the word "hideous" should be interpreted as "invisible" by dividing it into two parts: "hide" and "-eous". It is much

more significant that this interpretation transforms being hideous into being invisible. This transfiguration evolved from the experience of writing the poem, “Snow”.

After snow has fallen, it keeps falling. (눈이 온 뒤에도 또 내린다)
After a thought has occurred, it keeps falling. (생각하고 난 뒤에도
또 내린다.)
After a wail, will it keep falling? (응아 하고 온 뒤에도 또 내릴까?)
After a sudden thought, it keeps falling. (한꺼번에 생각하고 또
내린다)
One line passed, two lines passed, will it keep falling? (한줄 건너
두줄 건너 또 내릴까)
Will snow fall on ruins, on ruins? (폐허에 폐허에 눈이 내릴까)³

What is invisible in “Snow”? The subject of each line is not quite clear. We can assume the existence of the speaker based on the tone. In terms of sentence subject, the fourth line is crucial. As you may notice, the subjects of the sentence are not present. Given that a peculiar feature of Korean is that the subject is often dropped from a sentence, it can be regarded as being grammatically correct. However, conjunctive suffix “-고” makes this sentence complicated to read because the Korean speaker uses “-고” to indicate the time order between two events in two different ways. In other words, Korean allows its speaker to employ “-고” to connect two events that either happened in sequence, or at the same time. In this sense, the fourth line generates a subject-speaker mingled in snow because of its sentence structure, which is impossible in the real world. Put simply, the 4th line contains a hint of the speaker’s death.

Nevertheless, the process of death started from the third line. The third line refers to the cry of a baby, signaling the moment of birth. It’s meaning is construed by the remark of Georges Bataille on the relationship between death and birth. He said that one death foretells another birth, and thus the latter takes place on the only condition that; the former had to happen beforehand (Bataille, 2009). In this sense, the cry of the baby paradoxically implies death. In this regard, the “ruins (폐허)” in the sixth line refers to death. This line is also explained by Bataille’s remark on death as a sign of the violence, which converted the world into the wasteland

³ Kim et al, op. cit. p. 103.

(Bataille, 2009). Therefore, the death of the speaker presented in “Snow” is a kind of self-directed violence at the ultimate level. Death is portrayed the disappearance from the world, related to the “invisibility”.

Hurray! Hurray! I adhere to language.

In the last part of the note, Kim Suyŏng exclaimed these sentences with full joy. In order to “adhere to the language”, or to vanish into the language, the death of speaker has to take place. Put otherwise, the death of speaker is equivalent to the eradication of her or his voice. Furthermore, adhering to language means ultimately becoming other. In his view, becoming the other is the act of love. He made a statement in “Thaw” that silence is the “only method” of the action of love. As he lived in the authoritarian regime, silence was his only truthful method to enact love through language.

Conclusion

Kim Suyŏng is a poet of liberty. He lived through a late colonial period, Korean War, the April Revolution, and Park Chung Hee’s regime. He was keenly aware that Koreans had not spoken liberty as the invention of modernity in our mother tongue throughout the history. For the sake of inventing a new language, he dedicated all his poems to demonstrating the reason liberty was impossible to be spoken in Korean. In the course of writing, his authentic poetic language developed into silence, a language to dream of liberty. Still, his poetry embedded in the Korean historical wounds is breathing silently for love.

Notes

* Excerpts of this paper are taken from the fourth chapter of my Master’s Thesis: Choi, Seoyoon, 2012. “A Study on Aporia of Kim Sooyoung’s Poetry.” Seoul: Yonsei University. I would like to thank

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THE PATTERNS OF KOREAN'S NARRATIVE: BASED ON THE 'RULE OF THREE'

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Abstract: Korea has several conflicting images. The first image was that Korea has been a small and weak country. Korean Peninsula places at the collision point of continents and oceans, so it has been forced to encounter the frequent invasions from other strong neighboring countries. The second image is that Korea is a very interesting and dynamic society which has a long history and excellent cultures. Nowadays Koreans are known to be very smart and excellent in arts and science. Owing to the ardent desire for the children's education, young Korean students are more educated and talented than those of any other nations. Between the passive belittlement opinion and extremely exaggerated applause, there could be more balanced third opinions suitable for Korean's position.

Korea is trying to confirm its identity through the comparison with other countries; China, Japan, and the United States. China has been the most powerful empire at the center of East Asia. For this reason, Korea chose a voluntary way of submission to China for a long time. Of course, there happened to be a time of resistance as an opponent. Korea sometimes has kept the attitude of "subservience to the stronger" on China. Japan has been considered as a less civilized country than Korea. But it grew to be the most powerful imperialist's nation in East Asia and dominated Korea as a kind

of substantial colony for 35 years. At the beginning of 20th century, the United States emerged as the super power among the all nations. Their power influenced to lots of nations as a police of the world as if they were the only police who can keep world peace. They were the friendly helper to South Korea for a long time. But it is not strange there were some occasional conflicts between the two nations.

In general, Korea has chosen a policy of obedience to these powerful countries. But on the contrary of realistic attitude to them, Korean has continuously kept the attitude of independence and resistance in their deep minds. In the folk tale, it is the universal law that the weakest finally wins the strongest. The pattern of Korean's narratives is same to that folk tale.

Koreans feels a kind of empathy to these folk tales for they have been too weak themselves. So they made their own tales based on the contrast between strong and weak. Koreans have felt serious agony against inevitable power between continent/ ocean, China/ Japan, China/ United States. These were the Koreans' destiny in their daily life. But Koreans developed lots of fictitious narrative which shows the imaginative victory of Korean.

The pattern of 'Rule of three' can be divided into four; simple or cumulative, progressive or ascending, contrasting or double negative, dialectical. In this paper, I am going to introduce some Korean narratives, which show the victory of the weakest. The stories of General Yushin Kim and Great Monk Samyeong could be chosen the representative examples of Korean narratives.

"Three colored national flag" has been used in the world. For example, French people uses three colored flag for the meaning of liberty, equality and fraternity. I guess, in Poland, the legend of 'three eagles' could be used for the relationship of Russia, Germany and Poland or Germany, Czech and Poland. Currently, it can be used for the Korean's dilemma between the powerful Group Two. Koreans are always asking to themselves: which way we must choose to survive between two powerful brothers, what is the third way we can choose as the youngest brother. These questions are making many narratives on Korean themselves.

Key words: rule of three, growth story, Korean's narrative, fictitious

한국인의 서사 유형: '3의 법칙'을 중심으로

논문초록: 한국은 몇 가지 상반된 이미지를 가진다. 첫째, 한국은 약소국이라는 인식이다. 한국은 반도라는 지정학적인 위치로 인해 대륙과 해양세력의 충돌지점에 놓여 있으며, 술한 외국의 침략을 받으면서 수난의 역사를 살아왔다는 인식이다. 둘째, 한국은 매우 문명적이며 역동적이라는 인식이다. 한국은 높은 교육열로 인한 개인적

역량의 수월성, 오랜 역사적 경험의 축적을 통해 다양하고 역동적인 문화를 창조하고 있다는 것이다. 셋째, 한국은 작지만 강한 나라라는 인식이다. 한국의 규모는 작은 편이지만 아주 작은 나라는 아니며 고유의 정체성을 가지고 있다는 것이다.

대부분의 나라가 그렇듯, 한국은 다른 나라와의 비교를 통해 자신의 정체성을 확인하고자 한다. 이때 자주 비교의 대상이 되는 국가가 중국, 일본, 미국이었다. 중국은 역사상 가장 강력하고 지속적인 제국으로서 동아시아의 중심이었으며, 한국은 중국에 대해 대부분 자발적인 순종의 길을 택했다. 물론 저항과 예속의 시기도 있었으나, 한국은 중국에 대해 '사대'의 태도를 보이면서도 때에 따라서는 '자주'와 저항을 선택하기도 했다. 일본은 한국보다 변방에 있는 나라로 치부되었으나, 근대 이후 가장 강력한 제국주의 국가로 성장하고 한국을 실질적인 식민지로 지배하였다. 한국인은 일본에 대해서도 복종, 저항, 비판의 태도를 유지해왔다. 미국은 20 세기 이후 세계의 경찰국가로 떠오르면서 한국에 대해 원조자의 위치를 점해왔다.

한국은 이들 강대국에 대해 대체적으로는 순종의 노선을 택했으나, 한국인의 정체성은 이들에 대한 반감과 증오, 경쟁의 관계 속에서 마련되었다. 적어도 상상적 차원에서는 '가장 약한 자가 가장 강한 자를 이긴다'는 서사를 지속적으로 변주해내었다.

가장 약한 셋째가 첫째, 둘째를 이기고 마침내 성공한다는 이야기는 구비문학 전체에서 보편적인 이야기 형식으로 전승된다. 이를 '3의 법칙'이라 부를 수 있다. 한국은 늘 대륙/ 해양, 중국/ 일본, 중국/ 미국 등의 틈새에서 시달렸지만, 적어도 상상적 차원에서는 '3의 법칙'에 기반한 한국인의 서사를 개발함으로써 그들과의 차별성을 강조하고 자신의 정체성을 제시한 것이다.

'3의 법칙'은 축적형, 상승형, 대조형, 변증법형으로 구분할 수 있다. 본고에서는 고구려, 백제를 물리치고 삼국 통일에 공헌한 김유신의 서사, 임진왜란 이후 일본을 굴복시킨 사명대사의 서사, 그리고 현재에도 진행 중인 '작지만 강한 나라'로서의 한국인에 대한 서사를 이러한 유형에 따라 분류하고 평가하였다.

세계의 국가들에도 '삼색기'가 가장 많이 사용된다. 자유-평등-박애, 자유주의-공산주의-민족주의 등은 한 국가가 자신의 정체성을 만들기 위해 가장 자주 사용하는 상징적 조각이라 볼 수 있다. 예를 들어, 폴란드는 러시아-독일이라는 강력한 나라 사이에서 생존해야 했던 폴란드의 역사를 '세 마리의 독수리' 이야기로 만들어 건국신화의 틀로 활용하고 있다. 현재 한국은 세계의 두 정상(group two)'에 해당하는 미국과 중국 사이에서 또 하나의 '3의 서사'를 만들고 있는 것으로 볼 수 있다.

주제어: 3의 법칙, 성장담, 한국인의 서사, 허구적

PRZYKŁADY NARRACJI KOREAŃSKIEJ W OPARCIU O 'REGULĘ TRZECH'

Streszczenie: Istnieje kilka sprzecznych ze sobą wizerunków Korei. Pierwszy z nich ukazuje ją jako małe, słabe państwo, często atakowane przez silniejszych sąsiadów. Drugi z kolei jako bardzo interesujący kraj z dynamicznym społeczeństwem, długą historią i piękną kulturą. Trzeci głosi, iż Korea pomimo bycia małym krajem jest silna i posiada swoją tożsamość.

Korea podobnie jak i inne kraje potwierdza swoją tożsamość poprzez porównanie z innymi - Chinami, Japonią czy Stanami Zjednoczonymi. Chiny były najsilniejszym imperium w centrum Azji Wschodniej, dlatego też Korea przez długi okres czasu była jej podległa. Japonia z kolei, choć została uznana za kraj mniej cywilizowany od Korei, będąc najpotężniejszym narodem imperialistycznym Azji Wschodniej zdominowała ją na okres 35 lat. Z kolei Stany Zjednoczone ukazały się na początku XX wieku jako wpływowe supermocarstwo - jedyna siła mogąca utrzymać pokój na świecie. Pomimo, iż Korea wybrała prowadzenie polityki posłuszeństwa wobec wspomnianych mocarstw, Koreańczycy w swojej twórczości przez cały czas zachowywali postawę niezależności i oporu.

W folklorze zauważamy uniwersalne prawo, mówiące o tym, iż to najsłabszy zwycięża najsilniejszego. Kontrast pomiędzy silnym a słabym stał się motywem przewodnim wielu podań ludowych, w których koreańscy autorzy pomimo słabości kraju, ukazują wymyślne zwycięstwo Koreańczyków. Niniejszy artykuł ma na celu omówienie opowiadań obrazujących zwycięstwo właśnie tych najsłabszych. Opowieści autorstwa generała Yousin Kim oraz Wielkiego Mnicha Samyeonga stanowią najbardziej reprezentatywne przykłady takich narracji.

Słowa kluczowe: reguła trzech, opowieść o wzroście, opowieść narracyjna, fikcja

1. Preface

Korea has several conflicting images. The first image was that Korea has been a small and weak country. Korean Peninsula places at the collision point of continents and oceans, so it has been forced to encounter the frequent invasions from other strong neighboring countries. Because of these geopolitical positions of that peninsula, Korean people had to endure many violent invasions from other countries. The only policy that weak Koreans could choose was

thought to endure and conform to the strong nation's covet. The second image was that Korea is a very interesting and dynamic society which has a long history and excellent cultures. Nowadays Koreans are known to be very smart and excellent in arts and science. Owing to the ardent desire for the children's education, young Koreans are more educated and talented than those of any other nations. Some people mentioned the power of 'Korean Wave (Hallyu)' that came from some popular cultures focused on the fan ship of teenagers (Huntington and Harrison 2001: 8). Between the passive belittlement opinion and extremely exaggerated applause, there could be more balanced opinions suitable for Korean's position.

Though dwarfed by China and only two-thirds the size of Vietnam, Korea is actually a country of average size and more than average population. One can emphasize its smallness by saying that it is scarcely larger than the single state of Minnesota, but it would be more meaningful to say that it is not much smaller the combined area of England, Scotland, and Wales. Its present population of close 50 million is not much less than that of the traditional "great powers" of Western Europe (Fairbank, Reischauer and Craig 1973: 277).

Korea is trying to confirm its identity through the comparison with other countries; China, Japan, and the United States. China has been the most powerful empire at the center of East Asia. For this reason, Korea chose a voluntary way of submission to China for a long time. Of course, there happened to be a time of resistance as an opponent. Korea has kept the attitude of "subservience to the stronger" on China. Japan has been considered as a less civilized country than Korea. But it grew to be the most powerful imperialist nation in East Asia and dominated Korea as a kind of substantial colony for 35 years. Because of these historical experiences, most Koreans hate Japan as a violent attacker. Even though Japanese occupation on Korea has been finished with the end of World War 2, the feeling of hatred on Japanese has been continued yet. At the beginning of 20th century, the United States emerged as the super power among the all nations. Their power influenced to lots of nations as a police of the world as if they were the only police who can keep world peace. They were the friendly helper

to South Korea for a long time. But it is not strange there were some occasional conflicts between the two nations.

In general, Korea has chosen a policy of obedience to these powerful countries. But on the contrary of realistic attitude to them, Korean has continuously kept the attitude of independence and resistance in their deep minds. In the folk tale, it is the universal law that the weakest finally wins the strongest. For example, the stupidest and youngest child wins the giant-monster at the tale of <*Jack and Bean Tree*>. The third pig wins the wolf and save the first and second brothers at the tale of <*Three Little Pigs*>. These patterns can be named to "the rule of three."

Koreans feels a kind of empathy to these folk tales for they have been too weak themselves. So they made their own tales based on the contrast between strong and weak. Koreans have felt serious agony against inevitable power between continent/ ocean, China/ Japan, China/ United States. These were the Koreans' destiny in their daily life. But Koreans developed lots of fictitious narrative which shows the imaginative victory of Korean. Even though these narratives are not real, they can bring lots of energy and strong pride to themselves. In this paper, I am going to introduce some Korean narratives, which show the victory of the weakest.

2. Some cases of Korean's narratives

(1) The Slightest Joke

An American, a Japanese and a Korean died at the same day. They were sent down to the Underworld. The King of the Underworld ordered them to be beaten on the ass because they had made many sins throughout their lives. However, he gave them one benefit which would lessen their pains during being beaten by big stick. An American asked him a thick pad which would lessen his pain. He managed to be beaten less painfully with the help of a thick pad attached on his ass. The next turn was a Japanese. He asked the King two pieces of thick pad on his ass. Owing to these two pads, he also managed to be beaten less painfully (Japanese are usually good

at imitating other's skill and ideas!). The last turn was a Korean. He asked the King to call the Japanese again. He used Japanese's ass instead of thick pads.

In this joke, Japanese is cleverer than American. He could lesson his pain owing to his cleverness. But Korean is cleverer than American and Japanese. He could win the victory finally owing to his cleverness.

(2) Yushin Kim (김유신)

As you know, Kingdom of Shilla (신라) has conquered two other Kingdoms, Goguryeo (고구려) and Baikje (백제) and unified Korean Peninsula into a single Kingdom. The top leader of this achievement was not the King of Shilla, but the general Yushin Kim. He could not become a King because he was not royal family. His origins were those of perished Kingdom, Gaya (가야). But he could rise up to the second ranking because he made his sister to marry the future King. As a prime minister and commander, he could do the most important thing. For example, he could save the future King confined at Goguryeo's prison. He advised the confined future King to escape the prison by telling a lie. That lie was a kind of trick or dishonesty (it came from the folklore of 'Liver of Rabbit'). Anyway, the future King could return to his country and work together for unification of three Kingdoms. The last war was very difficult because the opponent was the Chinese Empire that had supported the weak Shilla for a long time (Kim 2010: 749-783). at that time, he used the people of two perished Kingdom and won the satisfying unification again against China's covet.

In fact, Shilla was weaker than Goguryeo and Baikje. According to my model, Goguryeo had a Powerful Identity (하늘, 天) and Baikje had a Rich Land (땅, 地). The only thing Shilla has had was a Talented Man (사람, 人). Shilla could win the two strong Kingdoms by using the power of Man. Its power was thought to come from the system of Hwarang (화랑). Yushin Kim was neither a King nor a royal family. But he was the member of Hwarang. And he exploited the power of Hwarang to his political task. His story belongs to the pattern of "the weakest over the strongest".

(3) Reverend Samyeong (사명대사)

‘Japanese Invasion of Korea in 1592 (임진왜란)’ ended in 1598. During that war time, many Korean ordinary people took participate in the battle as warrior. Even lots of monks fought as warrior against the Japanese army. Two famous leaders of those monks were Great monk, Seosan-daesa (서산대사) and Samyeong-daesa (사명대사). They became the war hero. After that war, Samyeong-daesa went over to Japan to negotiate the remaining problem of prisoner-of-war. The Japanese were forced to receive him. The reception room where he was staying looks very comfortable. But they made the room very hot like boiled iron capsule. But the Reverend Samyeong changed that hot room into iced room by his unbelievable magic. The Japanese were very shocked at his powerful magic and begged him their mean acts were intentional. They apologized their mean acts and promised not to make war again. at final, he could receive 3,000 prisoners-of-war and return to Korea (Gyutae 1984: 41-47).

That story which he blamed Japanese by powerful magic would not be a precise historical event. It would be a fictitious legend invented and inherited by many people who had suffered from Japanese’ slaughter and other cruel war crimes. They admired Samyeong as their Messiah and wanted to make a kind of fictional victory over Japan. at that time, Korean people hated their King and government as well as Japanese. Yi dynasty was very weak and corrupted enough not to defeat Japanese invasion. So they needed the third hero who could defeat two hateful powers; Yi dynasty and Japanese.

(4) Other imperialism within imperialism

We can say that Korea has been subject to the control of the powerful countries. Korea has long been plagued by the rule of the imperialist, directly or indirectly. But on the other hand, Korea has internal imperialism in it. The mechanism of imperialism has been imitated and repeated in the internal Korean society. For example, Korean people who had been dominated by Japanese dominated poor

Chinese people at Manchurian during the era of Pseudo-Manchu State (위만주국, 1932-1945). These double faces are continuing even now. Sometimes Koreans are tend to dominate or look down on the people who came from poorer countries; Vietnam, Philippines, Cambodia and Pakistan. Korean people is on the both side of dominated and dominating.

The novel *Shadows of Weapons* (무기의 그늘, first written in 1988), written by Hwang Seok-yeong (황석영), focused on the Vietnam War, especially in terms of capitalism. It dealt with the relationship between the Vietnamese, Koreans and Americans. They all gathered at the battlefield to get money. One Korean soldier said to an American about the essence of the Vietnam War:

I'd rather like to say that my position is the same as the Vietnamese. The conditions of life we've been through over the past century are the same to those of all Asians. White people are fighting with quarry bloody claws and teeth to bite each other like beasts on every continent. (...) Yet soldiers were forced to come here to the dirty back alleys, the dark bars, the cheap super markets, and the oily car garages. Why? Noble young gentlemen would not come here. You guys, ask your entrepreneurs and your politicians who have served as salesmen of the rich. It is for them that you are dying at the battlefields of Vietnam like dogs.

I know them well. (...) The capitalists are trying not to retreat from their realms according to their commercial principle (Hwang 1988: 117-118).

The protagonist said that war resulted from the interest of the capitalists. They regarded this battlefield as a beneficial and profitable market. They came here to get much money, but poor Americans came here to get little money. He said himself, "The dollar! It is the leader of colonial imperialism. It is the certificate of being an American." In his novel, Koreans did not hate all Americans. Instead, they hated only rich American capitalists and politicians as their partners. All poor people are friends regardless of their nationality. The only terrible target is the capitalist and their system of capitalism. At least, it was not related with nationalistic feelings.

3. Meaning of these narrative based on ‘the rule of three’

The rule of three is a writing principle that suggests that things that come in threes are inherently funnier, more satisfying, or more effective than other numbers of things. The reader or audience of this form of text is also more likely to consume information if it is written in groups of threes. From slogans ("Go, fight, Win!") to films, many things are structured in threes (Booker 2010: 229-238).

Next tableau has been made to explain the pattern of stories based on ‘the rule of three’. Left column is the form of these stories, right column is the examples according to each forms.

<Form>	<Representative narrative>
Simple or cumulative	(1) the slightest joke
Progressive or ascending	(2) Yushin Kim
Contrasting or double negative	(3) Reverend Samyeong
Dialectical: dominated and dominating	(4) Seok-yeong Hwang's <i>Shadows of Weapon</i>

The ‘Simple’ or ‘cumulative three’, where each thing is of much the same value, but all three have to be put together or succeed each other in sequence before the hero or heroine can move on, or come to their final transformation: e.g., Cinderella’s three visits to the ball. In the slightest joke mentioned at chapter 2, we can find the principle of ‘cumulative three’. B is stronger than A, but C is stronger than B. Of course, Korea is C. And at most cases, Japan is B because it is a direct and concrete rival to Korea.

The ‘progressive’ or ‘ascending three’, where each thing is of positive value but each little more important or valuable than the last; e.g., the ascending value of Jack’s three treasures won from the giant (this idea is more explicitly expressed in those folk tales where the hero has to win three objects, made in bronze, silver and gold). Commander Yushin Kim fought three times. The first battle was to get his own position; the second was to defeat two countries.

The final battle was to get freedom from China's covet and to unite three kingdoms. He started at disadvantage position but overcome it gradually. His career was the typical sample of 'from rags to riches', a kind of success story in the folklore. Through the whole history of Korea, the power of king is weaker. The noble men called Yangban (양반) had little financial abilities but had been respected highly only in the level of mental status. Korea has had also a rigid status discrimination system for a long time. But common people always insisted that all the peoples are equal. Owing to the thought and desire for equality, I think Korea could achieve high level of democracy rapidly among the developing countries. A grows to be B, B grows to be C. The lower the hero lied at, the stronger he can grow to be. I think this was the main desire that common Koreans could dream. Yushin Kim's story belongs to it typically.

In the 'contrasting' or 'double-negative three', the first two are inadequate or wrong (essentially in the same way) and only the third one works or succeeds. We see an element of this in the *Three Little Pigs*, two of whom get eaten, although it is most commonly seen in the folk tales where the hero or heroine is the third child, contrasted with two identical others. In the story of Reverend Seosan, we can find the people's hero who overcomes two negative powers, Japanese army and Korean dynasty. He was not a military man but a monk who had been look down on. In the real world, it is natural that he had no power. But at the emergent time, he led the group of monk and fought against the evil army to save poor and powerless people. This would be the crucial reason to be respected as a hero.

The final form of three, the one capable of the most sophisticated development, is what may be called the 'dialectical three' where, as we see reflected in *Goldilocks*, the first is wrong in one way, the second in another or opposite way, and only the third, in the middle, is just right. This idea that the way forward lies in finding an exact middle path between opposites is of extraordinary importance.

4. Conclusion

'Three' give us many interesting stories. So many stories and symbols are constituted by the rule of three. For example, "Three colored national flag" has been used in the world. 70 nations use it for their national flags and their identities. For example, French people uses three colored flag for the meaning of liberty, equality and fraternity (berté, Égalité, Fraternité). Sometimes it has been used the meaning of liberalism, communism and nationalism. I guess, in Poland, the legend of 'three eagles' could be used for the relationship of Russia, Germany and Poland or Germany, Czech and Poland.

Currently, it can used for the Korean's dilemma between the powerful Group Two (the United States and China). Koreans are always asking to themselves: which way we must choose to survive between two powerful brothers, what is the third way we can choose as the youngest brother. These questions are making many narratives on Korean themselves.

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REPRESENTATION OF KOREAN TEENAGERS IN INDONESIAN LITERARY WORKS

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Abstract: It can be said that Korean Wave has triggered the appearance of a new chapter in Indonesian literature works, namely the emergence of literature works related to Korea. Indonesian writes all of these fictions and majority featuring Korean, especially Korean teenagers as the character and use Korea related problems as story theme, setting, etc. This paper is discussing how Korean teenagers represented in Indonesian teenage literature works. Representation is meant here is as the depiction or reflection that symbolizes social reality. Of course, reality reflected in a literary work is not always an actual fact, there is frequent a tendency of reality idealized by the author, in this case is Indonesian author's idealism. From the examination undertaken on *Summer in Seoul* and *Oppa and I: Love Signs* teenage fictions showed the following results. Seen from the perspective of adolescence developmental psychology, Korean teenagers are constructed as figure who have had mature personality, who have achieved emotional, moral, social, and intellectual independence. As a member of a family, Korean adolescent represented as a son, daughter, brother, and sister who do not only take responsibility for themselves but also for others. Then from the perspective of their relation with peers group, they are described as teenagers who have been able to expand their social relationships and have also been able to maintain those relationships. Furthermore, within in the context

of education, Korean teenagers are described as young people who have been able to draw up a clear plan for the future.

Key words: teenage literature, Korean teenager, representation, adolescence developmental psychology

WIZERUNEK KOREAŃSKIEGO NASTOLATKA W LITERATURZE INDONEZYJSKIEJ

Streszczenie: ‘Koreańska Fala’ (*Hallyu*) doprowadziła do powstania nowego rozdziału w literaturze indonezyjskiej, a mianowicie utworów literackich traktujących o Korei. Autorzy pochodzenia indonezyjskiego chętnie wykorzystują w swojej fikcji literackiej postacie koreańskich nastolatków czy wątki dotyczące Korei.

Celem niniejszego artykułu jest omówienie wizerunku koreańskiego nastolatka zawartego w indonezyjskiej literaturze młodzieżowej, w kontekście realiów społecznych. Realia, o których tu mowa nie zawsze są jednak prawdziwe, co wynika z faktu ich idealizowania przez wspomnianych twórców. Analiza ‘*Summer in Seoul*’ oraz ‘*Oppa and I: Love Signs*’ ukazuje koreańskich nastolatków jako ludzi o dojrzałej osobowości, którzy osiągnęli niezależność emocjonalną, moralną, społeczną i intelektualną. Jako członkowie rodziny - syn, córka, brat czy siostra to osoby biorące odpowiedzialność nie tylko za siebie, ale także i za innych. W kontekście relacji z grupą rówieśniczą, potrafią nawiązywać oraz podtrzymywać znajomości, a w kontekście edukacji ukazywani są jako młodzi ludzie, potrafiący kreślić swoje plany na przyszłość.

Słowa kluczowe: literatura młodzieżowa, koreański nastolatek, wizerunek, psychologia rozwojowa nastolatków

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개략: 이 연구는 인도네시아 청소년 문학 작품에서 한국 청소년이 어떻게 묘사되는지 논의하고 있다. 청소년 발달 심리학의 관점에서 보면 <Summer in Seoul (서울 여름)>과 <Oppa & I: Love Signs (오빠와 나: 사랑의 신호)>라는 인도네시아 청소년 소설에서 나타난 한국 청소년들이 정서적, 도덕적, 사회적 및 지적 독립성을 달성한 성숙한 성격을 지닌 인물로 구성된다. 가족 구성원으로서 한국 청소년들은 자신뿐만 아니라 다른 사람들에 대해서도 책임을 지는 자녀와 형제로 나타난다. 그리고 또래집단과의 관계 관점에서 그들은 사회적 관계를 확장도 할 수 있었고 유지도 할 수 있었던 청소년으로 묘사된다. 또한 교육의 맥락에서 미래에 대한 명확한 계획을 세울 수 있는 젊은 사람들로 표현된다.

키워드: 인도네시아 청소년 문학, 한국 청소년, 묘사, 청소년 발달 심리학

1. Introduction

It can be said that the influx of Korean popular culture in Indonesia was began with the airing of ‘Winter Sonata’ and ‘Endless Love’ in 2002 in Indosiar Television. The success obtained by these two dramas followed by the broadcasting of other Korean dramas. And the increasing of Indonesian public interest in Korean drama made other television channels airing Korean drama too. The strength of Korean drama treats the saturation of Indonesian to local drama. Since then, Korean drama flooding in Indonesia could not be dammed up. The popularity of Korean dramas also caused some production house in Indonesia adapted the story of Korean drama in their productions. ‘My Girl’ (2006) and ‘9 End 2 Outs’ (2009) is an example of Korean drama had been remade in Indonesian version.

Meanwhile, through those dramas Indonesian got to know Korean music or K-Pop. Many of drama’s soundtracks became hit and loved by Indonesian young generation. Not long after that, the popularity of soundtrack sang by a Korean soloist in Indonesia followed by the entry of Korean boy bands and girl bands. The presence of Korean boy bands and girl bands, such as Super Junior, SHINee, Big Bang, SNSD, T-ara, Wondergirls, etc. are welcome enthusiastically by Indonesian young generation. The appearance of these groups was interesting phenomenon for Indonesian. Their music and dance, explosive energy, and powerful presentation of the Korean artists could hypnotize the youth of Indonesian who need another alternative of music entertainment. Since they had stolen the hearts of music lovers in Indonesia successfully, the ‘invasion’ of K-Pop in Indonesian music industry could not be stopped anymore. This phenomenon opened a new business area in music industry in Indonesia. K-Pop music has its own market in Indonesia. This new genre of popular culture has been seen as an opportunity to get a big profit. Behind this condition, some music producers decided to create Indonesian boy band and girl

band oriented on K-Pop genre. It can be said that 2012 is the peak of Indonesian boy band and girl band existence. There were a lot of group bands created. SM * SH (SMASH), MAX5, Dragon Boyz, Mr. Bee, NSG Star, S9B, Hitz, XO-IX, 3 In One were example of Indonesian boy bands, while Cherry Belle, 7 Icons, G String, 5 Angel, Minni, Super Girlies, Mascara, and Tina and D'Girls were some examples of Indonesian girl bands who referred to the K-Pop. In between pro and anti, there is no denying that the existence of Indonesia's boy bands and girl bands enliven the music life in Indonesia. Even though many critics referred to them that they only imitate Korean bands, it is a fact that some of Indonesian accept, acknowledge, and enjoy their existence.

In Indonesia, Korean fever did not only penetrate in local drama and music but also affected in many aspects of Indonesian community life. Some of Indonesian started to study Korean language, culture, consume Korean fashion style, Korean cosmetic, etc. Local media, such television, radio, Internet, and magazines began inserted something about Korean or Korea in their cultural content. Unmitigated, Korean wave also penetrated into Indonesian literary work. As we all know, nowadays, literary and creative industries are something cannot be separated. Viewed from a business perspective, a literary work is no longer only had a role as cultural product, but also as industrial product. In other words, literary works are considered as "commodities" which become one means to seek profit. The process of industrialization led to literary works almost completely engaged in the interests of the market. In its position as a commodity, literary works often have to adjust with the interests of the market, so that consumer tastes often determine the pattern of these commodities. The enormous number of Indonesian teenagers who are curious everything about Korea creates enormous market opportunities for Korean teenage literature. Of course the capitalist, in this case the publisher, does not waste this opportunity. They began to publish special literary works for them, Korean teenager literary translated in Indonesian. Seeing this, local authors also do not want to miss this opportunity. They are also competing to meet the market demand. Finally this phenomenon gave rise to an interesting fact in the development of Indonesian literature. Namely, up to now it is not difficult to find literary works contain about Korea. Korean comic books, books, novels, and teenager literary works or abbreviated *teenlits* translated in Indonesian and *teenlits* related

to Korea written by Indonesian quite easily can be found in a bookstore. Some Indonesian writers do not only write their *teenlits* with Korean as characters and Korea as a story's background, but in order to strengthen that the contents of the fictions is about Korea, some authors even use Korean pen name and entitled their works in Korean. Concisely, it can be said that capitalism has encouraged the growth of Indonesian teenage literary about Korea.

This paper tried to examine how the Korean, especially Korean teenager represented in Indonesian literature. As we know, representation is a situation that represents a specific condition. In this study, the meaning of representation is a literary work's depiction of a social phenomenon. In this context, literary work is seen as a depiction, which symbolized a reality. While based on the concept of sociology of literature, literary work is a mirror to the age (Swingewood and Laurenson, 1972:13). However, the representation in literature is not a picture or actual reality, but the fact that idealized by the author. In other words, it's more directed to the depiction of society and social situation through the creative process conducted by the author (Davidson, 1986:24).

The object of this study is two *teenlits*, namely *Summer in Seoul* (SS) and *Oppa & I: Love Signs* (O&I). Before examining the representation, structurally examination should have been done first. After that, the representation of Korean teenager will be connected to and based on social status or roles carried by the characters and the relationship between the characters that appear in the story. In this study those teenage characters will be viewed from the perspective of adolescence developmental psychology. Santrock said that in adolescent development, contexts and the settings in which development occur plays important roles (2003: 27). Based on this opinion, teenagers or adolescents who appear in these fictions will be analyzed from three aspects, which are important contexts in a teenager life that is family, peers group, and school or education world. In short, this paper tried to explain the social reality in the Korean teenager's life from the Indonesian author's perspective.

2. Summer in Seoul and Oppa & I: Love Signs

Summer in Seoul (SS) is a teenage fiction written by Ilana Tan and published for the first time in 2006 and reprinted due to the high demand. Whereas *Oppa & I: Love Signs* (O&I) is a collaboration writing of two young writers Orizuka and Lia Indra Andriana, published in 2013. Structurally there are some similarities between both fictions as described below.

2.1. General Review of *Summer in Seoul* and *Oppa & I: Love Signs*

Almost all of the characters in both literary works are Korean and named in Korean. Another interesting thing is Han Soon-hee, female main character in SS and Park Jae-in in O&I are daughter born from multicultural marriage between Korean father and Indonesian mother while male main characters are Korean celebrities, Jung Tae-woo, a singer in SS and Choi Seung-won, a movie star in O&I. And then, brother, parents, and friends in senior high school and university are some of supporting characters appeared. As a female main character, Han Soon-hee who has Indonesian name as Sandi is a university student in her third semester. She is physically described as a girl with a slender in figure and curly hair. And Park Jae-in, female main character in O&I is a 3rd grade senior high school student, 18 years old girls with long hair, cute, slender in figure, and good in drawing. Both of them also depicted having pretty well behaved. Then, as male main character in the SS, Jun Tae-woo is describe as singer with good voice, has the most captivating smile, neat haircut, a little blonde hair, and has big eyes. Not only good in singing, he is also good in playing piano and arranging romantic songs. Fashion he wore always became a trendsetter for young people. Then Choi Seung-won in O&I is 3th grade senior high school student. Both Tae-woo and Seung-won are describe having high sense of humor, good looking, and tall.

The major theme in both *teenlits* is teenage love story. Love story between girls born from multicultural marriage with Korean celebrity. And Korean educational world is one of the subthemes. The authors present the story chronologically. In SS, the story began when Han Soon-he's phone get accidentally exchanged with phone of June

Tae-woo's manager. This incident finally made Han Soon-hee meet and interrelate with Tae-woo. While in O&I, the story began with the spread of untrue gossip about Park Jae-in and Choi Seung-won. Both of these teen fictions end with a happy ending, the involvement of the two couples in a romantic relationship. The stories in SS take place in Seoul and Jakarta, while O&I takes place in Seoul and Busan. Based on the story, all the events depict current conditions and the authors to deliver the story use third person perspective. Social background that appears in these two stories is teenage life that includes teenage romance, life around the education world, friendship, and the world of internship.

Seen from the language used, the authors deliver the stories using informal Indonesian, so there is no difficulty for the reader that the majority are Indonesian teenager to follow and understand the story. As if to strengthen the identity that both *teenlits* are related to Korea, the authors also insert Korean word and even one full Korean sentence in the text. As an example, words such as *hyeong*, *oppa*, *appa*, etc. is often used to refer the characters. Then, expression likes *jalga*, *komawoyo*, *arrasseo*, *saranghe*, and others used by the authors to deliver the expression of the figures.

2.2. Representation of a Korean Teenager as a Family Member

In his social life, a teenager has a role as a member of a family that is as a son or daughter for his parents and as a brother or sister for his or her sibling. Characters appear in both fictions are described as a devoted son and daughter for their parents. Always respecting, trying to relieve their parent's burden, and establishing good communication with parents show this attitude of devotion. This construction can be seen especially from the attitudes of Han Soon-hee and Park Jae-kwon.

It is said that although living apart from her parents, Han Soon-hee always maintains the trust that her parents gave to her by not letting them worry or feeling embarrassed with her activities. Living alone in Korea makes her should be independent in taking care everything in her daily life by herself, such as managing finances,

organizing daily activities, taking care of her study, and others. Then, in order not to make her parents worry about her, Han Soon-hee always communicates with them by phone every day.

In O&I, since his father works in other city, as the oldest son, Park Jae-kwon should take over his father's role frequently. Taking care of his mother and his younger sister and making sure that they are always in a good condition. Instead of his father, he always tries to meet all the things his pregnant mother needs. Jae-kwon also asked his father not to worry about his sister because he's trying to always keep an eye on her sister, either for her study related activities or others.

As a teenager, who is growing up, it can be said that all of the figures in fiction always keep trying to be able to solve problems they are facing by themselves, as problem related to their love story, conflict with a boyfriend or a girlfriend, their studies, place to stay, plan for the future, etc. without depending on other people.

“*Appa*, let me take care it. I’ll keep my eyes on her. If she has a problem, I’ll help her... I will ask her again about her plain and help her to think about that. Don’t worry, *Appa*...” (Orizuka & Indriana, 2013: 90)

“Keep calm, *Eomma*. I am save and fine. There is nothing to be worried about... I’ve been thinking about it. I will stay in Youngmi’s house for a while and I will be moving as soon as I found new oneroom...” (Tan, 2006)

The attitude of respect to their parents causes them always positioning their parents as someone to consult and ask about various things, ask them for opinion and advice. Besides making their parents as partners in solving a problem, they are also capable of playing a role as a partner for their parents. This is shown by their ability to be a good listener and good advicer when their parents facing a problem or wanting to talk about some problems.

As mentioned before, as a member of a family a teenager also has a relationship with his sibling. In O&I, as a brother, Park Jae-kwon is identified always wants to protect his sister, Park Jae-in. He always wants to make sure that Park Jae-in is always fine. He does not allow anyone hurt her. Therefore, worried his sister might be hurt due her relationship with Seung-won made Jae-kwon opposed to their

relation at first. His worries is reasonable, because as a celebrity Seung-won must have fans who will not like Jae-in, who will be jealous of her.

Likewise, Park Jae in, as a sister, she always hears and considers his brother's advice and respects him. She really understands why he worried so much about her and so she does not want to make him worried about her condition. She also knows well why he always concerns and sometimes interfered about her life. She can understand that he did it because he has a big responsibility about her.

She conveys her disappointment, disagreements, and protest to her bother gently without any high tones. Through good communication and transparency between them, finally Park Jae-kwon is to be believed and sure that his sister would be happy with Seung-won then he changed his attitude from opposed to be support the relationship between Jae-in and Seung-won. For Jae-kwon the happiness of his sister is everything.

Adolescence is a period of searching for self-identity. And according to G. Stanley Hall, father of the scientific study of adolescence, adolescence is the period from 12 to 23 years of age and is filled with storm and stress. Adolescence is a turbulent time charged with conflict and mood swings (Santrock, 2003:7). In other word, in the process of identity searching, teenagers often experience a *crash* involving them with people around them, like arguing with their parents or their siblings. The divergence between characters with their parents or siblings could not be categorized as quarrel. On the contrary, from the narration and plot found that there is a good communication between them. Nevertheless, the close relationship between members of the family did not cause them to be teenagers that depend on others. On the other hand, freedom that parents give just encourages them to be independent figures, trying not only to solve their own problems by themselves but also to help others solving their problems.

As we know, Korean traditional culture, including relationship pattern in a family is based on the Confucianism, an ethic, which greatly emphasized on filial piety, respecting the elder, and expressing opinion in a very polite manner. A culture based on concept that harmony in a family is as important as the happiness of each family member. Through these fictions, it seems that the authors wanted to give an illustration to the reader that even though Korea has

changed a lot due to industrialization, family system in Korea still enforces eastern culture which is a culture prioritize good relationship between someone with their parents and also good relationship between siblings. The writers want to describe that industrialization don't make Korean teen left behind their original culture.

Then, according to the adolescence development stages, through the attitudes and behaviors described above, Korean teenagers constructed as figure have reached emotional, moral, social, and intellectual independent which is as a member of a family they have been able to take responsibility not only for themselves but also for the others.

2.3. Representation of Korean Teenager in Their Relation with Peers Group

One of the adolescent's characteristics is their bond on a group. Teenagers always want to live in groups, so they will not feel alone in facing a problem. For them groups can be used as a place for sharing, discussing, motivating each other, etc. In line with this, Kimmel said that one of the stages in the adolescence is their involvement in a wider relationship, which is their close relation in a peer group (Kauna, 1999: 9). Peer group relationship formed in SS and O&I are friendship between senior high school and college's friend. Close relationship tied between main characters and supporting characters which is friendship in senior high school and college proved that as teenagers, characters in these two *teenlits* have had ability to build a new and a mature relationship than before with their peers both with same and different genders. In SS and O&I, friends of Han Soon-hee and Park Jae-in are presented as friends, who have high sense of solidarity. Their solidarity is realized by always helped, found solution for the problems main characters are facing, as can be seen below.

"Nowadays, they do not make gossip about you anymore but Tae-jun and Sa-ra!" (...) Tae-jun made a special action and said to Sara that he loved her. He wrote in baseball field with chalk 'I love you, Lee Sa-ra. Without you I'm end' (...) They did it in order

to obscure scandal about you and Seung-won, Jae-in (...)" (Orizuka & Andrina, 2013: 45)

After the rumor about her and Seung-won spread widely in school, Jae-in was seen having a hard time in her school with difficult. Knowing that students in her school are talking about her made Jae-in sad and angry, then she decided not to go to school for two days. As a friend, Tae-jun and Sa-ra have great sympathy and empathy on Jae-in, they can feel what Jae-in felt. Do not want to see they friend being sad, in order to divert rumor, in purposely Tae-jun and Sa-ra made a ridiculous action in their school. Using chalk that their teacher usually used to write in blackboard in class, Tae-jun wrote his feeling to Sa-ra in baseball field, so all of the students and teachers could read it well. Their action proved to be able to divert gossip about Jae-in. Since after that, gossip about them be spread around the entire school replaced rumor about Jae-in and Seung-won. Even, for the shake of Jae-in, Tae-jun and Sara willingly got punishment from the school because using many chalk and school facilities without permission. Their ridiculous action is based on their desire to reduce Jae-in's burden and help her to find out a solution for her problem. In addition, with other friends Tae-jun and Sa-ra always try to console her, always be beside her when she needs friends to talk. Even they voluntarily accompanied her spending summer vacation in Busan and became mediator between her and Seung-won.

Similar with O&I, in SS, Youngmi, a close friend of Han Soon-he narrated always be beside Soon-he either she is in a good condition or not, like when Soon-hee was sick, her oneroom was on fire, etc. Youngmi also is a friend who will come first when Soon-he needs friend to listen her story, story about her love, her internship, and others. The attitudes and behaviors done by the supporting characters for the main characters indicate a causal connection with what main characters done to her friends.

Santrock and Sarwono said that another characteristic experienced by someone in adolescence is the arising of feeling interested and falling in love with the opposite sex. This phenomenon is also experianced by 4 couples in these two fictions. Sympathy against different gender and desire to meet the need for affection from someone they love become a strong driving for them to finally get in a romantic relationship with someone from opposite sex. Their

decision about these relations are also followed by their readiness to accept the risk from that relation. For example, have to help her boyfriend finding solution for the problem that boyfriend's family facing as Park Jae-kwon's girlfriend did. And dating secretly to avoid media and fans as Han Soon-he and Park Jae-in did. These kind of attitudes showed that they can commit, tolerance, take a responsibility, and be willing to sacrifice for others.

Through the teen characters who do not think only about themselves, who think that other people or something happen to others is a part of themselves, teenagers who have deep sympathy, empathy, and sense of belonging to others, seems that the authors want to construct Korean teenagers appeared in SS and O&I as figure who have had extension of self, an attitude and a condition which showed a mature personality. In other words, close relationship between the characters appeared in both *teenlits*, the ability of characters solve the conflict faced in their relationship with others indicates that teenagers appeared in these fictions constructed as teenager who have been able to expand their social relation but also have been able to maintain that relationship. They represent teenagers who have reached emotional, moral, and social independent.

2.4. Representation of Korean Teenager in Education World

The representation of Korean teenagers related with school or their education world shown through the attitudes and the decisions about education made by teen figures appeared in the SS and O&I. But let's take a look at today's Korean education life first. Lee Sun-yi said that Korea is one of countries with a very strict competition in the field of education. Attendances at the most prestigious elite as SKY schools (Seoul National University, Korea University, and Yonsei University) confer large advantages on graduates once they hit the labor market. Since graduating from certain university will affect someone's life, will guarantee both social and economic life in the future, so everyone desperately competes to get into the best university. And because of public education is considered not enough to prepare student in that competition, then the parents give their

children a private education by sending them to a private institution or give them an extra-class. Many Korean students are miserable, especially student in senior high school, as they have to prepare for the highly competitive ‘*suneung*’ or *College Scholastic Ability Test* which determines entry into college. With these conditions it’s reasonable if a lot of Korean teenagers feel unhappy as they are under high pressure to perform well at school, their parents pushing them to join those elite higher educational institutes to access the upper echelons of society burden them. They feel extremely exhausted at the end of each day, have little time or energy to share even small talk with her family and friends, and come back home after 11 P.M, have no time for enjoy their life¹. For these reasons, the happiness index for Korean teenagers was the lowest among the 23 OECD member states². These kind of social circumstances are also described in both *teenlits* as bellow.

“...Some students read a book while walking into the school... *College Scholastic Ability Test (suneung)* is only few months left. Same with other senior high school’s student, majority of Gangnam Sangdan Senior High School’s students determined to go to top ten universities, so what they do is just study and study, day and night. After completing their public education, they still have to go to the private academy and all just finished it at 11 P.M. (...)” (Orizuka & Andriana 2013:11).

“...*Suneung* makes all the student has *menbung* (mental breakdown)... “I study hard until my head smoked”... They only give me 3 days for summer vacation. After that I will enter the hell again” (...)” (Orizuka & Andriana 2013:96).

In O&I, it is narrated that Park Jae-in, Park Jae-kwon, and friends have to study hard every day. It’s been said that day-by-

¹ <http://www.koreaherald.com/view.php?ud=20110504000759>,
<http://www.bbc.com/news/education-25187993>

² Korean children and adolescents’ self-reported sense of happiness had recorded between 60 and 70 points from 2009 to 2014, but jumped to 90.4 points in 2015 (19th place among 23 countries) and once again falling to last place in 2016 with 82 points, the lowest level among the OECD member countries.
<http://koreabizwire.com/korean-children-and-adolescents-rank-last-in-oecd-happiness-index/53907>

day they are busy preparing university entrance exams. Their daily schedule is going to school in the early morning and then going to private academy after that and coming home at 11 P.M. There's nothing they can do except study and study. They have almost never got holiday. Even, they have to spend their summer vacations with studying preparing the exams.

Although finally Park Jae-in and Park Jae-kwon decided not to study at private academy anymore, both of them still study hard at home and keep showing their good achievement in school. Their decision not to study at private academy and not to take the university's entrance exam was taken because they have had other plans. Her ability in drawing makes Park Jae-in wants to be a great animator and his interest in performing art makes Park Jae-kwon dreams to be an excellent artist in the future. Therefore, they chose not to take the *suneung* exam and also decided not to go to private academy anymore. They don't want to go with the flow as friends and other people do that is going to university in order to be able to get a prestigious job in the future. Jae-in and Jae-kwon wants to be themselves. Doing something they want to.

Jae-in thinks that after completing her senior high school, the most appropriate further education for her is learning about animation in Animation Department, Korea National University of Art. And for Jae-kwon learning performing art at C.A.S.T Acting Academy in Apgujeong is the best for him. They are sure that both institutions can help them to realize their dreams. It is also said that Jae-kwon also gently refused his father advice to study performing art at one of the top ten universities, which has theater department. He refused it because before making decision he had collected sufficient information about the field of art performing by searching in various media and discussing with many people who has work in this field. And according to the information he got, he thinks that C.A.S.T is the most appropriate place for him to study. Jae-kwon firmly wants to get into that institution and prepared it well. And finally his effort is fruitful well. He got announcement that he got full scholarship from C.A.S.T.

“Appa, I’m sorry. I want to study at C.A.S.T. (...) Appa, I want to make you proud of me, with my own dream. So, about *suneung* exam, I won’t take it (Orizuka & Indriana, 2013: 88).

“*Harabeoji* have told your sister to study for *suneung* test. But she said she has had another plan, she wants to study animation at KNUA” (Orizuka & Indriana, 2013: 162).

In O&I, it seems that Jae-in and Jae-kwon represent teenagers who know their rights in the field of education that is as mentioned in Universal Declaration of Human Right article 26 that “Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms”³. Therefore as teenagers who have been able to find out their interests and talent and as figures who have been able to determine what kind of job they want to do in the future, they realize that they have right to get education according to their interest and talent. And they know well that they do not have obligation taking ‘*suneung*’ exams as almost other Korean teenagers do. Moreover, they also know that they should prepare their future’s careers by themselves as early as possible for their brighter future. Their awareness of their rights also makes them do not feel burdened with good reputation of their father who graduated from Korea University and their grandfather who was Korea University’s lecturer. Otherwise, the success of their father and grandfather encourage them to be successful although in a different way as quoted above.

Another interesting attitudes and decisions related to education are also shown by Choi Seung-won and Hye-rin. When many people think that formal education in schools is an obligation and great score, high rank in academic, high formal education in prestigious universities are considered as a key to get success in the future then they have another thought. In O&I, it was narrated that Seung-won who has already started his career as a movie star and a model, who has received recognition from public as a talented star decided to quit his study in senior high school and will be more concentrated on his career in the field of entertainment. Even though his parents opposed his decision at first, but finally they realized that his son’s decision is the best way for him and then they turned to support what he decided.

Meanwhile, since after graduating from high school she will be directly working in her family’s company, Hye-rin also decided not to take *suneung* exam. Hye-rin thinks that she does not need

³ <http://www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights/>

to go to university. All she needs is practical work directly in his family's company. For Seung-won and Hye-rin break from senior high school and do not go to university is not a failure or evidence of their incompetence. On the contrary, these decisions are taken because both of them are willing to be more focus on their future plan. For them knowledge is not only be able to be accessed from formal education but practical work is also an important process of learning.

Based on the explanation above, it is implied that the parents in these fictions give freedom to their children to determine their own future. In the atmosphere like this, as a teenager, the figures in these *teenlits* are able to take advantage of the freedom given to them to explore their talents and interests. However, although their parents give them freedom, it does not cause them to lose their respect and appreciation to them. It's been said that they always convey their thoughts to their parents first before taking a decision. And as a democratic-minded parent who has awareness about children rights in education and personal life, their parents choose to support any decision that their children take.

Characters in SS and O&I also depicted as figures who are aware that having many experience will also be useful for their future. Therefore, in order to gain a lot of experience, Jae-in, Jae-kwon, and Han Soon-hee use the time they have by doing internship program or part time job in the field related with their interest. Jae-in is doing internship as assistant animator in RGY Animation, a production house owned by Yoon Gi-joon, a famous film director. Jae-kwon does part time job as a movie dubber and makes cameo appearances in some dramas and advertisements. And Han Soon-hee is working at famous boutique as an assistant designer. They do those jobs not for economic purposes, but in order to seek knowledge and gain experience as much as possible.

“If she does not come it will get messed up. Only she can do this for me (...)” (Tan, 2006)

“Good job Jae-in. I will involve you in the next project ...” (Orizuka & Indriana, 2013)

Though they are still very young, their abilities in the fields they want to do in the future have been recognized from the people around him as the designer talked about Han Soon-hee and Yoon director said about Jae-in above. From the attitudes and behaviors

described above, it can be said that based on the stage in developmental psychology, the adolescents who appear in SS and O&I can be categorized as teenagers who have been oriented toward the future and has earned self-objectification and self-insight.

Then, it has been mentioned before that literary work is a reflection of the author's mind. Therefore, it is quite possible if SS and O&I are actually the author's attitude toward education in Korea. Moreover, since Lia Indra Andriana, one of the authors had ever lived in Korea for studying, so it is very possible that she has sufficient knowledge about social life in Korea. Through these fictions the authors actually are criticizing Korean education phenomenon that often makes students unhappy and lost their personal identity. They implicitly reminds all of us that if an education is only aimed at employability, if education for children is only intended to match them with jobs that already exist, then it is a violation of human rights. Education should be as stated by the father of education Paulo Freire that the purpose of education is to improve and enhance the lives of its own, determined by the concerned then parents should not intervene excessively. School or other educational institutions must be an artificial environment that is purposely created to develop children toward specific goals, especially to provide the ability and skill as a provision for later life. Thus, school must be a place for his student actualization. And hence, student, in this case teenager not only will be happy and challenged while studying there but student is also able to develop optimally his own, find his status or social identity, maximize and able to serve the community.

The authors also remind us that formal education is not the only way to bring our dream into reality, is not the only one method to be success. Knowledge can be obtained from anywhere. The authors also try to dismantle dominant discourse developed in the community that teens who have good performance are teenagers who have good academic achievement. They remind us that achievement is not only assessed from academic or formal education side, but talent, career, and experience is also a plus point for teenagers.

The criticism of the authors against the condition of education that less humane, education that less considers the needs of adolescents realized by the courage of the characters making their own decisions which related to their education. In short, as a teenager, characters in SS and O&I are constructed as a figure who has already

had intellectual independence that is able to formulate their plans and goals for the future, able to decide what kind of career they will be doing in the future, and able to find ways to realize them. It can be said that the decisions they made they use to wreak their desire to experiment, explore and develop their interests and talents as a process, which is very useful in constructing their self-identity.

3. Conclusion

Seen from the perspective of adolescence developmental psychology, through *Summer in Seoul* and *Oppa & I: Love Signs*, Indonesian authors tried to construct Korean teenagers as figures who already have mature personality, with various intellectual independences. Their intellectual independences characterized by their ability to have a real principle on a matter and not to be easily swayed by circumstances. The ability to make their own decisions firmly and freely based on evidence, logical reasons, and advice from others, the ability to take responsibility for the risks of the decision, and also the ability to develop the potential and intellectual skills for living in a society and for the future. Then their ability not to bother other people, able to make friends with others, and their adaptability show that Korean teenagers have not only emotional independence, but also moral and social independence.

Based on the role they carried, it can be concluded that as a family member, as a son, daughter, brother, and sister, Korean teenagers represented as a figure who does not only take responsible for himself but also for others. Then seen from their relation with peers, Korean teenagers represented as figures that have already been able to expand his social relationships and also has been able to maintain those relationships. Furthermore, within the world of education, Korean teens described as figures that have been able to draw up a clear plan for the future.

Despite the fact that market became the trigger of the emergence of teenlits related to Korea in Indonesia, as a teenager literature, SS and O&I does not only have a recreational function, as an entertainment for the reader, but also have educative function, give knowledge about life in Korea and also educate other young people through the ideology inserted by the authors about how

a teenager should do and should be. This research is a preliminary study about Indonesian teenage literature related to Korea, a first step to conduct further research.

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MOURNING AND THE MOVIE *SPIRITS'* *HOMECOMING*

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Abstract: The movie *Spirits' Homecoming* connects the past and the present through two Korean “comfort women” and reveals their life, anguish and mourning. Based on Derrida’s concept of mourning, this paper analyzes mourning of the main characters and the movie. Furthermore, it focuses on how Korean viewers reacted through mourning presented in *Spirits' Homecoming*. By doing so, this paper criticizes how the film’s vivid representation of “comfort women” reflects patriarchal and nationalist ideologies which position the “comfort women” as the ultimate victims in Korean society.

Key words: Mourning, Derrida, (im)possibility, Comfort Women, Nationalism

영화 <귀향>과 애도

논문초록: 영화 <귀향>은 두 한국인 “위안부” 여성을 통하여 과거와 현재를 연결하며, 그들의 삶과 고뇌, 애도를 그려낸다. 본 논문에서는 데리다의 애도 개념을 바탕으로 주요 등장인물과 영화가 구현하는 애도를 분석하며, <귀향>에서 재현된 애도가 한국인 관객에게 미치는 영향 또한 논하고자 한다. 그 과정에서, 재현된 “위안부”의 이미지에 반영되어 있는 가부장적, 국가주의적 이데올로기가 어떻게 “위안부”를 한국 사회 내 궁극적인 피해자로 위치시키는지 분석하고자 한다.

주제어: 애도, 데리다, (불)가능성, 위안부, 내셔널리즘

ŻAŁOBA I CIERPIENIE W FILMIE *SPIRITS' HOMECOMING*

Streszczenie: Film *Spirits' Homecoming* łączy przeszłość i terażniejszość za pośrednictwem sylwetek dwóch koreańskich kobiet i ujawnia ich życie, udrękę i żalobę. W oparciu o koncepcję żaloby Derridy, niniejszy artykuł analizuje żalobę głównych bohaterek filmu. Co więcej, koncentruje się na tym, jak koreańscy widzowie zareagowali na cierpienie prezentowane w *Spirits' Homecoming*. Artykuł stanowi także swoistą krytykę sposobu odzwierciedlenia panujących ideologii patriarchy i nacjonalizmu w omawianym filmie przy pomocy złożoności problemu *kobiet-pocieszycielek*. Film bowiem wskazuje przypisany przez wzmiankowane ideologie status *kobiet-pocieszycielek* jako ofiar.

Słowa kluczowe: żaloba, Derrida, (nie)możność, *kobiety-pocieszycielki*, nacjonalizm

1. Introduction

The movie *Spirits' Homecoming*, which deals with the issue of “comfort women”¹ has caused an unprecedented level of controversy in Korea without a doubt; in its opening week, the number of viewers exceeded one million and there was a lot of discussion regarding the movie on Korean websites. Among the discussion, the ‘popcorn argument’ is worth noting; it was about whether it is permissible to eat popcorn while watching *Spirits' Homecoming* in the cinema. The argument might seem pointless, still, the discussion was fierce and hot on the net; people protested anyone eating while watching *Spirits' Homecoming*. I believe this argument is significant,

¹ Among scholars and activists, the term “comfort women” and “sexual slaves” are both used to refer to Korean females who were forced into sexual slavery by the imperial Japanese Army during World War II. The compound term *ian-fu/wian-bu*(Japanese/Korean) reveals the views of a paternalistic state since it referred to an adult female(*fu/bu*) who provided sexual services to “comfort and entertain”(ian/wian) the soldiers (Soh 69). Since the term does not reflect the perspective of women who were enslaved and conscripted by the army, it is used with the quotation mark. As the “comfort women” issue gained an international attention following a series of United Nations Commission on Human Rights(UNCHR) hearings that began in 1992, the term “comfort women” became interchangeable with “sexual slaves” (Soh 72). Nevertheless, considering the degrading connotation in the term, Koreans still prefer to address the survivor as “comfort women” with the word “grandmother”(halmoni) as a polite form (Soh 72-73).

because it shows the discomfort the Korean population experiences regarding “comfort women”.

A similar argument occurred when notable movie critic Dong-jin Lee gave the score 2 out of 5 for *Spirits' Homecoming*. Lee only wrote two short phrases as the commentary on the movie: “Resentment over history. Sigh at the movie”² (Lee). This in turn has opened a wider debate on Lee and the role of critic: Lee was denounced by the claims that *Spirits' Homecoming* can not be the object of evaluation and/or critical analysis.

At first glance, Korean audience’s sanctification of the movie seems to be caused by two reasons: it is based on Korea’s history; and it deals with controversial issues including sexual violence and crime that actually happened in Korea. However, considering that no similar arguments about the attitude of audience and critic occurred regarding movies about the Korean war and history and sex crimes including *Silenced* (2011) and *Han Gong-ju* (2013)³, it is clear that the sanctification of the movie was caused by other reasons.

To jump to the conclusion, the arguments occurred due to the failure of mourning presented in the movie. This paper will explore the mourning of characters and the movie itself. Moreover, it will analyze patriarchal and nationalist ideologies which position the “comfort women” as the ultimate victims in Korean society.

2. Mourning of Characters

In the interview, the Director Jung-Rae Cho, who planned the movie for 14 years, states the movie was made to console and mourn the souls of the victims who could not come back to their homes⁴

² Lee, Dongjin. Home page. 3 Mar. 2016.

<<http://blog.naver.com/lifeisntcool/220644695793>>. 29 Nov. 2016. The original resource is written in Korean.

³ The film *Silenced* (2011) depicts the sexual abuses that occurred in 2000 at a school for disabled children by the staff and the film *Han Gong-ju*(2013) deals with the infamous Miryang gang rape case of 2004. Both movie led to the self-reflection of Korean society regarding female human right in vulnerable group, however, a nationally sensationalized controversy was not drawn by two movies.

⁴<<http://www.gobalnews.com/news/articleView.html?idxno=17653>>. The original resource is written in Korean.

(조정래). Withal, it seems dubious whether or not the mourning for the victims was possible through the movie.

It is necessary to understand the concept of Freud's mourning before discussing the concept of Derrida⁵. In "Mourning and Melancholia", Freud analyzes that mourning as "a reaction to the real loss of a loved object" (250). The mourner begins to sever emotional ties to the lost object and eventually completes the work of mourning: To Freud, mourning, "however painful it may be, comes to a spontaneous end" ("On Transience" 307). Therefore, the mourner "must relieve and then relinquish their attachment to the beloved, severing the memories and images that tie them to the dead in order to reconnect to the world of the living" (Kirkby 465).

Nevertheless, to Derrida, Freud's "normal" "work of mourning" (*Memoires* 34) is an "unjust betrayal" to the lost object because it "entails a movement in which an interiorizing idealization takes in itself" (*Memoires* 34) and thereby makes the other "a part of the us" (*Memoires* 35). Thus mourning is the "experience in the form of an aporia" where "success fails" (*Memoires* 35).

"[T]he other remains foreign in myself, it remains Other, it doesn't become part of myself. I cannot appropriate the other in myself so it is a failure in a work of mourning, but it is the only way of respecting the Otherness of the Other". ... "the only possible way of mourning is "the impossible mourning." (qtd. in Kirkby 466)

Derrida concludes, "mourning is interminable. Inconsolable. Irreconcilable" ("By Force" 143). In this regard, I will discuss the mourning of the characters and search for the possibility of impossible mourning for the issue of "comfort women".

The movie switches the point of view from 1943 to 1991 and reveals the past and present of women drafted by the Japanese military to become "comfort women". The main protagonist of the past is 14 years old Jung-Min. In the 90's, it is Young-Ok (Young-Hee in the past) and Eun-Kyung. A notable point in the movie is that Young-Ok is not the old figure of Jung-Min but Jung-Min's friend, Young-Hee whom Jung-Min saved by sacrificing her life. At the end of the movie,

⁵ Derrida's texts of mourning including *The Work of Mourning* and *MEMOIRES for Paul de Man* reveals Derrida's reserved and critical perspective forms variations of Freud's theories of mourning. (786)

Eun-Kyung, as a shaman, performs a traditional Korean ritual and Young-Ok mourns for Jung-Min's death. Through the medium of Eun-Kyung's ritual, Young-Ok confronts Jung-Min and asks Jung-Min's forgiveness for being alive instead of her.

At this point, the confrontation with the dead relies on the supernatural medium through Korea's traditional ritual, Sitgimgut⁶(씻김굿). During the ritual, the lost object suddenly reappears and intervenes in the relation with the subject. Jung-Min exists in the same space and time with the mourner, Young-Ok. It offers the direct reconciliation with the dead. There is no question that the process of Young-Ok's mourning is impossible mourning in the reality. Still, this impossibility has to be distinguished from Derrida's impossible possibility in true mourning.

Could a subject mourn for 'the other' in front of, and with 'the other'? To Derrida, "even when we speak to the dead simply to ask for their forgiveness, it is often because we do not wish to admit that the dead can no longer respond to us" (Brault and Naas 7). Therefore, it is the denial of both the death and the loss of a mourner. In this respect, the mourning through the ritual not only denies the rationality but also the possibility of mourning; since the deceased Jung-Min returns, she is no longer dead, and cannot be mourned. Therefore Young-Ok's mourning remains only as an impossible mourning of a victim for another victim. It loses the place for dead within us and the possibility of impossible mourning.

As a medium of mourning, Eun-Kyung is a character who also experiences the failure of mourning. Due to the trauma of sexual violence and her father's death, Eun-Kyung closes her mind and left to stay with a Shaman away from her mother. As Eun-Kyung shows the symptoms of autism, she could not perceive her loss; therefore Eun-Kyung is the character that could not even mourn for her father's death. Eun-Kyung lacks the ability to recognize both the life and death of her father. Again, the question returns to the ritual that Eun-Kyung performs: how should we interpret Young-Ok's mourning through Eun-Kyung's ritual if Eun-Kyung herself cannot carry out mourning?

The patriarchal and nationalist ideologies occupy the empty place of possibility for true mourning. For instance, Eun-Kyung's role

⁶ Sitgimgut is a shamanist ritual for cleaning dead person's soul to rest in Korea. The word Sitgim (씻김) is a noun-form of verb meaning 'cleaning' and gut (굿) is traditional rituals for spirits.

as the link between the past and the present deserves severe criticism. It is impossible to miss the allegorical intention of the director. Eun-Kyung's dead father represents Chosun Dynasty and the rapist/murderer represents the Empire of Japan. Through dreams or temporary moments in reality, Eun-Kyung directly encounters not only the "comfort women" in the past but also the abuse of Japanese soldiers. This setting identifies Eun-Kyung and all the "comfort women" as powerless abused girls. This generalization changes the key point of "comfort women" issue from the violation of basic human right, to the sexual assault on pure girls.

To return to the point, I believe Eun-Kyung's impossible state for mourning implies the failure of mourning of the movie itself. Even though director clearly asserts that the movie was made to console the souls of the victims, it seems like the movie's focus is quite different from the director's intention.

3. Mourning through the Movie

More than half of the movie presents the vivid image of violence conducted by the Japanese soldiers. The film provokes the audience's enagement based on male-centered paternalism and nationalism by presenting the "comfort women" as victims of sexual violence from another country, rather than encouraging the chance of mourning for a human being who suffered the war crimes.

For instance, the movie depicts the "comfort women" only as girls and emphasizes their innocent features. Further still, by putting forward the image of a girl, the symbol of purity, as the representation of "comfort women", the film effectively denies the Japanese Government's claim that most of "comfort women" were spontaneous prostitutes who have voluntarily followed the military base during the war.

Nevertheless, this method is only effective since the image of a girl can be interpreted as the opposite of a prostitute. Under the standard that distinguishes girls from prostitutes lies the hidden dichotomy of social bias which evaluates women based on the standard of chastity and sexual purity (최은주 253). The structural violence on a national scale of individuals in colonized countries cannot be justified whether the mobilization of the comfort women

was voluntary or coercive. However, refuting Japanese government's claim by arguing that they were girls, more precisely virgins, reveals that both countries are not free from the patriarchal nationalistic perspective of objectifying women.

Therefore, the questions remain open for *Spirits' Homecoming*: whom do we mourn and why do we mourn? Do we mourn for the people who were dehumanized through war crimes and colonialism of Empire of Japan or the death of a girl pictured in the movie? What makes a death of Jung-Min more worthy of grief, while death of Chinese "comfort women" and soldiers remains relatively unnoticed?

As Judith Butler points out in *Precarious Life*, the national politics and ideology certainly provides "a hierarchy of grief" (20) and distinguishes whose life is grievable. The ideology of a nation only highlights "a publicly grievable life" as "an icon for national self-recognition" (Butler 34).

[W]e have to ask about the conditions under which a grievable life is established and maintained, and through what logic of exclusion, what practice of effacement and denominalization. (Butler 38).

Presenting the issue of "comfort women" as grievable tragedy since they were 'our girls' who were 'taken'⁷ from 'us' not only reveal the patriarchal and nationalistic ideology in the society, but also limit the possibility of true mourning.

If the movie only shows how tragic the event was by displaying exploited young bodies, then it only causes pornographic consumption of a tragedy. The background and the afterward of the war should be considered together and exhaustive reflection is required as to how humans actualize the idea of using another human being as a tool, why it was limited only to specific gender and nationality, and how it should be understood and mourned at the present.

However, *Spirits' Homecoming* does not give any answers to those questions and only offers mourning through supernatural ritual

⁷ It should be noted that the first sentence in the trailer of film is "200K GIRLS TAKEN TO THE COMFORT STATION". Since it clearly groups all "comfort women" as "girls" who were "taken," it triggers questions such as why the victims of "comfort women" have to be referred only as "girls" instead of "Korean" or "Korean female" and why it should be emphasized that they were "taken"?

and resolving individual's grief as a conclusion. The movie intends to mourn for the dead "comfort women," still and all the audience experiences the failure of mourning through the movie.

At the last scene of the movie, the butterflies from the dead bodies of "comfort women" cross the land and return to their hometown⁸. As Psyche means a butterfly and spirit in Greek, this scene literally presents the spirits' homecoming. However, the movie does not just end with the returns of psyche. The audience soon encounters with the ending credit filled with 75,270 names. The names on the ending credit outnumber butterflies and it is even longer than the scene of spirits' return. The names of people and institutions that supported the movie were displayed with the drawn pictures of the survivors. It groups people who have supported the "comfort women" and who have not.

As the movie incarnates severe dichotomy⁹ of good/bad, innocent/wicked, woman/man, and Korean/Japanese, it affects the audience powerfully and triggers guiltiness and anger based on the nationality. National ideology 'calls' the audience and requests that they be involved in 'us' by showing the list of people that supported 'our' daughters of a nation who lost their purity, which is assumed to be the most important value of women.

Of course, no one can raise an objection to the fact that the Empire of Japan violated the basic human right and committed the war crimes. Nonetheless, if the audience truly experiences mourning through the movie, the rage should be directed toward the imperialism and totalitarianism of the Empire of Japan. However, the criticism targets the Japanese government and people in the present. If we headed for nationalism, it would be impossible to mourn over the victims of the war caused by the Empire of Japan's extreme nationalism.

⁸ In here, all the individuality disappears and "comfort women" become a single united mass. Individual experience of economic, politic, domestic situation in colonized country is not concerned in the return of spirits. Who can imagine that all the "comfort women" were eager to go back to the colonized nation and patriarchal society which regarded them as a national disgrace?

⁹ Although the movie does not fear to present a good Japanese soldier, even so, he soon get murdered for not following the military order to kill the "comfort women." Paradoxically, the group of Japanese soldier remains as the bad group which a good Japanese individual can not survive and dichotomous standard dividing Korea/Japan and victim/murderer became stronger.

Director Cho states that *Spirits' Homecoming* was made by the idea that the dead “comfort women”’s spirits would return every time the movie was screened and it contains a desperate longing for a world without war. The director also adds that he didn’t want to simply denunciate Japan or dare to console the anguish of survivors¹⁰(김용만). That is why the movie should not conclude with anti-Japan sentiment, even though it is hard to not feel the animosity toward Japan after watching the film.

4. Possibility of Mourning

The surviving “comfort women” have protested for a sincere apology from the Japanese government for decades and they are witnesses of history and Japanese war crimes. They are the subjects who work as activists for women’s right and anti-violence even at this moment. Therefore, it is not appropriate to frame them as the objects of unconditional mourning or vulnerable daughters of a nation. In this regard, the term “comfort women grandmother” should not be used. The collective appellation of survivors as our grandmothers “obscures their individual personhood” and “ignores their diverse social backgrounds prior to their mobilization as comfort women, and their disparate postwar life stories” (Soh 76).

In this respect, the only significant scene through out the movie is when Young-Ok cries out, “I am that crazy woman.”¹¹ Young-Ok defines herself as the surviving “comfort woman” in the community service center and positions herself as the individual subject, not as the ineffective and silenced victims.

A Japanese scholar, Chizuko Ueno argues that the testimonials of “comfort women” are shocking for two reasons: the cruelty of issue in real history and the society’s long silence on the issue which lasted for 50 years from the war (우에노 99). It is also notable that most of comfort women issue were interpreted from the

¹⁰<http://star.ohmynews.com/NWS_Web/OhmyStar/at_pg.aspx?CNTN_CD=A0002184754>. The original resource is written in Korean.

¹¹ Young-Ok visits the community center to report herself as a survivor of “comfort women.” While hesitating, she overheard the conversation between the staff arguing “it is crazy to report oneself as comfort women.”

Korean male perspective and regarded as a disgrace for the nation. Young-Ok's crying reveals her desperate effort to be positioned as "subject" and to escape from the position of "victim" fixed by Korean patriarchal ideology.

If the movie sincerely desired to mourn for the victims of national ideology of Empire of Japan, it should have paid more attention to the portrayals of individuals as a subject and their eternal mourning rather than focusing on grouping all "comfort women" as powerless young girls or 'our' grandmother.

The 'Statue of Peace'(the Comfort Woman Statue) might offer breakthrough to the failure of mourning presented in the movie. The monument was erected on the 1000th weekly demonstration; the surviving "comfort women," civic groups, and individuals have been holding the 'Wednesday Demonstration' in front of the Japanese embassy in Korea since 1992. On the shoulders of a statue, a bird lies which represents peace and freedom and on the chest there is a butterfly symbolizing the reincarnation. The empty chair next to the statue signifies the spirits of "comfort women" who have passed away (최은주 244-45).

Even though this statue was also criticized for representing "comfort women" only as girls and the underlying dichotomy of distinguishing women, this paper will focus on the empty chair and the gaze of a statue, not the representation of figure. The statue of chair next to a girl is not just a chair, it is always interpreted as an empty chair without the sitter. The emptiness of a chair directly reveals the absence of a person's presence. This person can not be named or identified, since the chair does not tell anything about a sitter. However, we see the emptiness through the chair, and we know that something has gone, disappeared and lost, without even knowing what it is.

We may be able to imagine what she/he would be and how she/he has lived but it will always fail, since the presented emptiness rejects to be identified, it remains only as the image of death. Can we mourn for someone who we know nothing of and share no personal memory while avoiding a hierarchy of grief provided by national politics and ideology? It might not be possible, but in impossible mourning of Derrida, it might be.

[T]he *being-to-death* of an image that has the force *that is nothing other than the force, to resist, to consist, and to exist* in death, precisely there

where it does not insist in being or in the presence of being. This *being-to-death* would oblige us to think the image not as the weakened reproduction of what it would imitate, ... but as the increase of power, the origin, in truth, of authority, ... in the image of the dead. ("By Force" 147)

The statue of an empty chair carries the powerful force which insists to remain as something unknown and unnamable other, as an image of being the dead.

Moreover, this emptiness emphasizes the presence of a figure and its gaze. Without any facial expression, the statue is sitting on the chair while gazing forward; it is not a mere object for our gaze. It gazes toward us. The gaze of an image, as Derrida has argued, it is not just the indication of "a mere rhetorical commonplace" ("By Force" 161).

The one who looks at us in us--and *for whom* we are--is no longer; he is completely other, infinitely other, ... This gaze is his, and it will always remain his, infinitely; it comes from him singularly, from him alone, ... Far away in us. In us, there where this power of the image comes to open the being-far-away. This excess also brings about the limitless enlargement of the image. Its power of dilation gives it its greatest force in the mourning of the absolute of "force." ("By Force" 161)

This gaze of the statue assigns us the force of the mourning. As Derrida's model of mourning is "an ongoing conversation with the dead" who continues to look at us, the look of a dead is "a call to responsibility and transformation" (Kirkby 461). We hold the responsibility for the other, for the dead, and for the "comfort women" to speak to us from far-away within us. The mourning may be possible not through the enragement provoked by nationalism in the movie, but by facing the gaze of a statue, sitting on the empty chair next to it, and trying impossible mourning for someone whose name and face remains unknown as the infinite other.

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A STUDY ON THE ASPECTS OF EUROCENTRISM AND DIFFUSIONISM REPRESENTED IN FOREIGNERS' TRAVEL RECORDS ON KOREA IN EARLY 1900s¹

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Abstract: This paper deals with three different perspectives appeared in foreign visitors' records on Korea in 1900s. Jack London was a writer who wrote novels highly critical of American society based on progressivism. However, when his progressive perspective was adopted to report the political situation of Korea in 1904, he revealed a typical perspective of orientalism. He regarded Korea and ways of living in Korea as disgusting and 'uncivilized.'

Compared with Jack London's perspective, French poet Georges Ducrocq's book was rather favorable. He visited Korea in 1901 and he showed affectionate attitude toward Korea and its people. However, his travel report, *Pauvre et Douce Coree*, can be defined as representing aesthetic orientalism. He tried to make all the 'Korean things' seem beautiful and nice, but it is true that this kind of view can also conceal something concrete and specific. This perspective at once beautifies Korea and also conceals

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the reality about Korea.

E. Burton Holmes was a traveler and he often used his ‘motion-picture’ machine to record things he witnessed while travelling around worldwide countries. So, his report (travelogue) and motion picture film on Korea written and made in 1901 was based on close observation and rather objective point of view. Nonetheless, he couldn’t avoid the perspective of the colonizer’s model of the world, in other words, geographical diffusionism of western culture.

Key words: the other, representation, progressivism, orientalism, aesthetic orientalism, travelogue, geographical diffusionism

20세기 초반 외국인 여행기에 나타난 유럽중심주의와 전파론의 양상

논문초록: 본고는 20세기 초반 한국(대한제국)을 방문한 3명의 외국 작가의 글을 검토한다. 잭 런던의 직선적 진보의식에 기초한 오리엔탈리즘이 타자를 유럽(서구)중심의 기준에 맞춰 무한히 상대화하면서 스스로의 우월성을 강조한다면 조르주 뒤크로의 심미적 오리엔탈리즘은 타자의 구체적 상황과 갈등과 내적 변모 과정을 무화시키는 정서적 태도에 의존함으로써 타자를 항구적 불변의 지위에 두려한다. 그런가 하면 버튼 홈스는 사용하는 매체의 특징에 따라 객관적 관찰자의 시점을 유지하려는 노력을 기울인다. 그러나 그 역시 근대적 확산론의 전제를 수용하고 있다.

잭 런던의 편협한 진보주의와 조르주 뒤크로의 복고적이고 심미화된 오리엔탈리즘, 그리고 버튼 홈스의 객관적 태도와 그것의 이면에 놓인 근대적 확산의 시계는 20세기 초 조선을 방문한 민간인 외국인들의 시선을 전형적 구도로 보여준다고 하겠다.

주제어: 타자, 표상, 방문기, 오리엔탈리즘, 심미화, 근대적 확산

STUDIUM NAD EUROCENTRYZMEM I DYFUZJONIZMEM W POŚWIĘCONYCH KOREI DZIENNIKACH ZAGRANICZNYCH PODRÓŻNIKÓW Z POCZĄTKU XX WIEKU

Streszczenie: Ten artykuł dotyczy trzech różnych perspektyw jakie pojawiły się w dokumentach zagranicznych gości na temat Korei w początkach XX wieku. Jack London był pisarzem, który pisał powieści bardzo krytyczne w stosunku do społeczeństwa amerykańskiego. Gdy jednak w 1904 roku przyjęto jego postępową perspektywę, opisując sytuację polityczną w Korei, ujawnił on typowy pogląd orientalizmu. Uważał, że Korea i sposób życia Koreańczyków są obrzydliwe i „niecywilizowane”. W porównaniu z punktem widzenia Jacka Londona, książka francuskiego poety Georgesa Ducroca przedstawiała Koreę raczej w korzystnym świetle. Odwiedził Koreę w 1901 roku i okazywał uczuciową postawę wobec Korei i jej

mieszkańców. Jednak jego sprawozdanie z podróży, *Pauvre et Douce Coree*, można określić jako reprezentatywny orientalizm estetyczny. Starał się, by wszystkie „koreańskie sprawy” wydały się piękne i miłe, ale prawdą jest, że taki pogląd może ukryć coś konkretnego. Ta perspektywa od samego początku upiększa Koreę, a także w tym samym czasie ukrywa rzeczywisty obraz Korei. E. Burton Holmes był podróżnikiem i często używał swojego „aparatu fotograficznego” do nagrywania rzeczy, których był świadkiem podczas podróży po całym świecie. Tak więc jego reportaże (*travelogue*) i film fabularny o Korei z 1901 roku opierały się na ścisłej obserwacji i raczej obiektywnym punkcie widzenia. Niemniej jednak nie mógł on uniknąć perspektywy modelu kolonizatora świata, innymi słowy, geograficznego dyfuzjonizmu.

Słowa kluczowe: inność, reprezentatywność, postępowość, orientalizm, estetyczny orientalizm, dziennik z podróży, dyfuzjonizm geograficzny

Introduction: How can we interpret ‘otherness’?

‘The other (他者)’ is an ambivalent object of desire and fear. In *Strangers, Gods and Monsters*, Richard Kearney shows how the human outlook on the world is formed by three figurative characteristics of strangers, gods and monsters. He shows how our basic fears and desires manifest themselves in the external world, especially we try to interpret otherness and represent ‘the other.’ Exactly in this context, we can say the Orient has been the other of modern western worlds (Kearney: 2002).

Stuart Hall asks “Where and what is ‘the West’?” He argues “West” and “western” represent very complex ideas and have no simple or single meaning. Although these words, including the supposed counterparts “East”, “eastern”, may seem to be about matters of geography location, he premises that “the West” is a historical, not a geographical, construct. By “western”, we usually mean the type of a society that is industrialized, urbanized, capitalist, secular, and modern. In conclusion, Stuart Hall argues that “the West” is also an idea, a concept. He says it provides a standard or model of comparison. Accordingly, non-western societies can be said be “close to” or “far away from” or “catching up with” the West. Also, it provides criteria of evaluation against which other societies are ranked and around which powerful positive and negative feelings

cluster. In short, Stuart Hall argues that the concept or the idea of “the West” functions as an ideology (Hall: 1992).

Considering above explanations, how can we interpret otherness? We need to examine the foreigners travel records in early 1900s to explain three conspicuous aspects on Korea and to explain how “the Western” functions as a criterion, concept or an idea in their ways of viewing “the Orient.”

Young Socialist’s Eurocentrism and Orientalism

In 1904, American novelist and journalist Jack London (1876-1916) came to Korea as a newspaper correspondent to cover the Russo-Japanese War. He arrived at Jemulpo (Incheon) after hours’ sailing from Japan. Following Japanese army heading for Ping Yang, he wrote articles and reports based on what he had witnessed in Korea. Before examining his reports, we need to notice that he was a young socialist around the time he visited Korea. He wrote an essay, ‘How I became a socialist’ in 1905. He had a strong faith in socialist revolution. The fact that he was a progressive writer eludes many things and gives a key to read his writings on Korea and Korean people. In that sense, we need to pay attention to a subtle matter. It was the feudalism of Korea and feudalistic attitudes of Korean people he couldn’t stand and annoyed him most. Let’s have a look at the passages from Jack London’s reports.

The Korean has finer features, but the vital lack in his face is strength. He is soft and effeminate when compared with the strong breeds, and whatever strength has been his in the past has been worked out of him by centuries of corrupt government. He is certainly the most inefficient of human creatures, lacking all initiative and achievement, and the only thing in which he shines is the carrying of the burdens on his back. As a draught animal and packhorse he is a success. And yet, I am confined-ay, willing to lay odds-that my own breed can beat him at his own game. (London1970: 44)

In short, the first weeks of a white traveler on Korean soil are anything but pleasant. If he were a man of sensitive organization he would spend most of his time under compelling sway of two alternating desires. The first is to kill Koreans; the second is to commit suicide. Personally, I prefer the first. But, now consider myself fairly immune and have reasonable hopes of surviving the trip.

The Japanese may be the Britisher of the Orient, but he is still Asiatic. (London 1970: 47)

To Jack London, Korean people are regarded as the most inefficient and helpless even compared with the Japanese and the Chinese. It needs to be mentioned that his downcast eyes are based on Eurocentric view of the world. All the manners and customs are evaluated by the western criteria. He wrote Japan is more developed and civilized nation. It's because the Japanese people are closer to his own ideas of "the West than the Korean. However, his Eurocentrism and Orientalism were still working when it's the case of the comparison of Japan and "the West. Let's have another look at his 'reports.'

The Japanese resembles a precocious child who talks philosophy one moment, and the next moment is making mud pies. One moment he is acting with the wisdom of the West and the next moment with the childishness of the East. (London 1970: 124)

Samir Amin defines the unconscious motto of Eurocentrism as just one sentence: Imitate 'the west', the best one of the possible worlds! (Amin: 2010) As a socialist, Jack London criticized obsolete and rigid social systems of the East Asian countries, but as a progressive writer, he adopted the linear model of development, which made Korea and other East Asian countries seem "far away from" or "catching up with" the West. What was important to Jack London was the distance and differences between Korea and the West.

Aesthetic Orientalism

Georges Ducrocq (1847-1927) was a French poet and diplomat. He visited Korea in 1901, and after he returned home, he wrote a book,

Pauvre et douce Corée (1904), the poor and gentle Korea. Compared with Jack London's attitude, Georges Ducrocq's one is rather favorable to Korea. In his book, he often expressed affectionate attitude toward Korea and Korean people.

Above sunny thatched cottages, narrow courses where pots breathe and winding alleys, rises a little blue cloud, when a light breeze is blowing. It means there are women keeping cooking fires from extinguishing. So happiness is everywhere. (Ducrocq 2001: 68)

No one is rushing. The sun shines brightly a breeze blows lightly. Koreans are happy and carefree in this peaceful country. (Ducrocq 2001: 130)

The above passages show typical features of Georges Ducrocq's sentences. He depicts a sight first and then, as such, he describes the feeling and emotion of the people, mostly happiness.

Facial expressions reveal no anxiety, and they have thin dreamy eyes. Their behaviors shows carelessness and good nature. That's because they have been totally accustomed to their persistent poverty. So their disdain for modern life is easily noticed. They do not want to lose that tranquility. (Ducrocq 2001: 74)

We might ask, "Are they really happy or do they just look happy to him? That makes the big differences. Does 'disdain for modern life' belong to Korean people or Ducrocq himself? Georges Ducrocq's retrospective attitude is closely related to an "aesthetical view" of the world. Terry Eagleton argues that the term "aesthetic" in modern European ideas means the ideological model which resolves and simultaneously conceals the contradiction between the concrete and the abstract, and also between the particular and the universal (Eagleton: 1990). In that context, we can define Georges Ducrocq's perspective as a sort of 'aesthetical orientalism.' Compared with Jack London's harsh reports, Georges Ducrocq's book leaves a favorable impression at first look, but it is involved with another problem. He tried to regard all the 'Korean things' as fine and beautiful, but it can be said that this kind of view might also conceal something specific and real. This perspective at once

beautifies Korea and conceals the hard situation of Korea and adversity of ordinary Korean people during that period. It seems more evident when compared with a passage from Isabella S. Bird Bishop's book, *Korea & Her Neighbours (1898)*, which was written right after her visit to Korea.

There are innumerable peasant farmers who have gone on reducing their acreage of culture year by year, owing to the exactions and forced loans of magistrates and yang-bans, and who now only raise what will enable them to procure three meals a day. It is not wonderful that classes, whose manifest destiny is to be squeezed, should have sunk down to a dead level of indifference, inertia, apathy, and listlessness.

In spite of reforms, the Korean nation still consists of but two classes, the Robbers and the Robbed, - the official class recruited from the *yang-ban*, the licensed vampires of the country, and the *Ha-in*, literally "low men," a residuum of fully four-fifths of the population, whose *raison d'être* is to supply the blood for the vampires to suck. (Bishop 1898: 280-281.)

Compared with Bishop's description, Georges Ducrocq's attitude can be more clearly explained. It beautifies but it misses. That's the way Terry Eagleton's definition of "the aesthetic" goes.

Diffusionism and the Scopic Regime of Modernity

Burton Holmes (1870-1958) was an American traveler, photographer and filmmaker. He travelled all around the world and took photographs and filmed what he observed. He was the first person to put all his records into documentary travel lectures. He invented the word, travelogues. He visited Korea in 1901 and filmed what he saw during his visit. After returning to America, He made travelogues on Korea named, *Seoul, the capital of Korea*.

Actually, he filmed the ordinary Korean people's life. Due to that, he was invited to the palace and could meet the King.

He presented his motion picture at the court, and that's the first screening of the movie in Korean history.

Along with Isabella S. Bird Bishop's rigid realism, Burton Holmes's work is quite respectful. He was always trying to keep an unbiased, unprejudiced eye on what he was witnessing and filming. Especially, comparing with Jack London's reports and George Ducrocq's book, we can say that he kept objective eyes on things. However, his perspective also has blind spots.

Through that medieval arch (the West Gate of Seoul) run trolley-wires and tram car tracks, over it telegraph and telephone wires are festooned; for the spider of modern enterprise is spinning its web of steel about this dormant Oriental metropolis. But just as clanging, chunking car comes arrogantly bursting through the gate, an official sedan-chair, borne silently and with slow dignity in the opposite direction, tells us that the manners and methods of the Middle Ages still persist in the quaint city of Seoul despite the advent of electricity. Sharp indeed are contrasts. (Holmes 1908: 20-21)

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Quoted passage typically reveals ‘diffusionism’ based on the model of linear development of modernity. J.M. Blaut defines ‘diffusionism’ as followings.

When culture change takes place in a human community, that change can be the result of an invention that occurred within this community. Or it can be the result of a process in which the idea or its material effect (such as a tool, an art style, etc.) came into the community, having originated in some other community, in some

other part of the landscape. The first sort of event is called “independent invention.” The Second is called “diffusion.” (Blaut 1993: 11)

J.M. Blaut is arguing that diffusionists axiomatically accepts the Inside-Outside model, the notion that the world as a whole has one permanent center from which culture-changing ideas trend to originate, and a vast periphery that changes as a result (mainly) of diffusion from that single center. As quoted above, Burton Holmes is saying “modern enterprise is spinning its web of steel about this dormant Oriental metropolis.” Also, he is saying, “the modernizing of Seoul is inevitable.” (Holmes 1908: 35)

Diffusionists’ belief is that the center (usually “the West”) of the civilization naturally progresses and modernizes and it spreads its material and cultural effects to vast peripheral parts of the world. In that sense, we can argue that Burton Holmes’ perspective can be regarded as typical diffusionist’s one, although he is a good observer. Considering that he often used the expression “as in more civilized communities”, we could ascertain the points explained above.

Conclusion

As we have discussed, Eurocentrism or diffusionism is not the matter of geography or location. As Stuart Hall pointed out, if “the West” is a conceptual construct, “the East” is also a construct. Even Korea in 21st century might sometimes be regarded as the right center of ‘Eurocentrism in Asia.’ Thus, we need to remember that the center and periphery of civilization or modernization is also a notion of construct. Civilizations don’t develop in an upright linear order. Korea, as in other parts of the world, can no longer be considered as a dormant land of hermits. That’s why we have to ask the same question as Samir Amin asked.

How can we move towards a non-(Euro)centric view of history and culture now?

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***KOREA: KLUCZ DALEKIEGO WSCHODU* (1905) AND WAŁAW SIEROSZEWSKI'S VIEW OF KOREA**

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Abstract: The aim of this paper is to review Waław C. Sieroszewski's (1858-1945) view of Korea. He, well-known Polish writer, traveled to Korea, i. e., Daehan Empire (大韓帝國), in fall of 1903, and published *Korea: Klucz Dalekiego Wschodu* (1905). Considering that most of travelogues of Korea were written by American, British, French, and German, so-called "Western powers," *KKDW* was a pretty valuable book.

The author believes that Western view of Korea was notably changed around the late eighteenth century. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Europeans did not ignore or belittle Korea and Korean. They regarded Korea as a rich and well-systemized country, and Korean as an intelligent nation, although they had very little knowledge of Korea. On the other hand, generally speaking, they degraded Korea and Korean in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and Sieroszewski was one of them. Poland was one of the weakest countries in Europe, but his view was not different from that of American, British, French, and German authors.

Sieroszewski was favorably impressed by Japan before he came to Korea in October, 1903, and, as a result, he constantly compared Korea and Japan. He even wrote that Japan was better than Europe in some ways. He truly believed that Japan was the only country to carry out a desirable reform for Korea. Meanwhile, he never approved the Russia's imperialist ambition

for Korea. He considered Japan as an agent of the West. In conclusion, his idea of Korea and the East was quite similar to that of other contemporary Western travelers.

Key words: Waclaw C. Sieroszewski (1858-1945), *Korea: Klucz Dalekiego Wschodu* (1905), Western supremacy, modern civilization, Japan

KOREA: KLUCZ DALEKIEGO WSCHODU (1905) I POGLĄDY WACLAWA SIEROSZEWSKIEGO NA TEMAT KOREI

Streszczenie: Celem pracy jest dokonanie przeglądu poglądów na temat Korei Waclawa C. Sieroszewskiego (1858-1945). Ten znany polski pisarz wyjechał do Korei to jest tak zwanego imperium Daehan (大韓帝國) jesienią 1903 r. Następnie opublikował książkę o Korei: *Klucz Dalekiego Wschodu* (1905) (KDW). Biorąc pod uwagę, że większość dzienników z podróży do Korei została napisana przez amerykańskich, brytyjskich, francuskich i niemieckich pisarzy z tak zwanych „mocarstw zachodnich”, KDW stanowi cenne źródło informacji.

Słowa kluczowe: Waclaw C. Sieroszewski (1858-1945), *Korea: Klucz Dalekiego Wschodu* (1905), zachodnia supremacja, nowoczesna cywilizacja, Japonia

„극동의 열쇠 한국”(1905)과 웨로세프스키의 한국 인식

초록: 본 논문은 폴란드 작가 바츠와프 웨로세프스키 (Waclaw C. Sieroszewski, 1858~1945)의 저서 『극동의 열쇠 한국 (Korea : Klucz Dalekiego Wschodu)』 (1905)에 나타난 한국 인식을 검토하려는 목적에서 집필되었다. 『극동의 열쇠 한국』은 19세기 말과 20세기 초에 양산된 서양인들의 한국견문록 중 거의 유일하게 폴란드인이 작성한 책으로, 대다수의 한국 관계 문헌이 미국, 영국, 프랑스, 독일 등 소위 서양 열강 여행자들의 것임을 고려할 때 상당히 희소성 높은 자료라고 평가할 수 있다. 서양인들이 한국을 바라보는 방식은 18세기 후반에 시작된 서구 세계의 변화와 함께 달라졌다. 가령 17~18세기의 유럽인들은 한국에 관한 지식이 극히 빈약하였으나, 한국을 선불리 무시하거나 경멸하지는 않았던 것 같다. 그 이유는 당시 세계 질서에서 아시아가 차지하고 있었던 우월한 지위 때문이라고 생각된다. 그들은 서구 문명보다 중국 문명을 높이 평가하였고, 경제적으로도 아시아에 의존하고 있었던 것이다. 반면 19세기 이후 ‘서구의 시대’에 출간된 한국 관계 문헌들은 한국에 대한 비하를 기본 자세로 삼았던 듯하다. 『극동의 열쇠 한국』도 마찬가지이다. 저자 웨로세프스키의 모국 폴란드는 당시 유럽에서 가장 허약한 나라 중 하나였으나, 그가 한국을 보던

눈은 서양 강대국 출신 사람들의 그것과 별다른 차이가 없었던 것으로 판단된다. 웨로세프스키는 끊임없이 한국과 일본을 대비시켰다. 1903년 10월 한국에 오기 전 일본에 체류하면서 대단히 긍정적인 인상을 받았기 때문이다. 그는 어떤 점에서는 일본이 유럽보다 낫다고 할 만큼 일본에 매료되었다. 그리하여 오직 일본만이 한국을 위하여 바람직한 개혁을 시행할 것이라고 확신한 반면, 같은 유럽 국가인 러시아의 지배욕에 관해서는 (폴란드가 러시아의 지배를 받고 있었던 것도 이유가 되겠지만) 조금도 호응하지 않았다. 즉, 그는 일본을 동아시아에서 서양의 대체자로 간주한 것인데, 이 또한 미국, 영국, 프랑스, 독일 등지에서 한국을 보러 왔던 이들의 입장과 흡사한 것으로 해석된다.

주제어: 바츠와프 웨로세프스키 (Wacław C. Sieroszewski, 1858~1945), 『극동의 열쇠 한국 (Korea: Klucz Dalekiego Wschodu)』 (1905), 서구우월주의, 근대 문명, 일본

1. Introduction

This paper analyzes *Korea: Klucz Dalekiego Wschodu* (1905), which was written by Wacław C. Sieroszewski (1858-1945), notable Polish writer, who traveled to Korea in October and November, 1903. *KKDW* was translated in Korean in 2006 under the title of “Korea in Fall of 1903: The Travels to the Korean Empire of Sieroszewski, Russian Scholar.”¹ It appears that “Russian” was chosen because he was Polish under Russian rule from birth until the Republic of Poland was built in November 1918.

In Korea, there has been relatively little attention on him,² and *KKDW* really has not been studied. The only paper about *KKDW* was

¹ *KKDW* was translated by those who studied Russian literature, based on the third Russian version in 1909.

² There are a few papers on his novel, *Ol-soni, kisań* (1906), based on Korean life in the late nineteenth century. Lee Min-Hee, “The Historical Understanding of Poland in the Korean Literature in about 1900.” *Comparative Literature*, Vol. 26, Korean Comparative Literature Association, 2001; Choi Sung-Eun, “An Oriental Culture Boom in the Western Literature between the Late 19th and the Early 20th Centuries Discovered by a Study Focused on Poland Literature.” *The Journal of Central & East European Studies*, Vol. 4, No. 1, Institute of Central and East European Studies, 2002.

written by An Sang-Hoon (2012), one of the translators. He assumed that Western literature on Korea was based on Orientalism, not on objective point of view. He understood Westerners' view of Korea before Sieroszewski as "taxidermied Orientalism." It means their idea had been fixed for a long time. He also thought that Sieroszewski's view of Korea was an imitation of Westerners' one before him, and regarded it as "copied Orientalism."³

However, as regards An's argument, the author does not think that Westerners' Orientalism or their view of Korea had been so fixed. She believes that there was a big difference of worldview between the medieval Europe and the modern Western world. She tries to find out the significance of *KKDW* considering the history of Western literature on Korea, while An used Orientalism.

In the first chapter, the author argues that Westerners' view of Korea before Sieroszewski had never been the same, analyzing some literature regarded as very meaningful: the writing of Hendrik Hamel (1630-1692), Dutch crewman, Jean-Baptiste du Halde (1674-1743), French priest from the Society of Jesus, Claude-Charles Dallet (1829-1878), French priest from the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris, and William E. Griffis (1843-1928), American writer and pastor.

In the second chapter, she researches how he traveled to Korea and viewed the country based on *KKDW*. She finds out that he did not have plenty of time for researching Korea, he consulted very limited resources, and that he did not find any similarities between Poland and Korea or between Polish and Korean.

2. Change of Westerners' View of Korea

A. Respect for Korea in the Seventeenth and the eighteenth Centuries

The first Western literature on Korea which we should review is *Journal van de Ongelukige Voyagie van't Jacht de Sperwer* (Journal of the Unfortunate Voyage of Sparrowhawk) (1668), which was written by Hamel who survived a shipwreck on Jeju Island in 1653

³ An Sang-Hoon, "Orientalism and Waclaw Sieroszewski's Korea." *Slavic Studies*, Vol. 28, No. 4, Institute of Russian Studies, Hankuk University of Foreign University of Foreign Studies, 2012.

and escaped to Japan in 1666. He wrote a report to the Dutch East India Company, which was published in Holland in 1668 regardless his will, and translated in French, English, Spanish, and German.⁴

Frédéric Boulesteix (2001), French researcher of comparative literature, pointed out that he misunderstood it as an insular country.⁵ However, as a matter of fact, he wrote “there is a range of mountains on the border between China and Korea,”⁶ which means he knew that Korea was a peninsula. In addition, he wrote that Korea overflowed with rice, barley, millet, cotton, and ginseng in spite of lack of his own food.⁷ Korea was abundant in food and resource in his eyes.

With reference to politics, he wrote that Korea was subject to Japan and China, and it paid a tremendous amount of tribute to China, its suzerain state.⁸ However, it does not seem that he understood that Korea was under Chinese direct control. According to his observation, the Korean king reigned over his country in his way, and there was no feudal lord who had their own land in Korea. He had a general idea on the Korean diplomacy and ruling system as a result of long-term stay in Korea.

Hamel also observed social and cultural phenomena in Korea, such as military system, punishment, idol worship, Buddhist faith, dwellings, accommodations, marriage, status of women, education, national examinations for government employees, filial piety, funeral, view of the world, weights and measures, and letters and books, etc. He wrote that Korean people were mild, gentle, and religious although they tended to deceive others.

According to Boulesteix, Hamel saw Korea in two different ways, “land of knowledge and manner” and “land of savage and barbarism.” On the contrary, Dutch researcher, like Bouldewijn Walraven (2006), argued his view of Korea was quite positive and friendly. The author agrees with the latter. He did not judge or criticize about Korea and its people, even though his thirteen-year life in Korea was not good at all.

⁴ Hendrik Hamel, *Hamel's Report*. Translated by Yoo Dong-Ik, Seoul: Chungang M & B, 2003, pp. 112-120.

⁵ Frédéric Boulesteix, *Nice Savage, Oriental Sage*. Translated by Lee Hyang and Kim Jeong-Yeon, Seoul: Cheongnyeonsa, 2001, p. 33.

⁶ Hendrik Hamel, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 69. Hamel thought that Korea was subject to Japan because of Japanese trade center in Busan.

Sixty-seven years later, *Description géographique, historique, chronologique, politique et physique de l'Empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie chinoise* (Description on Geography, History, Chronology, Politics, and Nature of the Qing Empire and Manchurian Chinese) (1735) was published in Paris. It was a four-volume compilation of letters, reports, and translation of Chinese records by Jesuit missionaries in China. Translated by English, German, and Russian, it satisfied the European desire for knowledge on China and greatly affected on Westerners' understanding of China in the eighteenth century.⁹

It contains two Korea-related articles. One is "Observations géographiques sur le royaume de Corée (An Observation of Geography in Korea)," the other is "Histoire abrégée de la Corée (A Brief Korean History)." Their original author was Jean-Baptiste Régis (1663-1738), missionary and geographer in China. He had never been in Korea, so he wrote them based on Chinese books—*Qianquejuleishu* (潛確居類書) by Chenrenxi (陳仁錫, 1581-1636), *Guangyuyi* (廣輿記) and *Fangyushenglüe* (方輿勝略) by Tingbai'er (程百二, 1577-1619)—, and stories from Chinese and Korean envoys.¹⁰ It does not seem that Hamel's report affected on his articles.

Unlike Hamel wrote about what he saw, heard, and experienced in Korea, Régis wrote about Korean history a lot, such as Old Joseon (古朝鮮), Buyeo (夫餘), Three Kingdoms (三國), Goryeo (高麗), and Joseon (朝鮮), etc. He depended only on fragments from Chinese literature. As a result, his Korean history contained a lot of contents relevant to China, and it was not very accurate.

Régis wrote about Korea and Korean as follows. First of all, Korea is a mountainous and fertile land. It produces excellent trade goods, such as ginseng and paper. Secondly, Korea has good social systems in land, appointment, and punishment, etc. Thirdly, Korean is gentle, kind, generous, and fond of learning, music, and dancing.¹¹ In general, his perspective was pretty positive. There was no criticism or

⁹ Shim Tae-Shik, "A Review of Description on Geography, History, Chronology, Politics, and Nature of the Qing Empire and Manchurian Chinese by Du Halde." *The Journal of Chinese Studies*, Vol. 30, Chinese Studies Institute, Korea University, 2010.

¹⁰ Chun Jong-Ho, "L'image de la Chine et de la Corée vue par les jésuites dans la Description de l'empire de la Chine de Jean-Baptiste du Halde." *The Journal of Humanities, Sogang University*, Vol. 44, Humanities Research Institute, Sogang University, 2015, pp. 236-237.

¹¹ J. B. du Halde, *Description géographique, historique, chronologique, politique et physique de l'Empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie chinoise*. Vol. 4, Paris: P. G. le Mercier, 1735, p. 448.

judgment, except he wrote that Seonjo (宣祖, 1567-1608), the fourteenth king of Joseon, was a debauched person.

Why was Régis favorable to Korea? The author believes that it was relevant to the Jesuit missionary policy of accommodation. It is well known that Matteo Ricci (1552-1610) and his colleagues chose to assimilate into Chinese culture, learned Chinese language, culture, and idea, and respected China and Chinese.¹² She argues that their pro-Chinese tendency positively affected on how they regarded as Korea and Korean. As pointed out by Chun Jong-Ho (2015), “Korea was within the sphere of Chinese culture that Jesuit missionaries highly evaluated.”¹³

To sum, in the late seventeenth century, Hamel did not ignore Korea because he was a Westerner, even though he worked for European advance to Asia as an employee of Dutch East India Company. Korea was a rich, systematic, and independent country, and Korean was a gentle and religious nation in his view. Jesuit missionaries, in the eighteenth century, were favorable to Korea, too. It appears that their respect for Chinese civilization affected on how they viewed Korea and its people.

B. Belittlement of Korea in the Nineteenth Century

The favorable point of view did not last in the next century. *Histoire de l'Église de Corée* (History of Korean Church) (1874) was published by Dallet, ex-missionary to India. It was a compilation of documents and translated stories by missionaries from the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris, who were active in Korea in the early nineteenth century. Its introductory chapter, the most important part of it, is full of vivid and detailed explanation. It means that Korean believers had told missionaries a lot of stories.

French missionaries consulted the compilation by Du Halde, published in Paris one hundred forty years ago. However, they were very different from the Jesuit missionaries. Most Jesuit missionaries

¹² Park Ji-Hyun, “Western Learning of China, Sinology of Europe: Translation and Literacy of Jesuit Missionaries in China in the 17th Century.” *The Journal of Humanities*, Vol. 67, Institute of Humanities, Seoul National University, 2012, p. 383.

¹³ Chun Jong-Ho, *op. cit.*, p. 247.

were scholars first. They were highly educated and largely influenced by Renaissance humanism. On the other hand, French ones from the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris were fearless evangelists.

In this book, French missionaries' tone was quite different from Hamel or Jesuit counterparts. They compared Korea with France, Asia with Europe as follows.

The whole country seems similar. The only exception is called Naepo Plain stretching out to its west sea. However, you cannot understand "plain" as flat land like our beautiful one in France.¹⁴

Korea is abundant in fruits. In here, you can see almost of them produced in France, but what a different taste! Apple, pear, plum, mulberry, strawberry, grape, melon, they all are watery and tasteless because of constant rain in summer.¹⁵

Instead of "plain is not beautiful" and "fruits are watery and tasteless," they used an expression of "inferior to French counterpart." It appears that they wanted to tell that Korea was inferior to France, even in the natural environment. As to politics, they criticized that "there is no political life, progress, or revolution," "things happen which happened in the medieval Europe," and "custom is terribly corrupt like in other Asian countries."¹⁶ Demeaning Asian countries was a method to feel superior to their home and Europe. It is interesting that they criticized there was no progress or revolution in Korea. In fact, Catholic Church was a typical reactionary force which was directly hit by the French Revolution.¹⁷

Their description of Korean was more negative. According to it, they were most irreligious and most superstitious at the same time; they spread a rumor adding lies as soon as they heard it; they were

¹⁴ Charles Dallet, *An Introduction to History of Korean Church*. Translated by Jeong Gi-Soo, Seoul: Tamgudang, 1966, p. 20.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 41, 160 & 181.

¹⁷ Traditionally, Catholic Church had supported the monarchy in France. It suffered greatly because of the policy of deconsecration when the Revolution broke out. Choi Seok-Woo, "Advance into Korea of the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris and Its Significance." *The Journal of Church History*, Vol. 5, Research Foundation for Korean Church History, 1987; Hong Soon-Ho, "Advance into Korea of the Missionaries of the Society of Foreign Mission of Paris and the Stance of the French Government." *The Journal of Church History*, Vol. 5, Research Foundation for Korean Church History, 1987.

easily angry and revengeful because of lack of education in ethics; they spent all their money for pleasure. Besides, they were instinctual; they were greedy for eating, drinking, and smoking; they did not know what real love was; they just tried to satisfy their sexual needs.

Unlike aristocratic and humanistic policy of Jesuit missionaries, the later mission societies assumed a critical attitude to paganism, influenced by Jansenism.¹⁸ As to Korean culture, missionaries from the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris did not praise any of it, even though they had guidelines to foster local priests, to stay away from the politics, and to respect local culture.¹⁹ In addition, they sometimes compared Korea and the medieval Europe, and wrote that Korean character was caused by semi-barbarism.²⁰ They believed that Europe was more advanced and civilized than Asia, and that white race was superior to non-white one. Political, economic, social, and cultural changes in Europe probably affected on their change of viewpoint.²¹

Finally, Griffis, American pastor and writer, wrote *Corea, the Hermit Nation* (1882), based on Western and Japanese writings concerning Korea. It was the last book during the period that Westerners could not visit Korea, and had been widely read. It had been enlarged and revised several times until 1911, after publishing in New York and London in October 1882.

Corea, the Hermit Nation consists of three parts, Ancient and Medieval History, Political and Social Korea, and Modern and Recent History. He wrote a lot about history because he largely depended on written material without experience in Korea, like Régis did. Hamel and French missionaries did not have to. They had a lot of stories of their own. Griffis considered the introduction of Catholic Church as the starting point of modern Korean history. It shows that he was a believer of modernization in the East by Western civilization.

He quoted a lot from Dallet's book when he wrote Political and Social Korea. It is summarized as follows; nominal absolute monarchy, powerful aristocracy called yangban, medieval feudalism, sex

¹⁸ Kim Byeong-Tae, "A Missionary Understanding of the Rite Controversy in the Late Ming and the Early Qing Period." *Christianity and History in Korea*, Vol. 28, Institute for Korean Church History, 2008, pp. 170-172.

¹⁹ Lee Kyoung-Hai, "Encounters of the Society of Foreign Mission of Paris and Joseon." *The Journal of Human Science*, Vol. 17. Dongduk Women's University, 2011, p. 93.

²⁰ Charles Dallet, op. cit., p. CLVI.

²¹ Choi Seok-Woo, op. cit., p. 12.

discrimination, abnormal ancestor worship, low level of culture and art, and hedonism, etc.²² He never would have done that if he had not agreed with French missionaries to an extent. His opinion was quite different with French missionaries' one. He was a typical imperialist in American sense. He advocated Anglo-Saxon racism and American overseas expansion, and besides, he was against Catholic Church and its missionary method in Korea.²³ However, they were the same in that they were both white Christian in the nineteenth century. It was probably impossible for both of them to write nice things on non-white pagans and their country.

In the late nineteenth century, imperialism spread so rapidly and the United States rose to world power in the West, and in the meantime, Sinocentrism was seriously challenged by European powers and Japan grew to a successful modern state. Griffis was a teacher between 1870 and 1874 in Japan. He witnessed "New Japan" and learned Korean history through *Kojiki* (古事記) and *Nihonshoki* (日本書紀). In his eyes, therefore, Korea, hung between China and Japan, was a hermit to refuse to open its door, and a future learner of Western civilization as a universal civilization.

3. Korea in Sieroszewski's Eyes

A. Trip to Korea in October and November, 1903

Sieroszewski arrived in Port Busan with a colleague at six in the morning, October 10th, 1903. He had stayed in Japan for about two years before he came to Korea. He took an offer to join the expedition to Japan instead of going to jail when he got arrested for participating in independence movement. He was a renowned ethnographer as well as a novelist.²⁴

²² Lee Yeong-Mi, "W. E. Griffis' Understanding of Korea, and East Asia." Ph. D. Dissertation at Inha University, 2015, pp. 117-125.

²³ William Elliot Griffis, *Corea, the Hermit Nation*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1882, p. 376. Especially, he criticized that French missionaries came to Korea even though Korean government never allowed it.

²⁴ He was exiled to Verkhoyansk for his participation in the revolutionary movement in 1880. During his 12 years in exile, he conducted ethnographic research on Yakut as

Based on his book, it is likely that he stayed in Busan for a few days. He looked around Japanese settlement, Japanese school, Korean community, railroad construction site, docks, factories, mills, and streets with cafés, restaurants, and fleshpots. He even went to Deer Island and Port Masan. His next destination was Wonsan. He went sightseeing the city and planned a walking tour to Seoul. He stayed in Busan and Wonsan for about two weeks, but did not mention where he stayed at night or when he left Busan.

On October 24th, Sieroszewski started for Seoul early in the morning, with two Koreans, translator and horseman, and arrived at Seokwangsa, Buddhist temple in Anbyeon, Hamgyeongnamdo, in eight hours. The next day he left Seokwangsa at noon, walked sixty lis (里), and spent a night at Sokio [sic], between Hamgyeongnamdo and Gangwondo. He walked to Huon [sic], two hundred and fifty lis away from Seoul on 27th, walked ninety-five lis to get to Sreul [sic] on 28th, eighty lis to Pisangori [sic] on 29th. He walked fifty lis and finally arrived in Seoul on 30th. During the walking tour, he looked around Korea's natural environment and rural life. He saw mountains and rivers, visited traditional places, ate local food, and slept on the floor at night. He observed Korean way of life, too.

Staying at Imperial Hotel, in front of Daehanmun, he went to a lot of places, sometimes on foot, sometimes by trolley or jinrikisha; Jongro, "the most beautiful and animated street in Seoul," Wongudan, "relatively well-preserved place," Jingogae, "Japan town, his favorite place in Seoul," Chinese settlement, "the dirtiest and smelliest district in the city," Six Ministries Street, "broad, well-paved, and quiet place like a square," and Dabanggol, "one of rich districts." He even visited shamans' town, papermakers' town, shrines to the god of war, royal tombs, ghetto, leper colony, and hideouts for thieves and gamblers.²⁵

He was able to visit various places because he had a Korean tour guide, Szin-mun-giun [sic]. Shin Mun-Gyun (申汶均) was a clerk at the Bureau of Ceremony (禮式院). According to Sieroszewski, he

well as wrote novels. He wrote *Yakut: Experience of Ethnographic Research* (1896) with the help of some specialists, which was awarded the "little gold medal" by Imperial Geographic Society, on the recommendation of Nikolay Veselovsky (1848-1918), well-known Russian archaeologist.

²⁵ Waclaw Sieroszewski, *Korea in Fall of 1903: The Travels to the Korean Empire of Sieroszewski, Russian Scholar*. translated by Kim Jin-Young et al., Seoul: Gaemagowon, 2006, pp. 387-401.

occupied a quite important post—not true—in the government, and was an excellent tour guide very good at Russian.²⁶

Sieroszewski wrote that there was an event which celebrated the recovery of Emperor's grandson, a few days before he left Seoul.²⁷ According to the *Daily Record of Seungjeongwon* (承政院日記), it was hold on November 8th, to celebrate King Yeongchin's (英親王) recovery from measles.²⁸ It appears that he left Seoul after November 10th, although it was not mentioned when he left. On the contrary, he possibly stayed until mid-November, because he mentioned that he saw unharvested cotton field in mid-November. He probably traveled for a few days before he got aboard a ship for China in Chemulpo.

He traveled various cities and places including Seoul and three treaty ports, from October 10 to about mid-November. He had diverse experience even though he failed to meet the Emperor.

B. Bibliography

In *KKDW*, there are several Westerners and their books concerning Korea. It tells that Sieroszewski did some literary research to write his own writing. Fortunately, it is not hard to find out what books he consulted. He put a lot of footnotes. His bibliography is as follows.²⁹

01. D. Anuchin, "K Kharakteristike Iapontsev." *Russkie vedomosti*, No. 119, 1904.
02. I. Delotkevich, "Puteshestvie po Koree s dekabria 1885 po martu 1886 g." IRGO, T. XXV. 1886.
03. I. Delotkevich, "Dnevnik po puti peshkom iz Seula v Pos'et cherez Severnuiu Koreiu s dekabria 1885 g. po 29 fevralia 1886 g.," SGMA, No. 38, 1887.
04. P. Dmitrievskii, "Zapiski Kigoro." *Zapiski imp. russkogo geograficheskogo obshchestva po obshchei geografii*, T. XII, No. 4, SPB, 1883.
05. N. Garin-Mikhailovskii, *Koreiskie skazki, zapisannye osen'iu 1898 g.* SPB, 1904.
06. A. Gur'eva, "Vozniknovenie Russko-Iaponskoi voiny." *Russkie vedomosti*, No. 138, 1905.
07. A. Lubentsov, "Khamgenskaia i Pken'ianskaia provintsii Korei." *Zapiski Priamurskogo otdela*, IRGO, T. II Vyp IV, Khabarovsk, 1887.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 399.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 408-409.

²⁸ 『承政院日記』, 高宗四十年癸卯九月二十日庚子.

²⁹ Waclaw Sieroszewski, *Korea in Fall of 1903: The Travels to the Korean Empire of Sieroszewski, Russian Scholar*. pp. 438-439. There is no bibliography page in the original text. This list was made by Korean translators.

08. Ministry of Finance (comp.), *Opisanie Korei*. SPB, 1900.
09. M. Podzhio, *Ocherki Korei*. SPB, 1892.
10. F. Vebel, "Poezdka v Koreiu letom 1889 g. general' nogo shtaba podpolkovnika Vebelia." SPB, 1890.
11. I. B. Bishop, *Korea and Her neighbors*. New York, 1897.
12. Ch. Dallet, *Histoire de l'Église de Corée*. Paris, 1874.
13. Ernst von Hesse-Wartegg, *Korea*. 1894.
14. W. E. Griffis, *Corea, the Hemit Nation*. New York, 1882.
15. W. E. Griffis, *Corea, Without and Within*. Philadelphia, 1885.
16. Angus Hamilton, *Korea*. London, 1904.
17. *Moniteur officiel du commerce*. Paris, 1898.
18. *Nouvelle Geographie Universelle*. Paris, 1882.
19. *The China Review*.
20. *The Independent*. Seoul.
21. *The Korean Repository*. Seoul.
22. W. W. Wilkinson, *The Corean Government*. Shanghai, 1897.

But it does not seem that he read all of them. He came back to Poland in 1904 after he traveled Korea, China, Ceylon, and Egypt, and finished *KKDW* in the late 1904.³⁰ Probably, he had no time to read all of them. Besides, his quotations were already quoted in *Opisanie Korei* (1900), which was compiled by Ministry of Finance, Russia.

Podzhio said that European took this medicine [ginseng] and got a severe disease causing infection. (*Opisanie Korei*)³¹

M. Poggio argues that ginseng also causes infection when European took it. (*KKDW*)³²

Poggio is the German expression of Podzhio. Podzhio means Mikhail Podzhio (1850-1889), who was a Russian diplomat and the author of *Ocherki Korei* (1892). The author presumes that Sieroszewski read his mention about ginseng in *Opisanie Korei*, and that he re-quoted it in his book after looking it up Podzhio's German translation. Another example is as follows.

Sometimes, tigers climb up to the straw-thatched roof of the house. They crash through it with strong claws and attack someone in the house. Korean believes that they do not attack the drunk who smell awful. (*Opisanie Korei*)³³

³⁰ "Warsaw, 23 November 1904 r." was written in the back of the title page.

³¹ Ministry of Finance, Russia (comp.), *Hangukji*. Translated by Academy of Korean Studies, 1984, p. 417.

³² Waclaw Sieroszewski, *Korea in Fall of 1903: The Travels to the Korean Empire of Sieroszewski, Russian Scholar*. pp. 438-439.

Poggio wrote that tigers crashed through the straw-thatched roof and came inside the house. (...) According to superstition, they hate the drunk and do not attack them. (KKDW)³⁴

Ocherki Korei was not the only literature re-quoted by Sieroszewski. Except Angus Hamilton's (1874-1913) *Korea* (1904) and two articles from *Russkie wedomosti*, he acquired all quotations from *Opisanie Korei*. According to his own evaluation, it was the best guide book on Korea.³⁵ In short, he did not read every book which he mentioned. He only consulted two books, *Opisanie Korei* and Hamilton's *Korea*.

C. Sieroszewski's View of Korea

Sieroszewski wrote that he had heard "legends" about Korea from so-called experts as follows before he came to Korea.

Korea cudny kraj! Żyzność ziemi niesłychana, urodzaje egipskie! Potoki taniego, korejskiego ryżu zalewają nawet ryżową Japonię. Tam rosną nieprzejrzone lasy drogocennych drzew... Nieprzebrane bogactwa mineralne czekają niecierpliwie dzielnej ręki Europejczyka... A jest I węgiel i marmur!... Jest to raj myśliwców! Ale trzeba być ostrożnym, gdyż są tam i tygrysy. Gaje mirto-we rzucają swe cienie na ukwiecone łąki, a wszystko kąpie się w słonecznym, łagodnym powietrzu i ciepłych błękitnych morzach... Potulna ludność chętnie płaci podatki, czci władzę i pracuje napół darmo — z przyzwyczajenia i dla przyjemności... jest trochę brudna, ale ma piękne, wysmukłe kobiety o stromych piersiach i szerokich biodrach... Przewyższają one urodą wszystkie kobiety Dalekiego Wschodu.³⁶

It appears that they told him that Korea was a rich, beautiful, and charming country. However, he did not believe them. He wrote that he was free from any stereotype,³⁷ which meant he had no fantasy about Korea. Instead, he had an idea that white race was superior to non-white races, and that Western civilization to any other civiliza-

³³ Ministry of Finance, Russia (comp.), op. cit., p. 467

³⁴ Waław Sieroszewski, op. cit., p. 140.

³⁵ Ibid., p. 14.

³⁶ Waław Sieroszewski, *Korea: Klucz Dalekiego Wschodu*. Warszawa: Nakład Gebethnera i Wolffa, 1905, p. 1.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 2.

tions.³⁸ Poland, his motherland, had been one of the weak nations in the West. He was Polish under Russian rule, so, technically, he was Russian, not Polish. Nevertheless, his perspective was not different from other European or American when he viewed the Asian nations.

Besides, he stayed in Japan before he came to Korea, and was impressed by its successful modernization. Accuracy, swiftness, and thoroughness were typical Japanese characteristics he liked.

Czyściuchne, wygodne, eleganckie parowce trzech towarzystw japońskich “Nippon Jusen Kajsza,” “Osaka Shosen Kajsza,” i “Hori Company” z regularnością zegarka odwiedzały porty. Ponieważ były najtańsze, miały najlepszą tu na Wschodzie obsługę i doskonałą kuchnię europejską, wszyscy przejezdni, nawet większość Rosyan korzystała wyłącznie z ich usług. Parowce innych narodowości odwiedzały Koreę dorywczo, a Towarzystwo Wschodniej Drogi Żel. Chińskiej miało taryfy droższe od japońskich i było wieczniew takiej niezgodzie z własnym rozkładem, że statki chodziły zawsze prawie puste i bez ładunku. Jednocześnie urządzili Japończycy wszędzie, gdzie tylko uzyskali na to pozwolenie pocztę i telegraf, których sprawność powszechnie jest znana i nie ustępuje w sprawności i dyskrecyi nawet poczcie angielskiej.³⁹

In case of Western visitors to Korea in the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries, they came to Korea after they traveled China or Japan. Sieroszewski visited Japan first, and was fascinated by its modernization. He evaluated Japanese as a capable nation, and even wrote that Japan was better than Europe in some ways.

Based on his positive view of Japan, he compared Korea and Japan throughout the entire trip. First of all, he described Korean coast as follows.

Wreszcie wyłoniły się z liliowych mgieł nagie, skaliste brzegi koreańskie... Jakże wydały mi się brzydkie, posępne po uroczych wybrzeżach Japonii! Polamane, pogięte poszczerbione, uderzały jedynie potwornością swych dziwacznie pokręconych wiszarów.⁴⁰

He compared Port Busan and Japanese coast. Busan was described as a gloomy, ugly, and bizarre place. Did other Westerners have same opinion about that?

³⁸ An Sang-Hoon, op. cit., p. 116.

³⁹ Wacław Sieroszewski, *Korea: Klucz Dalekiego Wschodu*. p. 270.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 2.

Unlike nice, green, and well-cultivated Japanese coast, there was no plant in Korean coast. There were only solid rocks, which were like a huge barrier against strangers. Going up several kilometers along the coast, which looked bleak and sad, I could not see just one single town, even one single hut. It was the opposite scenery to the paradise-like Japanese coast!⁴¹

The sun was just rising as I went to the deck. What a splendid view! We cast anchor at the wide bay. There were tall, bleak, and brown hills, like guards, with black and rugged rocks. The morning sun shone on the hills and the sea, smooth as a mirror, and silver clouds, with gold linings, were floating in the sky. It was like one summer morning, except it was cold.⁴²

The former was written by Ernst von Hesse-Wartegg (1854-1918), Austrian traveler visited Korea in June, 1894, after he traveled Japan. His description is very similar to Sieroszewski's. He described Japan as paradise, Korea as land of sadness. On the other hand, the latter was written by William A. Grebst (1875-1920), Swedish journalist. In his eyes, Port Busan was one beautiful place in December 26th, 1904. In fact, he was one of the few who sympathized with Korea.

“Japan and Korea are both Asian countries, but they are so different!”⁴³ Sieroszewski compared Japan and Korea, and there was a contrast of “good Japan” and “bad Korea.” For instance, he wrote that Japanese settlement in Busan was clean, neat, well-lighted, and well-ventilated, meanwhile, Korean district was dark, dirty, and poor.

Naogół technika rolnictwa korejskiego odpowiada wrażeniu całego układu korejskiego. Ona nie jest złą, nie jest nawet niedbałą, ale straciła tężyznę pracy, dążącej do swego udoskonalenia, pragnącej go i wierzącej w nie. Dziwny kontrast z Japonią, gdzie wszystko drag od tej wiary i potężnego napięcia!⁴⁴

Dzięki temu na życiu korejskiem leży smutny cień, wszystko wydaje się przygnębionem, pozbawionem wszelkiej przedsiębiorczości i chęci do życia. Najmniejsza nowość przeraża; jak zboliałe ciało lęka się najmniejszego dotknięcia, tak społeczeństwo korejskie obawia się wszelkich zmian.⁴⁵

⁴¹ Ernst von Hesse-Wartegg, *Korea in Summer of 1894: The Travels of an Austrian*, Hesse-Wartegg. Translated by Jung Hyeon-Gyu, Seoul: Chaekgwahamgge, 2012, p. 13.

⁴² Ason Grebst, *The Travels of Korean Empire before Japan-Korea Protectorate Treaty of 1904: Ason, Swedish Journalist, Visited Korea One Hundred Years Ago*. Translated by Kim Sang-Yeol, Seoul: Chaekgwahamgge, 2005, p. 29.

⁴³ Waclaw Sieroszewski, *Korea: Klucz Dalekiego Wschodu*. p. 8.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 306.

In his view, Japan was an energetic and enterprising country, “vibrating with tension and development.” On the contrary, Korea was in the funeral-like mood, and there was no endeavor or enthusiasm.

Moreover, he believed that Japan was sincerely helping Korea, by improving its administrative system, educating people, abolishing slavery, and developing economy. He did not agree with Shin, his tour guide, who blamed Japan. He anticipated that Japan, with the spirit of progress and humanism, would help poor Korea to its feet. He even approved that Japan took profit in return for modernizing Korea.⁴⁶ In addition, he did not support Russia although he knew about Russian ambition to rule Korea. In the third version (1909), he called Russian soldiers who conquered northern Korea as “invaders.”⁴⁷

Finally, Lee Min-Hee (2001) pointed out that Sieroszewski considered that Korea and Poland were in the same situation, and, as a result, sympathized with Korea. According to radio broadcasting in November, 1927, it seemed true. “Oh, Korea! Your destiny is similar to Poland’s one in the past!”⁴⁸ However, twenty years ago, his view of Korea was different. Korea was a poor and underprivileged country in his eyes, and that was all. Korea never reminded him of his home.

In 1896, Kim Deuk-Ryeon (金得鍊), Korean interpreter and one of embassy to Russia, heard about Polish history in Warsaw, and wrote “Poland in the past, region of Russia now.”⁴⁹ Lee argued that Kim thought that Korea and Poland were in the same boat, but the author doubts that. Unlike Poland under three countries’ rule, Korea was still an independent country. In addition, it seems impossible that Sieroszewski thought that Korea’s situation was better Poland’s one. It was because of faith in white race and Western civilization, as pointed by translators of *KKDW*.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ Ibid., pp. 273-274.

⁴⁷ Waclaw Sieroszewski, *Korea in Fall of 1903: The Travels to the Korean Empire of Sieroszewski, Russian Scholar*. pp. 359-363.

⁴⁸ Lee Min-Hee, op. cit., p. 252.

⁴⁹ Lee Min-Hee, op. cit., p. 245.

⁵⁰ Waclaw Sieroszewski, *Korea in Fall of 1903: The Travels to the Korean Empire of Sieroszewski, Russian Scholar*. pp. 432-433.

4. Conclusion

To understanding Sieroszewski's *KKDW* and view of Korea, the author reviews a brief history of Western literature concerning Korea. It seems that Westerners have repeated the same stories, but there was a difference. Hamel hardly ignored or belittled Korea, and Jesuit missionaries had a positive view of Korea because they admired Chinese civilization. However, since the nineteenth century, Christian white supremacy occurred with the huge transformation in the West. French missionaries compared Korea to the medieval Europe and criticized Korean as a less civilized nation. One American pastor argued that Korea should accept Western, especially American, civilization, that is, Christianity and science, as soon as possible. Sieroszewski shared the confidence of Westerners in his times, although his motherland was relatively weak in Europe.

He traveled Korea in October and November, 1903, and wrote *KKDW* after he came home in 1904. He included much information from Korea-related literature as well as his travel journal. He actually consulted *Opisanie Korei* and Hamilton's *Korea*, although it seems he read a lot of books.

Sieroszewski was from a country under foreign rule, but he was still a Westerner. He believed in Western supremacy and, among Asian countries, he admired Japan because Japan was a fast learner of Western civilization. Some researchers explained that he sympathized with Korea, but the author believes that he was critical to Korea. He constantly criticized that there was endeavor, enthusiasm, energy, or progress in Korean spirit. He took for granted that Japan exerted its influence and made profit in Korea. He would not do that if he would think that Poland and Korea were in the same trouble. In sum, it seems impossible that he believed that Korea was better than Poland, such as one Korean interpreter considered that Korea was better than Poland.

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SOUTH KOREAN LEADERS IN THE POLITICS OF DEMOCRATIZATION

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Abstract: This article aims to show the process of formation and operation (functioning) of the changing political system of South Korea. It is undertaken for the analysis of the process of the collapse of the former authoritarian political system and formation of South Korean democracy. Indicated in this article are the roles and participation of political leaders (Chun Doo Hwan, Roh Tae Woo, Kim Young Sam, and Kim Dae Jung) in the process of intense political change that took place in South Korea from the 1980s to the late twentieth century.

During the authoritarian regimes of South Korea, the nation recorded spectacular economic development, but without political development. Political leadership in the democratization of the country was still authoritarian. Core values and attitudes of politicians pointed to the presence of the cultural heritage of Confucianism in politics.

Key words: South Korea, democracy, democratization process, political leaders, Confucian leadership

POŁUDNIOWOKOREAŃSCY LIDERZY W POLITYCE DEMOKRATYZACJI

Streszczenie: Artykuł ma na celu ukazanie procesu kształtowania się i funkcjonowania zmieniającego się systemu politycznego w Korei Południowej. Podejmowana zostaje analiza procesu upadku autorytarnego systemu politycznego i formowanie się południowokoreańskiej demokracji. Wskazano na rolę i uczestnictwo liderów politycznych (Chun Doo Hwan, Roh Tae Woo, Kim Young Sam, Kim Dae Jung) w procesie intensywnych zmian politycznych, które miały miejsce w Korei Południowej pod koniec lat 80 XX wieku.

W okresie autorytarnych rządów Korea Południowa odnotowała spektakularny rozwój gospodarczy, jednak nie towarzyszył temu rozwój polityczny. Przywództwo polityczne w demokratyzującym się państwie nadal pozostawało autorytarne. Ponadto wyznawane wartości i postawy polityków wskazywały na obecność kulturowego dziedzictwa konfucjanizmu w polityce.

Słowa kluczowe: Korea Południowa, demokracja, proces demokratyzacji, liderzy polityczni, konfucjańskie przywództwo

민주화 투쟁시기 한국의 정치 지도자들

개약: 본고의 목적은 한국의 변화하는 정치 체제의 형성과 운영(기능)과정을 보여주는 것이다. 이 연구는 전독재정치체제가 붕괴되고 남한민주주의가 형성되는 과정을 분석하기 위해 착수되었다. 본 연구서는 1980년대부터 20세기말까지 한국에서 일어난 치열한 정치적 변화 과정에서 정치지도자 (전두환, 노태우, 김영삼, 김대중)의 역할과 참여가 검토된다. 독재정권시대에 한국은 놀라운 경제발전을 기록했지만 정치발전은 없었다. 국가의 민주화에서 정치적 리더십은 여전히 독재적이었다. 정치가의 핵심 가치와 태도는 정치에서 유교의 문화유산이 존재함을 지적했다.

키워드: 한국, 민주주의, 민주화과정, 정치지도자, 유교리더십

1. South Korean Democracy – The Negotiated Compromise

South Korea for many years was considered one of the poorest agricultural countries in the world. Since 1962, it increasingly became a place of rapid industrialization, and by the end of the nineteen

eighties had achieved the status of a newly industrialized country. Seoul's economic success has been called "economic miracle on the Han River", which has become the key to the international promotion of South Korea. The spectacular economic development, which appeared during the period of authoritarian rule, however, was not accompanied by political development.

The process of democratic change in the system did not start due to a gradual collapse of the government of President Chun Doo Hwan. Since the nineteen eighties, the formerly authoritarian political system of the Republic of Korea has, in fact, been unable to solve socio-political problems resulting from changes in South Korean society. South Korean political transition became possible as a result of a negotiated compromise pact between the political elites of the authoritarian governments of Chun Doo Hwan and Roh Tae Woo, with the democratic opposition (Kim Young Sam and Kim Dae Jung).

The agreements among South Korean political elites were in the interest of each participating party. For the ruling party, to accept the democratic rules of the political game meant the possibility of continuing its government. The use of violence could, in fact, have led to the loss of power. In turn, the opposition party, which was not strong enough to overthrow the government, concluded that by entering into a pact with the authoritarian governments, it had a chance to become a legitimate participant in the political life of the country, and could therefore, ultimately assume power over the state.

The risk of losing political power was a major reason why the elite of the South Korean government and the opposition entered into bilateral negotiations. The logic was that none of the parties would lose all their access and hold on political power and influence. This became the basis of the political pact. As a result, each party received the chance to compete for power. Mutually reduced risk and uncertainty made the reformers of the Democratic Justice Party and the moderate opposition politicians decide to cooperate in the construction of South Korean democracy.

During the change of the political system special roles played by the leaders of the two sides: presidents Chun Doo Hwan and Roh Tae Woo (generals, deriving power from an authoritarian regime), and Kim Young Sam and Kim Dae Jung (leaders of the democratic opposition). South Korean political leaders during their governments

had to cope with different challenges: Chun Doo Hwan's government was seen as lacking legitimacy during the Fifth Republic, while attempting to liberalize its authoritarianism, while the nascent democratic opposition centered on the New Democratic Party of Korea and a number of pro-democracy social movement organizations challenged Chun's power. During the Roh Tae Woo years, the problems of transition of the political system included such things as settlement of the authoritarian past, and the establishment of civilian control of the military. The Kim Young Sam administration struggled with the problems of fully consolidating democracy. Kim Dae Jung's "Sunshine Policy", that is attempts at reconciliation and reunification of the Korean states, while struggling with an economic crisis put pressure on the government (Saxer 2004: 402-403).

Table 1. Profiles of South Korean Political Leaders

	Chun Doo wan*	Roh Tae Woo	Kim Young Sam	Kim Dae Jung
A.	1931	1932	1927	1924
B.	Kyongsangbuk -do	Kyongsangbuk-do	Kyongsangnam- do	Chollanam-do
C.	KMA	KAW	SNU	KU, UM (Ph.D.)
D.	General	General	-	-
E.	-	short	long	average
F.	-	Government	-	-
G.	DJP	DJP	RDP	PPD
H.	1980	1988	1993	1998
I.	bloodily suppressed pro-democracy uprising in Kwangju 18-27 .05.1980; struggled against the June pro- democracy uprising	pro-democracy declaration; <i>Nordpolitik</i>	the end of the rule of the generals	Sunshine Policy
J.	deficiency	transition of	internalization	consolidation

	of political legitimacy	the political system; Northern Policy	of democratic values; consolidation of democracy	of democracy; Sunshine Policy
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Source: Elaboration by Author (from numerous sources)

* - Direct presidential elections did not cover the period of the rule of Chun Doo Hwan

- | | | | |
|-----|--|-------|-------------------------------|
| A - | year of birth | KMA - | Korean Military Academy |
| B - | regional origin | SNU - | Seoul National University |
| C - | education | KU - | Kyunghee University |
| D - | military rank | UM - | University of Moscow |
| E - | parliamentary experience | DJP - | Democratic Justice Party |
| F - | administrative experience | PPD - | Party of Peace and Democracy |
| G - | political party | RDP - | Reunification Democracy Party |
| H - | year taking office of President | | |
| I - | political hallmark(s) | | |
| J - | challenges to the period of the presidency | | |

2. Heritage of Confucian Leadership in South Korean Politics

In traditional Korean society obedience to authority was considered a patriotic virtue. Shaped by a Confucian hierarchical structure of propriety and order, all of society was imprinted with specificity of roles for the family, society and country, where "the guiding spirit of hierarchically arranged virtues is the duty, and each of the virtues is the right and duty at the same time" (Wójcik 1995:24).

Confucian cultural patterns particularly stress the institution of the family, social harmony, respect for authority, respect for education, and political order. In Confucian civilization, the family is the "organizational model for all the other communities and collectives: the state, business, office, branch of the military or even political parties" (Gawlikowski 2001:49). In the Confucian system morality and politics were inseparable, because there was a close relationship between self-interest, and the interests of families, societies, and countries (Kihl 1997: 117-118). The whole of Confucian philosophy of democracy is based on the concept of political *stewardship*. The Chinese word *mu* means *shepherd* (*pastor* or *steward*). The ruler is called *ren mu* (人牧) - "shepherd

of man." He is a priest of Heaven, entrusted with the duty of political control of the masses (Hsü 1932: 174). The Confucian theory of the rule of the ruler is the father of his people, and his right to rule stems from the order of nature. The most significant feature of the system is centralized Confucian political leadership. It has its roots in the Confucian doctrine, which holds that the sovereign state has its mandate to govern by the will of Heaven, from which the right to exercise power is derived.

In the Confucian Analects, the Chinese word on "zheng" (政), is translated as - rule. Confucius further elaborates that it denotes the rule that is correct, and that which is not correct should be rebuked (Confucius 1979: 114-115). In turn, the leadership (*lǐngdǎo* / 領導 (領導)) is understood as - those who are to lead or guide. Confucian leadership is based on the personal and socio-political order, which emphasizes the interpersonal relationships between superiors (ruler, superior) and subordinate (dependent).

In Confucianism order and social harmony, should be provided by a good, virtuous and righteous ruler, while in Western democracy it is achieved by the supremacy of law. In the traditional Confucian state power was indivisible (Gawlikowski 2009: 92-96). The concept of the Western separation of powers functioning in a liberal democracy introduced a new model of relations and distribution of power in South Korea. South Korean political leaders fought for democratic change in the country, received a democratic constitution, but failed to surrender to democratization. Political leadership in democratizing South Korea still remained authoritarian. The cultural heritage of Confucianism could also be found in the functioning of South Korean political parties based on the pattern of the family and Confucian values. It demonstrated an existing pattern of paternalism. Personalization of political parties determined the South Korean style of governance and leadership. In this Confucian East Asian country, which has existed for centuries, a different traditional understanding of the individual, society and state, as well as the core values of assimilation by Koreans unknown to them before democracy was a very difficult task.

Koreans have always wanted a strong leader responsible for the whole nation. This social expectation had its source in the historical experience from the period of Japanese occupation, as well as in the division of Korea into two states and the Korean

War. Strong leadership was justified by the South Korean presidents for purposes of maintaining national security of the state in response to the unpredictability of North Korea. Chieftainship party leaders and personalization of power has led to the emergence of South Korea phenomenon called in Korean language *daekwonjuui* (meaning "rule of a strong hand"). The influence of these two phenomena promoted a concept of the institution of the presidency as necessitating almost total power (Im 2000: 22; Przeworski 1991:26).

3. Chun Doo Hwan – The Collapse of the Authoritarian System

On August 16, 1980, the control of the political authority of the South Korean state was consolidated by the leader of a military coup - General Chun Doo Hwan (Eckert et al. 1990: 372-373). The military government of Chun Doo Hwan employed violence, which included the bloody suppression of a pro-democracy uprising in Kwangju. Additionally, the "new military" placed restrictions on freedom of speech, were guilty of human rights violations, dissolved parliament, and banned the activities of opposition political parties. In the period from 1980 to 1983, the level of political repression by the government was intense, and was directed at all those who undertook any activities directed against the authoritarian government (Hyuk 2000: 78).

The executive branch of the Fifth Republic was not subject to any restrictions or controls by other political institutions, and consequently, the South Korean government was consistently represented as a state of lawlessness. Using a policy of prohibition against various political activities, the state conducted operations aimed at incapacitating the opposition from engaging with civil society (Hinton 1983: 59-63). By drawing up so-called "black lists", containing the names of political dissidents, the government sought to eliminate from participation in politics, Kim Young Sam and Kim Dae Jung, the most important leaders of the political opposition.

However, after three years of persecution and repression the political situation in South Korea began to gradually change. Beginning in 1983, there emerged a period of political

decompression and as a result, there began to form numerous independent, autonomous, pro-democracy civil society organizations (Im 1997: 7-8). The government tolerated all these emerging organizations only if they did not question the legitimacy of the Fifth Republic's authoritarian rule. As a consequence, this movement toward decompression became somewhat of a test of the Fifth Republic's limits of political tolerance.

A retrospective analysis of this period shows that firstly, the decision of President Chun Doo Hwan to open the political system provoked a crisis for authoritarian rule. The liberalization of authoritarianism in South Korea meant a partial opening of the system, but did not yet include free elections, and only consisted of the extension of freedom of speech, assembly and association. It should be noted that the great achievement of the liberalization process was the development of political pluralism and the lifting of bans on political activity by leaders within the opposition.

Secondly, the crisis in the authoritarian system began after the election for the National Assembly in February 1985, when the Democratic Party of New Korea (DPNK) (formed three weeks before the election), openly questioned the authoritarian system. The DPNK became a real catalyst for political activity among Koreans. The elections of February 25, 1985 was, in effect, a national referendum on the legitimacy of the system Fifth Republic. It turned out that the opposition was able to organize effective and widespread public support for policy changes (Koh 1985: 887).

The DPNK strived to implement its three main policy objectives: the end of military rule, establishment a system of direct presidential elections, and actions leading to national unification. The DPNK exhorted Koreans to mobilize themselves in a fight for democracy (Kim 1986: 68-69). The government's liberalization of the authoritarian structure focused on maintaining the system while improving the political image of President Chun and the ruling DPS. The government expected positive results. However, the decompression brought forth political activity across a broad spectrum of the population, and marked the growth of truly anti-

authoritarian forces that irrevocably changed the face of the South Korean political scene¹.

In the period after 1983, the population of South Korea became increasingly aware of the existing problems resulting from the ineffectiveness of the functioning of an authoritarian system. The dissonance between the economic achievements of the government and the introduced by him political changes meant that Koreans understood that the previously used political solutions and lines of argument regarding authoritarian rule as a safeguard of security had become ineffective in overcoming the current social problems.

It should also be emphasized that the drift of the political in the direction of democratization made possible not only by the occurrence of a crisis of authority based on questioned legitimacy, but also due to a crisis of the entire system, which became perceived as being unable to solve the increasingly serious and numerous social problems resulting from the gradually crystallizing of a new political reality in South Korea.

In June 1987 the National Coalition for a Democratic Constitution organized a big rally, which in turn lasted as a democratization uprising from 10 June onward. The uprising was precipitated by the decision of president Chun Doo Hwan to call a cessation of public discussion on the revision of the Constitution. The "June uprising", consisting of widespread and large-scale demonstrations, demanded an end to the rule of a military dictatorship. In June a million Koreans attended another national rally called the "peace march". These events were the results of spontaneous and unprecedented mobilization of pro-democracy groups, social movements. As a result, the authoritarian government announced a radical and unexpected concession to the pressures of society and on June 29, 1987, the presidential nominee of the ruling

¹ The reason the authoritarian government decided to open up the political process of liberalization was not an instance of a split in its structures, but the confidence and the belief that nothing and no one would be able to threaten the stability of the system. In classic cases of transition, e.g. in Southern Europe or Latin America, systemic change was the result of divisions within the structures of the authoritarian system (mainly between hardliners and softliners). In the case of South Korea, there has been a split in the governing structures of the block, a block, which at the time was homogeneous and united. The elite of the ruling Democratic Justice Party were united not only before liberalization, but also after the process of liberalization had commenced.

party. Roh Tae Woo, announced a pro-democracy declaration, part of which adopted a system of direct presidential elections (Lee 1990: 36-39).

4. Roh Tae Woo – Leader of in the Period of Democratic Transition

The great achievement of the opposition was direct presidential elections held on December 16, 1987. However, the election results turned out differently than the opposition had expected. Although June's declaration made possible for approval of a change in the Constitution mandating the conduct of direct presidential elections, the success was also the beginning of the disintegration of opposition. It is a paradox that a plurality of South Korean voters, 36 percent, ultimately chose Roh Tae Woo - the candidate of the ruling party. A large number of voters choose Roh, a former Army general, as a means of guaranteeing stability and security (Lee 1990: 145-148). The political ambitions of Kim Young Sam and Kim Dae Jung resulted in neither of them to defer to the other, and therefore, the opposition votes were split. The two candidates, in effect, divided votes from pro-democratic supporters and social movement organizations. South Korean made a transition through pacts, guarantees and negotiations among elites, making the victory of Roh Tae Woo a victory for the elites with ties to what had been the authoritarian past. The 1987 presidential election, however, should be assessed positively, however, since the Roh Tae Woo did not rely on the power of the power of those who had been associated with Chun's military coup, but was elected through the will of South Koreans voters. It can be stated; consequently, that the pro-democracy declaration of June 29, 1987 was the crowning achievement of Koreans' struggle for democratic change in a country had been dominated by an authoritarian structure since the early 1980s. After the 1987 presidential election South Korea faced the great challenge of building a democracy (Back 1994: 245).

According to the concept of S. P. Huntington, the democratization process consists of four stages: the collapse of authoritarian rule, a transition, consolidation, and the maturing

of a democratic political order (Shin 1994: 143). Transition is a period of time between something finished and something not yet fully formed, which means that the outcome of the change is a great unknown. The change may in fact lead to the consolidation of a democratic regime or, e.g., to a return to another form of authoritarianism. The democratization process consists of intense political changes (O'Donnell and Schmitter 1986: 63-65). This sometimes entails institutional fluctuations and uncertainty, dynamic conflicts and pervasive political polarization. It is a period characterized by a great dynamism of the interaction between authoritarian leaders seeking ways to stay in power, and the democratic opposition seeking ways to acquire it. Transitions of political systems do not automatically lead to democratic governance, and can be "risky journeys". These "risky journeys" are primarily periods of great uncertainty, with opportunities and hope for democratic change (Schedler 2001: 3).

South Korea during the Roh administration found itself in the face of the great challenges of political and social issues. The first big challenge concerned the establishment of a strong, but flexible leadership for the country. There was justified fear that the strong position of the president could mean a continuation of the dictatorship, because before transition the legislature and the judiciary had not been a real counterweight to the executive branch. The second challenge was the revision of the law, since most of the existing laws were highly restrictive given the attention to the issue of national security. During the administration of Roh Tae Woo many laws were liberalized. The third challenge involved the new government's response to the authoritarian past of the Fifth Republic. The main aim of political reform was to build a new image of the president of the South Korean state and government of the Sixth Republic, which still was seen as an institution dominated by the military. The fourth challenge was the issue of exercising civilian control over the military. The generals Park Chung Hee carried out the military coups in 1961 and 1980 and Chun Doo Hwan constituted a real basis for concern (Kim 1993: 157-158).

The parliamentary elections of April 26, 1988 represented another important political event during the period of transition. The results of these elections were a huge disappointment for all those who predicted another victory of the Democratic Justice Party (DJP) - it obtained 34 percent of the votes. An even greater surprise,

however, was the second place ranking of the Party of Peace and Democracy led by Kim Dae Jung - the party garnered 19.3 percent of the votes cast by South Koreans. The parliamentary elections of 1988 were a turning point, because it meant the end of the parliamentary majority of the ruling party. For the first time in the history of the Republic of Korea, the government party lost its majority in Parliament. Given the previous DJP majorities in parliament, a new electoral verdict was seen as a transfer of legislative power into the hands of the opposition. The winning of 174 seats in parliament by the opposition parties was considered as a great success of this election in terms of democratic transition. The inability to control the parliament by the Roh administration and the results of the hearings conducted by the investigation committee, which exposed the degree of abuse within the Fifth Republic, meant in practice that the government could no longer control the legislative process. It remains to be emphasized that thanks to the new situation in the Parliament called in Korean, "*yoso yadae*" that is, a ruling minority and an opposition majority, opposition parties were given the opportunity to limit powers of the president (Kim 1993: 114). Thus the defeat of the ruling DJP forced its political leaders to engage in actions leading to cooperation and political compromise with the opposition.

Among important achievement in the second half of 1988 included the initiative of the opposition parties resulting in a series of parliamentary inquiries that revealed the truth of corruption and numerous abuses of power during the Fifth Republic. A significant political achievement had been the 1987 establishment of a new constitution. As part of the new constitution, the National Assembly regained all its power, which has lost during the two previous authoritarian governments of Park and Chun. The most important constitutional change commanding the start of the South Korean transition was the establishment of a system of direct presidential elections resulting in the implementation of a new series of electoral laws and the extension of powers of the legislative body (Kim 1993: 111-113). Settlement of the authoritarian past the Fifth Republic was yet another great challenge of the new government. In 1988-1989, there was a public debate on the abuse of power by the political elites of the government Chun. The public demanded the compensation for the victims of the uprising in Kwangju.

During the administration of Roh Tae Woo a variety of reforms were adopted. For example, in March 1989, new legislation was enacted protecting the right of assembly and freedom of speech. The government liberalized restrictions on travel abroad and lifted bans on publication and possession of material on communism and North Korea. Another important achievement of the Roh administration was the establishment of the so-called "Northern Policy". This reform of foreign policy ushered in a policy of openness to engagement with North Korea. The minimized anti-communist education was increasingly replaced by government promoted education on national unification (Kihl 1995: 126).

By the end of the 1980s, the Republic of Korea also had begun to normalize relations with the countries of the former socialist camp. During the administration of Roh Tae Woo established diplomatic relations with many of these countries. The agreement between Poland and the Republic of Korea to establish diplomatic relations was signed in November 1989 in Seoul.

The Olympic Games held in 1988 in Seoul was an event that also contributed to political changes. The Olympic Games proved to be a catalyst for South Korea's first informal contacts with representatives of countries of the former socialist community. The years 1988-1990 were also a period of unprecedented changes in the South Korean Army. The establishment of civilian control over the military was advanced in tandem with the implementation of modernization of the army. In March 1991 the government began another important project, the aim of which was to break the concentration of business created by *chaebols* (Horowitz 2002: 87-89).

No less significant to the process of transition was the formation of the political party system. In the initial period of transition, the existing four-party structure showed a tendency to exacerbate regional conflicts and social antagonisms. Growing disputes and regional feuds certainly did not help with the implementation of the principles of democracy (Huang 1997: 152-153). After the parliamentary elections in 1988, the National Assembly was dominated first by the opposition parties, which effectively limited the activities of the government. During the first two years of the Roh administration the ruling party did not have a majority in parliament, which consequently meant no possibility for the government to push through laws that were part of its

legislative agenda. It was one of the main reasons why in 1990 the chairman of the DJP decided to merge with the Democratic Unification Party of Kim Young Sam and the New Democratic Republican Party of Kim Jong Pil. The merger of these three political parties formed the Democratic Liberal Party. This coalition changed the existing parliamentary phenomenon of *yoso yadae*. By obtaining a majority in this way, in March 1992, the parliament passed 23 laws. The combination of these three parties made the Roh administration politically able to govern effectively, and also led to the end of the impasse between the government and parliament (Kim 1994: 195).

5. Kim Young Sam – The First Civilian President

Undoubtedly, two important political events in 1992 that clearly demonstrated a continuation of democratic change: one was the next parliamentary elections in which the ruling party - the Democratic Liberal Party - again failed to win a parliamentary majority (Bae and Cotton 1993: 178). In 1992, there was also a presidential election. These two elections provided evidence of the internalization of democratic values in South Korean society. Holding the political elite to standards of democratic conduct in both the ruling party and the main opposition party, the pre-election statement from Roh Tae Woo of his establishment of a neutral cabinet, and the army indicating its political neutrality, and the conduct of relatively free and fair elections, were indicative that South Korea's process of democratic consolidation was in progress both in terms of rules and procedures (Sigur 1993: 12-14; Bae 1995: 66-67).

On February 25, 1993 Kim Young Sam took the presidential oath of office thus heralding the birth of the first civilian presidency in 32 years. Kim's presidency marked the end of the rule of generals and testified to the need for the continuation of democratic change. Kim pledged to build a "new Korea", the fight against corruption and revive the economy². Also he asked the Koreans to maintain

² Despite the fact that Kim Young Sam was the first civilian president for 32 years, he was nonetheless associated with the militarists because in 1990 he merged his party

social discipline and cultivate traditional Korean values (Ahn 1999: 33-36).

Reform of the military was among the most important reforms introduced by the administration of Kim Young Sam, because it strengthened the authority of the Minister of Defense. For the first time since the military coup in 1961, there was civilian control of the South Korean military. From the very beginning of the Kim Young Sam administration, Koreans demanded punishment of those responsible for the brutal suppression of pro-democracy uprising in Kwangju (Cha 1993: 854; Oh 1999: 135-136).

By the end of 1995, in order to eliminate authoritarian past, Kim Young Sam approved a special law under which two former presidents Chun Doo Hwan and Roh Tae Woo and other military men were brought to trial. The arrest and subsequent judgment of the former presidents in a trial whose judicial process was open to the public was unprecedented testimony to the end of military rule in the Republic of Korea.

The obligation to conduct a public declaration of assets of high-ranking government officials, members of the National Assembly, party activists, high-level military and police was a major project to consolidate the young democracy. Establishment of a system of financial transactions under real names was further evidence of the consolidation of democratic change, because for many years elites were allowed to open bank accounts under a fictitious name. These reforms were widely recognized as great achievements of the administration of President Kim Young Sam.

Undoubtedly, an important challenge for the young South Korean democracy was the authoritarianism of President Kim Young Sam. His autocratic presidency in the early phase of democratic consolidation of democracy could be seen by comparing the number of laws of Parliament with a number of presidential decrees and implementation of ministerial level actions during the administration of Kim Young Sam. This strengthened the presidency without the need for competition among political parties, while being in "the shadow of the political" Constitutional Court (Croissant 2002: 19-36).

- the Democratic Unification Party - with the government party - the Democratic Justice Party.

In South Korea, there were factors that both supported and hindered the consolidation of a democratic political system. The factors supporting consolidation included: ethnic homogeneity, the lack of religious conflict, and the establishment of civilian control over the military (Im 1997: 22). In turn, the primary condition hindering consolidation was the weak development of the party system. South Korean public support for systemic changes also led to the gradual emergence of a democratic society. The establishment of a democratic political system abolished barriers to its development after they have been used by authoritarian Fifth Republic (Steinberg 2000: 224-225). Attempts at moving away from authoritarianism were related to, among others, the various forms of self-organized associations among Koreans. Spontaneously creating their own voluntary associations and organizations contributed greatly to the development of a democratic society affecting the consolidation of South Korean democracy, which has since become the "only (one) game in town" (Im 1997: 32).

6. Kim Dae Jung – A Leader in the Struggle for South Korean Democracy and Author of the Sunshine Policy

For many years South Korea was ruled by presidents who came from the region of in the southeast (Kyongsang). This situation changed with the next presidential election, which took place in December 1997, when Kim Dae Jung won the election. Kim Dae Jung, a veteran of the struggle for freedom and human rights, originated from the southwest (Cholla)³.

It was the first peaceful transfer of power in 50 years of political history; a transfer of power to an opposition party. In his inaugural speech, Kim presented the enormity of the challenges facing his administration. He announced that in order to improve the life of Koreans they would certainly experience "sweat and tears". Kim outlined the three main objectives of his administration:

³ Kim Dae Jung ran four times in the presidential elections of 1971, 1987, 1992, and finally in 1997, when he was elected at the age of 73. During his forty-year political career Kim spent approximately 14 years in prisons and detention centers. He repeatedly risked his life to defend the ideals in which he sincerely believed.

to improve the economic situation, to warm relations with North Korea, and to support democratic institutions. Reforming the economic system by Kim Dae Jung coincided with the period of the Asian economic crisis, which was painfully felt by South Koreans during 1997-1998 (Lee 2000: 9-13). As a result of the drastic collapse of the exchange rate of the South Korean won, foreign exchange reserves proved necessary and immediate assistance from international financial institutions (including the International Monetary Fund), proved necessary. This saved the country from economic disaster. Despite the extremely difficult situation, the South Korean economy under the leadership of Kim Dae Jung the situation by the end of 1998 was moving toward stabilization (Friedman 2006: 65-67). By late 1999, the government announced the end of the crisis in the country. Kim Dae Jung aroused both great affection and loyalty among supporters and a mixture of ambivalence or even hostility among his opponents. Struggling for many years under military rule created his charismatic image of a leader seeking to establish freedom and democracy, but also a Korean who desired to unite his beloved homeland. Many political observers agreed that Kim had outstanding political abilities (Kim 2000: 35-41).

From the beginning of his administration Kim Dae Jung consistently sought to realize his political dream of a reconciled and united Korea. In his autobiography he wrote, standing at the Berlin Wall made him realize that the purpose of the rest of his life would be devoted to the study of plans for the unification of my homeland. The "Sunshine Policy" envisioned a peaceful unification of the two Korean states, which since the end of hostilities in 1953, had remained technically at war.

During June 13-15, June 2000 Pyongyang hosted an unprecedented meeting of leaders of the two Korean states, the President of South Korea, Kim Dae Jung, and the Chairman of the National Defense Commission of North Korea, Kim Jong Il. It was historical turn in inter-Korean relations opening the possibility for increased cooperation and the emergence of a hope for Korean reconciliation Koreans. The Korean Summit was a symbol of the success of the political administration of President Kim Dae Jung, policy architects of reconciliation, and inter-Korean cooperation. The meeting, at the highest level of state power of the two Koreas, was a major political event in the history of the divided Korean people.

After years of mutual hostility and distrust the two Koreas seemed to be opening a new stage in relations oriented toward building reconciliation and mutual trust. The Nobel Peace Prize was awarded to President Kim in 2000. It was not only an expression of international recognition for his efforts in the process of reconciliation between the two Korean states, but an appreciation of his great merits in the process of the formation of South Korean democracy.

Table 2. South Korean Leaders in Presidential Elections (1980-1997)

LP	Chun Doo Hwan*	Roh Tae Woo	Kim Young Sam	Kim Dae Jung
Date/ method of elections	August 27, 1980 Chun elected president by the National Council of the Union; February 25, 1981 Chun elected president by the Electoral College	December 16, 1987 general direct elections	December 18, 1992 general direct elections	December 18, 1997 general direct elections
Number of votes		8 282 738	9 977 332	10 326 275
Percentage of votes		36.6%	42.0%	40.3%
Region(s) with largest support	Kyongsangbuk- do	Taegu, Kyongsangbuk- do	Pusan, Kyongsangnam- do	Kwangju, Chollanam- do Chollabuk- do
Number of voters		23 066 419	24 095 170	26 042 633
Percentage of persons eligible to vote		89.2%	89.9%	80.7%

Source: Elaboration by Author.

* - Direct presidential elections were not conducted during the rule of Chun Doo Hwan.

7. Conclusion

During the democratization of South Korea, the two leaders Kim Young Sam and Kim Dae Jung were generally committed to the democratization of public affairs, civilian control of the military, and post-authoritarian governments, however, they deviated substantially from the principles of democracy in terms of their leadership of their own political parties. "Privatization" of political parties resulted in the crystallization of strong leadership of the parties, acting as a major obstacle to the development of a stable and strong party system and the full consolidation of democracy (Kang 2003: 165-180).

Despite widespread democratic values, in the society of South Korea Confucian values as loyalty and obedience to leaders is still cultivated. South Korea politics has been dominated by traditionally arranged regional arrangements. Strong regional identification of Koreans has made the voters grouped into antagonistic constituencies. In South Korean politics existing divisions are generally not due to the programs of political parties or ideologies, but have been the result of loyalty to political leadership. Although institutions in form have corresponded to patterns found in Western liberal democracies, the functions and modes of action have largely been based on the Korean traditions and culture. Some South Korean dissidents and social critics have observed that the authoritarian order, based on leadership supported by the pillars of loyal political parties and a efficiently functioning bureaucracy, has continued the tradition of a strong executive branch with much power, against the backdrop of attempts to create and refine a "New Korea" and its democracy.

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**TOUCHSTONE, WIREPULLER
AND TRANSITION: SINO-KOREAN
BOOK-DIPLOMACY AND POLITICAL FIGHTS
IN 1597-1599¹**

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Abstract: Embodying an optimistic diplomatic mind in early Joseon Dynasty, *haidongzhuguoji* written by Shin Suk-ju became a main evidence of Chinese official Ding Yingtai impeaching Joseon in the Jeongyu War occurring in 1597 because of Toyotomi Hideyoshi's second invasion. Ding Yingtai's impeachment involved Joseon's king, Chinese generals in Joseon and officials in Beijing in a political maelstrom, which aroused strong reactions of Joseon king and ministers. In this situation, Joseon's diplomatic corps were dispatched to Beijing in order to justify and defend. They made preparations and took action zealously, winning the final victory and achieving the goal consequently. However, this book-diplomacy surpassed the problem of justifying a book, thus there were some complicated

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and subtle meanings in the process. Firstly, This book-diplomacy provided a touchstone of Sino-Korean relationship in Ming Dynasty, explaining the political essence of the relationship. Secondly, This diplomacy resulted from Ming Dynasty's political fights and calmed down also because of Ming Dynasty's political fights, intensively showing both Sino-Korean interdependent political fights and each liege fights. Thirdly, The book-diplomacy became an important turning point of the transformation of Joseon's foreign concept, and Joseon's "Smaller China" mind began to emphasize excluding barbarians, which made an idealistic preparation for the rising "Smaller China" mind in Qing Dynasty.

Key words: The Jeongyu War, *haidongzhuguoji*, Ding Yingtai, Lee Jung-goo, "Smaller China", political fight.

ZAKULISOWE MACHINACJE I TRANSFORMACJE: CHIŃSKO-KOREAŃSKA DYPLOMACJA I WALKI POLITYCZNE W LATACH 1597-1599

Streszczenie: Artykuł dotyczy sytuacji politycznej w Korei Jeongyu podczas wojny, która wybuchła w 1597. Korpus dyplomatyczny Korei został wysłany do Pekinu w celu negocjacji i ochrony kraju. Dyplomaci przygotowywali się do rozmów gorliwie, osiągając ostateczne zwycięstwo i zamierzony cel. Książka o dyplomacji *haidongzhuguoji* zawiera pewne skomplikowane i subtelne znaczenie. Po pierwsze, ta książka dyplomatyczna stanowiła fundament stosunków chińsko-koreańskich za czasów dynastii Ming, wyjaśniając polityczną istotę związków pomiędzy krajami. Po drugie, stosunki dyplomatyczne wynikały z walk politycznych za czasów dynastii Ming, wyraźnie pokazując chińsko-koreańskie współzawodnictwo polityczne. Po trzecie, książka stała się ważnym punktem zwrotnym transformacji koncepcji polityki zagranicznej Korei.

Słowa kluczowe: wojna Jeongyu, *haidongzhuguoji*, Ding Yingtai, Lee Jung-goo, „Mniejsze Chiny”, walka polityczna.

시금석, 배후조정자, 그리고 전환점: 정유재란 시기 중한 간의 서적 외교와 정치투쟁 (1597-1599)

신숙주의 『해동제국기』는 조선 전기의 낙관적 대외관념을 잘 드러낸다. 그러나 도요토미 히데요시가 재차 조선을 침략한 정유재란 시기에 이 책은 명나라 관원 정응태가 조선을 책망하게 되는 주요한 근거가 되며, 이로 인해 조선의 왕과 신하, 정벌군 장군, 북경 관원 모두가 정치적 소용돌이 속으로 휘말려 들어가게 된다. 정응태의 책망은 조선 왕과 신하들의 격렬한 반응을

야기시켰고, 이런 상황 가운데 조선은 변론과 해명을 위해 북경에 사신을 파견하였다. 조선 사신은 북경에서 적극적으로 계획하고 행동하여 결국 외교적 승리를 얻어냈다. 그러나 금번의 서적 외교는 이미 서적에 대해 해명하는 문제를 넘어서고 있었으며, 복잡하면서도 미묘한 의미를 내포하는 것이었다. 첫째, 금번 서적 외교는 중국과 한국이 종주국과 속국의 관계라는 것을 검증하는 데에 있어서 시금석이 되는 것으로, 양국관계에서 정치관계의 본성을 보여주었다. 둘째, 금번 서적 외교는 명조와 조선의 당쟁에서 비롯되었고 마지막에도 명조와 조선의 당쟁으로 말미암아 해결되었는데, 이때 양국 상호간에 얽혀있는 당쟁 및 군신 간의 투쟁이 드러났다. 셋째, 금번 서적 외교는 조선의 대외 관념에 있어서 중요한 전환점이 되었는데, 조선의 ‘소중화’ 의식에서 ‘양이’관념이 강조되기 시작하였고, 이는 청대에 고조하게 되는 조선의 ‘소중화’ 의식의 사상적 준비기가 되었다고 볼 수 있다.

핵심단어: 정유재란, 해동제국기, 정응태, 이정귀, 소중화, 당쟁

1. Preface

Many scholars thought the relationship between Joseon Dynasty and Ming Dynasty as a typical suzerain-vassal relation, but in fact, there were still some complicated factors we couldn't ignore in the typical relations. On the one hand, Joseon and Ming had a special intimate relationship. Founded in the wake of Ming Dynasty (1368-1644), Joseon Dynasty (1392-1910) needed Ming's political approve and military protection, so every king of Joseon must be approved by the emperor of Ming, meanwhile, Joseon also must learn Chinese culture completely and had to pay tribute to Ming. Because of the importance of geopolitics as well, Joseon was the most important allied country of Ming. However, on the other hand, it was also fragile in Joseon-Ming relationship. The two countries usually had some problems even conflicts because of some issues such as Joseon's kingship legitimacy, frontier problem, and the ownership of Jurchens and Joseon-Japan relationship.

In this respect, there were so many complexities in Sino-Korean relationship during Ming-Qing Dynasties that even an inconspicuous incident could trigger sensitive nerves of the two

countries, thus “book-diplomacy”,² which means Joseon sent diplomatic corps to Beijing for disputing or correcting false records in some special books, was a similar incident shocking the two countries. In the beginning of Joseon Dynasty, Ming’s first emperor Zhu Yuanzhang doubted that Joseon’s first king Yi Seong-gye (King Taejo) not only was an anti-Ming minister’s son but also killed the last four kings of Goryeo Dynasty, so some Chinese official and personal books wrote down these records in Ming-Qing Dynasties, meanwhile, it caused a long diplomatic dispute about Yi Seong-gye between Joseon and Ming lasting more than 400 years. Only in the 16th century, around *daming huidian* (大明會典), an important official book of Ming Dynasty, Joseon had spent 70 years finishing correcting Yi Seong-gye’s records until 1588.

But 9 years later, in 1597, Joseon sent envoys to Beijing again for another book-diplomacy, which was more complicated than the former. Firstly, it was the first time that Joseon became a defendant forced to go to Beijing passively. Secondly, it was in the late of the Imjin War that this book-diplomacy happened, when Joseon-Ming allied troops tried to defeat Japanese invasion. Thirdly, it was because of a Joseon’s book *haidongzhuguoji* (海東諸國紀, 해동제국기) that this book-diplomacy happened, which involved of not only the triangular relationships of China, Korea and Japan in history, but also factional struggles of both Ming and Joseon in reality. Actually, it was a political incident named as “Ding Yingtai(丁應泰)impeaching Joseon”.

Several scholars studied this incident, such as Marugame Kinsaku,³ Li Guangtao,⁴ Gari Ledyard,⁵ Lee Gyehwang,⁶ Heo Jieun,⁷ Jeong Eokgi,⁸ Suzuki Kai,⁹ Liu Baoquan,¹⁰ Sun Weiguo,¹¹

² Huang Xiuzhi (黃修志). 2013. “Book-diplomacy: mingqingshiqi chaoxian de shujibianwu shulun”(“書籍外交”:明清時期朝鮮的書籍辨誣述論). 史林 (6).

³ Marugame Kinsaku (丸龜金作). 1939. 朝鮮宣祖朝に於ける明丁應泰の誣奏事件, 歴史學研究 (8-10).

⁴ Li Guangtao (李光濤). 1982. “Ding Yingtai and Yang Hao: chaoxian renchenwohuo luncong zhiyi”(丁應泰與楊鎬——朝鮮壬辰倭禍論叢之一), 中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊(8-10).

⁵ Gari Ledyard. 1988-89. “Confucianism and War: The Korean Security Crisis of 1598”, *Journal of Korean Studies*(6).

⁶ Lee Gyehwang (李啓煌). 1995. 慶長の役の最末期における「丁應泰誣奏事件」と日・明將らの講和交渉, 日本史研究 (389).

⁷ Heo Ji-eun (허지은). 2004. 丁應泰의 朝鮮誣告事件을 통해 본 조·명관계, 史

but I'll explain three questions never answered. Why a book *haidongzhuguoji* could cause a huge diplomacy even shocking East Asia? How did Joseon's envoys finish diplomatic task in Beijing? What influences did this book-diplomacy exert on Sino-Korean relationship and respective political development? In this paper, I'll focus on the role of *haidongzhuguoji* in the process, to explore the profound background and complex influence of the book-diplomacy, finally revealing the characteristic of Sino-Korean relationship during this period.

2. *Haidongzhuguoji*'s Author and Motif

What kind of book was *haidongzhuguoji*? Why would it cause shocking political and diplomatic waves on East Asian Sea? Who was its mysterious author?

Shin Suk-ju(申叔舟) was the author of *haidongzhuguoji*. Born in a scholar-gentry family in 1417, Shin Suk-ju had an extraordinary talent when he was young and lived from King Sejong to King Seongjong, going through the reign of six kings. After passing excellently King Sejong's imperial examination, he entered jixiandian (集賢殿), which was the highest policy advisory and academic research institution of Sejong, gained an important official post and began his brilliant political life from then on. However, Shin Suk-ju had several identities, he was not only a politician, but also a scholar, a general and a diplomat. As a politician, he was the most famous minister serving six kings from Sejong to Seongjong, finally assuming the office of prime minister of Joseon for a long time. King Sejo praised him as his best minister like Guan Zhong (管仲), Zhang

學研究 (76).

⁸ Jeong Eokgi (정억기). 2007. 이항복의 정치 외교 활동 연구, 홍익대 대학원 박사학위논문.

⁹ Suzuki Kai (鈴木開). 2011. 丁應泰の變と朝鮮-丁西倭亂期における朝明關係の一局面. 朝鮮學報 (219).

¹⁰ Liu Baoquan (劉寶全). 2011. "Mingwanqi zhongguo he chaoxian de xianghu renshi" (明晚期中國和朝鮮的相互認識), 韓國學論文集 (19). Guangzhou: Sun Yat-sen University Press.

¹¹ Sun Weiguo (孫衛國). 2012. "Dingyingtaitanheshijian yu mingqing shiji zhi jiangou" (丁應泰彈劾事件與明清史籍之建構), 南開學報 (3).

Liang (張良) and Wei Zheng (魏徵) of China.¹² As a scholar, he compiled or wrote many important books promoting Joseon's development, such as *dongguozhengyun* (東國正韻) teaching Korean to learn Chinese, *Hunminjeongum* (訓民正音) inventing Korean script, *guochaowuliyi* (國朝五禮儀) establishing Joseon's ritual standard and *haidongzhuguoji* guiding Joseon to associate with Japan. As a general, he led troops to defeat Jurchen of maolian (毛憐), maintained northern border security and wrote some military books in Sejo reign. As a politician, he was highly praised by envoys of Ming China owing to his literary and diplomatic talents, moreover, he was dispatched to China and Japan in person, finally finishing the missions successfully and gaining more honors in East Asia, so he was the important minister in charge of Joseon's relationship with China and Japan (久掌禮曹, 以事大交鄰為己任).¹³ Generally speaking, it was the reforming and developing period from Sejong to Seongjong, when Joseon established its regime and cultural foundation, so Shin Suk-ju was an important minister then who not only dominated Joseon's politics but also affected East Asian international situation.

After defeating Japanese pirates of Tsushima Island (己亥東征), Joseon and Japan signed a treaty (癸亥條約), which controlled kinds of Japanese trade forces by means of Tsushima Island. As one of Joseon's representatives, Shin Suk-ju went to Japan to sign the treaty, so he began to write *haidongzhuguoji* after repatriating and finally finished it in 1471. The book mainly recounted Japan (95%) and Ryukyu, describing Japan's every emperor, general, island, official, culture, etc., therefore this book were both an comprehensive investigation about Japan and a reference normalizing Joseon-Japan trade meanwhile. Shin Suk-ju said the goal of the book was to help Joseon to control Japan and maintain Joseon's marine safety.¹⁴

Shin Suk-ju had been always worrying about Japan all his life, when dying in bed, the king Seongjong asked whether he had a final wish, and he said: "I wish our country Joseon could live with Japan in peace forever." (願國家無與日本失和)¹⁵ However, it wouldn't

¹² An Jonghwa (安鍾和). 1993. 國朝人物志. Seoul; 明文堂. p. 105. The book was written in late Joseon Dynasty.

¹³ *Joseon Seongjong Sillok* (朝鮮成宗實錄)卷 56, 成宗六年六月戊戌條。

¹⁴ Shin Suk-ju (申叔舟)著, Tanaka Takeo trans. 1991. *Haidongzhuguoji*(海東諸國紀). Tokyo; 岩波書店. pp. 301-303.

¹⁵ *Tongwenguanzhi* (通文館志). Seoul; 首爾大學校奎章閣韓國學研究院. 2006. p.

have occurred to him that his final wish would failed and Joseon would be at war with Japan for 7 years, moreover, his book *haidongzhuguoji* would worsen the war situation.

3. Ding Yingtai Impeached Joseon by *haidongzhuguoji*

In 1592, Toyotomi Hideyoshi commanded Konishi Yukinaga and Kato Shima to lead nearly 200,000 Japanese soldiers to invade Joseon with a dream of conquering Ming China, which was usually called the Imjin War. During less than three months, Joseon lose its two capitals including Seoul and Pyongyang, “Joseon almost lost its all land, about to cross the Yalu River to China, so Joseon dispatched constant envoys to Beijing for military aid. After discussion, Beijing imperial court thought it necessary to help Joseon because it was a fence of China”.¹⁶ Consequently, Ming’s troop just defeating Ningxia rebellion in the west turned round to the east to help Joseon to resist Japan for seven years. In the process, Ming and Japan ever tried to negotiate peace to end the war but failed, so in 1597, Japan’s second invasion called the Jeongyu War took place again. Ming’s Emperor Shenzong punished the relevant ministers negotiating peace, appointed Xing Jie (邢玠), Ma Gui (麻貴), Yang Hao (楊鎬) as the new leaders of Ming’s troop. Just in this year, the three generals reached Joseon one after another to attack Japan’s troop. Yang Hao hold Hangang River and Taedonggang River in the west of the capital, suppressed Japan’s further attack, defended the military transport channel and removed the threat from Seoul, which was highly praised by Joseon’s King Seonjo and ministers. After entering Seoul and gaining two victories in Jishan (稷山) and Ulsan (蔚山), Yang Hao encountered a failure, causing many injuries and deaths in Taosan (島山), so Ming’s troop retreated into Seoul. But Yang Hao and Xing Jie reported the battle as a victory to Beijing and understated the casualties, which was supported by cabinet ministers such as Zhang Wei (張位) and Shen Yiguan (沈一貫) in Beijing.

As a censor official along with Ming’s troop, Ding Yingtai (丁應泰) reported Yang Hao’s failure to the emperor and accused his

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¹⁶ *Mingshi*(明史)卷 320 朝鮮傳. Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company. 1974. p. 8292.

disguising casualties and colluding with Beijing's ministers.¹⁷ Angry with Ding's exposing, Emperor Shenzong ordered to dismiss Yang Hao from his post and replaced him with another general Wan Shide(萬世德).¹⁸ However, because of Joseon's appreciation of Yang's rescuing Seoul and worry about Ding's suggestion of never adding soldiers and army provisions, Joseon dispatched envoys to Beijing to defend Yang Hao, hoping the emperor to "withdraw the decision, encourage Yang Hao and finish defeating Japan".¹⁹ Meanwhile, twenty-three Chinese generals including Wu Weizhong(吳惟忠), Mao Guoqi(茅國器), Xu Guowei(許國威) also wrote to the emperor to defend Yang Hao and advised the emperor to withdraw the order for the sake of the overall situation.²⁰ Actually, Yang Hao was impeached in the circumstance of Ming's political struggles, but he was impeached strongly again by Ding Yingtai because of Joseon's defending. Ding accused Yang of his order of building a defending city for Joseon, which Ding thought would offer Joseon a chance to betray Ming. Obviously, hard to bear Joseon's another defense, Ding Yingtai found a Joseon's book *haidongzhuguoji*, thought there were some evidences of Joseon's disloyalty to China and colluding with Japan. So he wrote an open letter to Ming's Emperor Shenzong, in which he impeached Joseon's king, Ming's military officials in Joseon and several ministers in Beijing (屬藩奸欺有據, 賊党朋謀已彰事).²¹

Firstly, Ding said Joseon had been colluding and trading with Japan for a long time according to the book, so it was not worthy of Ming's sympathy that Joseon suffered invasion from Japan. Secondly, Ding thought Joseon worshipped Japan and disrespected China, because the book wrote Japan's reign title such as Kangzheng (康正), Kuangzheng (寬正), Wenming (文明) in bigger characters above but wrote Ming's reign title such as Yongle (永樂), Xuande (宣德), Jingtai (景泰), Chenghua (成化) in smaller characters below. Thirdly, Ding censured that Joseon was disloyal to China even despised China, because the book mentioned that Joseon's kings unexpectedly had a posthumous title (廟號) such as jong (祖), jo (宗),

¹⁷ *Mingshi*(明史)卷 320 楊鎬傳. Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company. 1974. p. 6687.

¹⁸ *Mingshi*(明史)卷 320 朝鮮傳. Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company. 1974. p. 8297.

¹⁹ *Mingshi*(明史)卷 320 朝鮮傳. Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company. 1974. p. 8298.

²⁰ *Joseon Seongjo sillok*(朝鮮宣祖實錄)卷 102, 宣祖三十一年七月癸巳條。

²¹ *Joseon Seongjo sillok*(朝鮮宣祖實錄)卷 104, 宣祖三十一年九月癸卯條。

which only Chinese emperor owned, moreover, Shin Suk-ju criticized some Chinese martial emperors such as Emperor Wudi of Han Dynasty, Emperor Yangdi of Sui Dynasty.²² After pointing out the three important evidences, Ding satirized that Joseon brought Japan's invasion upon itself, and transferred disasters to Ming China by entreating for aid, so Ding suggested reprimanding Joseon king and ministers together with many Ming generals in Joseon, submitted *haidongzhuguoji* to Ming imperial court and asked the court to check up on whether Joseon deceived Ming and whether Ming's generals in Joseon collude with each other for favoritism.

After reading Ding's report, Emperor Shenzong immediately ordered to make an investigation and not to accuse each other again for the overall situation, but emperor didn't change his decision and still hastened Wan Shide to replace Yang Hao in Joseon.

4. Joseon's Reaction and Lee Jung-goo's Refuting Ding Yingtai

As an intelligence agency and think tank, Seungjeongwon (承政院) soon collected the relevant materials including Ding Yingtai's impeachment and Emperor Shenzong's order of investigation. After seeing them, King Seonjo was very nervous and grieved. He decided to suspend him from his duties and wait for the investigation of Ming's censors (俟罪待命), leaving government affairs to the prince Gwanhaegun.²³ But his decision made Seungjeongwon feel awkward, because it means a stop of Joseon's administration. So Seungjeongwon told King Seonjo that Joseon should dispatch envoys to Beijing to explain Ding Yingtai's false accusation according to the book, meanwhile Seungjeongwon also advised King Seonjo should retract the order of being suspended from his duties because it would worsen the tense atmosphere Ding Yingtai created. However, King Seonjo had no response. In view of this situation, prime minister Yu Seong-ryong (柳成龍) and many ministers of every department all urged King Seonjo, but King Seonjo insisted on his decision like Zhougong (周公) which also averted suspicion in Zhou Dynasty.

²² *Joseon Seongjo sillok*(朝鮮宣祖實錄)卷 104, 宣祖三十一年九月癸卯條。

²³ *Joseon Seongjo Sillok* (朝鮮宣祖實錄)卷 104, 宣祖三十一年九月癸卯條。

He ordered the ministers to go to Ming troop to cry and express complaints instead.

But in fact, King Seonjo never really gave up his authority, instead he ordered envoys to go to Beijing to defend Joseon and guided some key steps of the book-diplomacy. Finally Joseon chose Lee Hangbok (李恒福), Lee Jung-goo (李廷龜) and Hwang Yeo-il (黃汝一) as the three responsible envoys of diplomatic corps to Beijing.

There were some potential information behind Joseon's reaction. Firstly, The most essential reason of the king's abnormal performance was the king's anxiety about his kingship legitimacy, which was threatened by Ding Yingtai's impeachment. In Sino-Korean relationship and Confucian mind, Joseon king was not only the king and the father of Joseon people, but also the minister and the son of Ming emperor, because the source of Joseon king's authority was from Ming emperor. Moreover, if Joseon king was not disloyal because of impeachment, the whole Joseon people would be also not disloyal.²⁴ During the whole Joseon Dynasty, Neo-Confucianism became the most important ideological tool because it helped Korea gain a new social ideal, social elite and national spirit.²⁵ Secondly, King Seonjo pretended to give up his authority but actually controlled the whole thing and book-diplomacy, which indicated that King Seonjo's decision had some performing meaning on account of Confucian moral. Thirdly, Seonjo doubted how Ding Yingtai found the book (應泰之得此書, 予甚疑之耳),²⁶ so he would probe deeply into the matter. Finally, Joseon's political struggles became more intense after the impeachment. At that time, the Southerners including premier Yu SeongRyong and Admiral Yi Sun-sin (李舜臣) controlled the government, but with the death of Yi Sun-sin in the final naval battle and Ding Yingtai's charge, the Southerners was attacked by the Northerners, So Yu Seong-ryong was also forced to resign himself in the process.

Lee Jung-goo refuted Ding Yingtai's impeachments one by one in the diplomatic articles, which was prepared to send

²⁴ Gari Ledyard, "Confucianism and War: The Korean Security Crisis of 1598", *Journal of Korean Studies*, vol. 6 (Washington, 1988-89), pp. 96-98.

²⁵ Martina Deuchler, *The Confucian Transformation of Korea: A Study of Society and Ideology*, Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center for Harvard-Yenching Institute, 1992, pp. 92-110.

²⁶ *Joseon Seongjo sillok*(朝鮮宣祖實錄)卷 104, 宣祖三十一年九月乙巳條。

to Beijing imperial court. Generally speaking, Lee Jung-goo expressed three parts of explanations to aim at Ding's impeachments. Firstly, Joseon had been always regarding Japan as barbarians and beasts, and the goal of associating with Japan was to help China to gain Japan's trends. Secondly, both *haidongzhuguoji* and its author Shin Suk-ju were negligible 100 years ago and the bigger or smaller reign titles should be a historical writing habit as well as China. Thirdly, Joseon was guilty of using the posthumous title only owned by China, but Joseon was so loyal completely to China that even a little boy admired China when just learning to speak and write (三尺孩童, 才辯一語, 便知天朝).²⁷ From Lee Jung-goo's explanations, we could find some minds Joseon want to express to Ming: Ming China was the middle of the world and Japan was the only barbarian country never paying tribute to Ming China, so Joseon was the only civilized country really admiring Ming China. In a word, Joseon was a complete "Smaller China"(小中華).

5. Envoy's Diplomacy & Beijing's Response

Joseon's envoys spent three months reaching Beijing in 1599, when Ding Yingtai openly accused Xing Jie once again, another commander instead of Yang Hao, of bribing Japan to negotiate peace.²⁸ It initiated a serious consequence, not only making Joseon and Ming's ministers, censors, generals suffer a culpable accusation, but also making Emperor Shenzong angry. Because then Japanese troop was defeated back to Japan and the war had put an end, Ming imperial court was making preparations for declaring and celebrating victory, but Ding's accusation of "bribing Japan to negotiate peace" meant that Ming didn't gain a whole victory in spite of devoting 7 years, more than 100,000 soldiers and millions of money, which would made Emperor Shenzong disgraced. So after receiving Ding's accusing article, Emperor Shenzong didn't give a response,²⁹ which betokened that Shenzong had lost patience and confidence to Ding and Ding would

²⁷ Hwang Yeo-il (黃汝一). *Yinchalu* (銀槎錄). Im Gi-jung (林基中) ed. 燕行錄全集 (8). Seoul: 東國大學出版部. 2001. pp. 251-254.

²⁸ *Ming Shenzong shilu* (明神宗實錄)卷 330, 萬曆二十七年正月丙午條.

²⁹ *Ming Shenzong shilu* (明神宗實錄)卷 330, 萬曆二十七年正月丙午條.

fail ultimately.

In Beijing, Joseon envoys made great efforts to gain diplomatic victory. Firstly, they collected Ming's newspapers called *tongbao*, *dibao*, *tiben* (通報, 邸報, 題本) or official documents to understand Ming's political trends. In order to understand the attitude and working procedure of Ming imperial court, Joseon envoys tried their best to ask their translators or Chinese petty officials to collect those newspapers or documents, sometimes even by means of bribing to some officials. For example, after knowing that Emperor Shenzong ordered the ministry of war to discuss Ding Yingtai's impeachment together with other ministers and censors from the newspapers or documents, envoys immediately transcribed more than forty Lee Jung-goo's explanatory articles according to the format of each department.³⁰

Secondly, they visited several important ministers such as premier Shen Yiguan, justice minister Xiao Daheng (蕭大亨) to gain their supports. According to some handbooks about Ming's ministers, Joseon envoys were informed of a fact that Shen Yiguan and Xiao Daheng were the most relevant and important ministers, so they specially visited the two ministers. In front of Shen Yiguan and Xiao Daheng, envoys submitted the explanatory article to them and told the false accusation one by one by pointing *haidongzhuguoji*.³¹ The two ministers were both willing to help Joseon envoys due to a realistic reason, because Ding Yingtai also accused them.³² Especially Xiao Daheng, he played an important role in the diplomatic activities of Joseon envoys, even personally instructing envoys how to defend and succeed.

Thirdly, they distributed the refuting articles to all kinds of departments to win public opinion support. After knowing the emperor ordered the ministers to discuss, envoys transcribed the refuting articles day and night, very anxious to prove Joseon's innocence to all departments of Ming. On the one hand, Envoys' efforts made Beijing officials understand the sequence of Ding's

³⁰ Hwang Yeo-il (黃汝一). *Yinchalu* (銀槎錄). Im Gi-jung (林基中) ed. 燕行錄全集 (8). Seoul: 東國大學出版部. 2001. pp. 342-343.

³¹ Lee Hangbok (李恒福). *Chaotianlu* (朝天錄). Im Gi-jung (林基中) ed. 燕行錄全集 (9). Seoul: 東國大學出版部. 2001. pp. 61-65.

³² Lee Hangbok (李恒福). *Chaotianlu* (朝天錄). Im Gi-jung (林基中) ed. 燕行錄全集 (9). Seoul: 東國大學出版部. 2001. p. 64.

impeachment, on the other hand, many Beijing officials became curious to Joseon books such as *haidongzhuguoji*, *yudishenglan* (與地勝覽), *kaoshicuoyao* (考事撮要), etc., even some of which were presented to Beijing officials. Then Xiao Daheng was very glad to see some Joseon books as evidence together with *haidongzhuguoji*, he asked Joseon envoys why not usually submit these books to Ming China. Finally, *haidongzhuguoji* and *guochaowuliyi*, both written by Shin Suk-ju, were kept in the ministry of Justice as evidences involved.³³

In fact, before Joseon envoys entering Beijing, many ministers criticized Ding Yingtai's false charge. For example, Xing Jie, commander of Ming troop in Joseon wrote a letter to Emperor Shenzong against Ding's impeachment twice, mentioned Ding's impeachment had triggered indignations of Joseon people even pasting some papers on the temple dedicated to Guan Yu to curse Ding, and he also accused Ding actually colluded with the doves including Zhao Zhigao (趙志舉).³⁴ Without doubt, after Joseon envoys entering Beijing and making diplomatic efforts, Shen Yiguan and Xiao Daheng both criticized Ding Yingtai. After a centralized meeting, Beijing ministers came to an agreement, submitted each view to the emperor, all proving Joseon's loyalty. As the responsible minister of Ding Yingtai's impeachment, Xiao Daheng submitted an article summarizing general opinions to Emperor Shenzong. He thought it was so irrational that Ding Yingtai cooked up charges due to his personal gain because it had caused some confusions in all directions, so he advised emperor to remove Ding's post to return to his hometown or to come back to Beijing to receive emperor's punishment. Meanwhile, he suggested that someone must be sent to Joseon to revoke the king in order to keep Ming-Joseon relationship.³⁵ Consequently, Emperor Shenzong followed Xiao Daheng's advice.

A month later, Ming's army returned to Beijing from Joseon, thus Emperor Shenzong published an imperial edict celebrating Ming-Joseon victory of defeating Japan (平倭詔), in which emperor

³³ Hwang Yeo-il(黃汝一). *Yinchalu*(銀槎錄). Im Gi-jung(林基中) ed. 燕行錄全集 (8). Seoul: 東國大學出版部, 2001. p. 407.

³⁴ Xing Jie(邢玠). 2010. *Jinglve yuwo zouyi*(經略禦倭奏議). Qingdao: Qingdao Press. pp. 113-139.

³⁵ *Ming Shenzong shilu*(明神宗實錄)卷 332, 萬曆二十七年三月辛未條。

said:“ Ming China has been not only benevolent to rescue the respectful country but also martial to destroy the contemptible country.”(我國家仁恩浩蕩，恭順者，無困不援；義武奮揚，跳樑者，雖強必戮！)³⁶

However, the matter caused by Ding Yingtai was not over. King Seonjo ever asked how Ding Yingtai gained *haidongzhuguoji*, so he began to probe into the matter and punished some officials contacting with Ding Yingtai.³⁷ One year later, one enlightened reading book for children about Ding Yingtai appeared in Joseon, in which Ding was demonized as a foe of Joseon.

6. Conclusion: Touchstone, Wirepuller and Transition

The war is the continuation of the politics, while the diplomacy is the prolongation of the interior, which means that the diplomacy occurring in the war will reveal the essence of interior political struggles and international relationships. It was obvious that Japan wanted to establish a new East Asian political and economic order instead of Ming China by the Imijin War and the Jeongyu War in late 16th century, which connected Ming, Joseon and Japan closely.³⁸ Because of Ding Yingtai's impeachment by *haidongzhuguoji*, historical and realistic relations among the three countries became a sensitive problem in the war and diplomacy. But in the whole diplomatic process, Sino-Korean book-diplomacy around *haidongzhuguoji* had surpassed the diplomatic meaning and possessed a complicated and delicate significance, which was specially conducive to understand both Sino-Korean relationship and respective politics.

Firstly, This book-diplomacy provided a touchstone of Ming-Joseon relationship, explaining the political essence of the relationship. King Seonjo's worry about his kingship legitimacy and Ming's suspicion about Joseon's loyalty should be two keys

³⁶ *Ming Shenzong shilu*(明神宗實錄)卷 334, 萬曆二十七年四月丙戌條。

³⁷ *Joseon Seongjo modified sillok*(朝鮮宣祖修正實錄)卷 33, 宣祖三十二年九月丁未條。

³⁸ Kenneth M. Swope. 2007. "Perspectives on the Imjin War". *Journal of Korean Studies* (Vol. 12, No. 1). p. 160.

of the book-diplomacy. Gari Ledyard pointed out Joseon king performed the Confucian morals when in the war, but the essence of these Confucian morals was the anxiety for kingship legitimacy. Moreover, from the beginning to the end, Ming China never stopped suspecting Joseon's loyalty, today Ding Yingtai doubted Joseon would collude with Japan in 1598, while tomorrow Xu Guangqi (徐光啟) would also doubt and accused that Joseon would colluded with Jurchen in 1619.

Secondly, This diplomacy resulted from Ming Dynasty's political fights and calmed down also because of Ming Dynasty's political fights, intensively showing both Sino-Korean interdependent political fights and each liege fights. Why could a petty censor Ding Yingtai accuse so many people from Joseon king to main ministers, other censors and generals? It was just because he got supports from two powers. One was the support of Ming's doves, which realized that Ming China became weaker because of saving Joseon and Jurchen rising in the northeast. The other one was the support from Emperor Shenzong, who ever openly praised Ding Yingtai in order to use his impeachment to control the ministers.³⁹

Thirdly, The book-diplomacy became an important turning point of the transformation of Joseon's foreign concept. In Shin Suk-ju's era, Joseon had an optimistic confidence in East Asia, but in Lee Jung-goo's era, Joseon became very pessimistic, guilty and worried about weaker Ming and stronger Jurchen. So this book diplomacy amended Joseon's diplomatic mind in the era of Shin Suk-ju, Joseon's "Smaller China" mind began to emphasize excluding barbarians, which made an idealistic preparation for the rising "Smaller China" mind in Qing Dynasty.

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