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**Korean Tradition in Modern Eastern Asia:  
Ideas, Myths and Realities**



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# **ASIAN STUDIES**

## **KOREAN TRADITION IN MODERN EASTERN ASIA: IDEAS, MYTHS AND REALITIES**

Volume II (XVIII), Issue 2  
Ljubljana, November 2014

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## **Introduction**

# **Korean Tradition in Modern Eastern Europe: Ideas, Myths and Realities**

Chikako SHIGEMORI BUČAR\*

It is our great pleasure to introduce the first “Korean” issue of the *Asian Studies* journal. Since 1998, this journal has been published by the Department of Asian and African Studies of the Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana. In the last decade, much effort has been dedicated to Korea-related activities by this Department and, thanks to the fruitful cooperation with many important Korean academic and cultural institutions, the Department has successfully put in place some initial steps towards the establishment of a Chair of Korean studies. In this context, our special thanks go to Prof. Dr. Yoo Kwon Jong’s contribution, which will be described more in detail below. Prof. Yoo Kwon Jong from Chung-ang University visited our Department for the first time already in January 2006 and was the first scholar to deliver a series of special lectures on Korean studies for our students. We are grateful for his constant encouragement and inspiration ever since.

The present issue of the journal, focusing on Korea, can be viewed as an important part of our endeavors in the development of Korean studies. Hence, we are very proud and honoured to be able to present several academic articles, which aim to uncover different aspects of Korean society and culture. However, the contributions published in this issue are not authored solely by the Korean scholars or scholars primarily specialized in Korean studies. Among others, one of the main goals of our Department is to establish a fruitful cooperation between East Asian scholars and present a coherent view of East Asian cultural commonalities. The rationale for proposing an East Asian perspective as a field of study is twofold. On the one hand, East Asian cultures embrace the cultural traditions of China, Japan, Korea, and Taiwan. On the other hand, the varied traditions in these cultures do not form a mechanical assemblage, but rather a comprehensive, developing, and systematic whole. Therefore, this issue also contains important contributions on Korean studies written by experts in Chinese and Japanese studies.

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The first section of the present volume is entitled *Libraries, museums and national heritage*. The first article in this section presents a thorough investigation of the library disputes in Korea which started as early as the 1950s. Against the specific historical background, Ryu Hyeonsook starts her examination by going through the terminological variation of “national”, “central” and what may be translated as “national representative” libraries. It is very important to understand the specific situation in Korea where the National Library of Korea and the National Assembly Library coexist up to the present day. The article shows how political background may influence the cultural development of a nation, in this case, the order and structure of public services, which are closely related to people’s everyday endeavours.

Jeff Kingston’s contribution deals with politico-historical disputes between Korea and Japan which are deeply rooted in the colonial time of the two nations’ history. His article takes us to the most current scenes of “history wars”, such as the Rising Sun flag in *manga* exhibitions in the War Memorial of Korea in Seoul, statues of “comfort women” which are found not only in Seoul but also in several cities in the United States. The author clearly shows how symbols and heroic figures are often manipulated to become convenient tools for inflaming nationalistic and patriotic sentiments. The neighbouring “frenemies”, according to Kingston, still have a long way to go before they can reach a convincing reconciliation.

The second section is entitled *Korea and Japan: a precarious relationship* and features articles focusing on relations between Korea and Japan, based upon their common cultural and historical background. Beatrix Mecsi of the ELTE University presents an interesting view on the myth of eternal life as a punishment, focusing on Pindola (or Binzuru) of Japan and the Lonely Saint in Korea. The central part of Mecsi’s article concentrates on the lively description of the Korean deity associated to magic and immortality, often depicted with long white eyebrows. Already in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century some scholars connected the Asian legendary figures with the wandering Jew from Jerusalem.

Nataša Visočnik presents sociological research on a recent phenomenon in an area in Kyoto, where marginalized groups of local citizens, among them generations of *zainichi* Koreans, struggle in a new form of community building. The *machizukuri* movement should be taken as a good model of self-governance and cooperation in today’s urban life. Visočnik’s fieldwork includes remnants of

historical outcasts of Japanese society, the problem of *buraku*, as well as the most current measures taken for marginalized groups of different ages, nationalities and handicaps, and sees rather optimistic directions in the newly emerging multicultural and multifarious lifestyle of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

The next section carries the title of *Korean philosophy: metaphysics and political theory*. The range of contributions begins with Jana S. Rošker's article which turns a spotlight on Dasan (or Jeong Yak-yong), a Korean Confucian philosopher, and discusses his importance in understanding traditional East Asian streams of Confucian thought. Rošker's investigation into Dasan's background, life and work convincingly shows that this Korean Confucian philosopher can be viewed as one of the most prominent landmarks in the history of East Asian Confucianisms.

Yoo Kwon Jong's special contribution in Korean deals with the political history of Jeong Do-jeon who was the most substantial contributor to the making of the Joseon dynasty. Without Jeong Do-jeon's planning and practice, the Joseon dynasty could not have been established and moreover, the dynasty would not have existed for almost 500 years.

Another contribution related to Korean Confucianism is by Martina Greif and Jana S. Rošker, investigating a Taiwanese perspective on Confucianism, taking up the work by Prof. Lee Ming-huei. The authors of this article assert that the development of Confucian studies must be viewed in a broader cultural context, taking into account all regions of Eastern Asia, including Korea.

Overall, the present issue covers old and new, traditional and contemporary issues, related to Korea. What is common to all contributions is that we cannot neglect and should not fail to keep in mind the broader perspective of East Asia as a whole. In this sense, the present issue on Korean studies can be seen as one of the first steps leading towards the development of "East Asian cultures" as a valid new field of study with a rich and distinct "unity in diversity". It is our firm belief that an East Asian perspective opens up a novel vista for future investigations, pointing to new aspects and questions, and opening new horizons for the appreciation of the diversity and variety of East Asian cultures.

I wish all readers an enjoyable reading.

Chikako Shigemori Bučar, Guest Editor





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*Libraries, Museums and National Heritage*

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# Examination of Disputes between the National Library of Korea and the National Assembly Library

RYU Hyeonsook\*

## Abstract

There exist two national libraries in Korea: the National Library of Korea (NLK) and the National Assembly Library (NAL). Given that both libraries perform the national library function, debates on their unification began in the 1950s and continued up until the mid-1970s. Even in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, disputes pertaining to the exclusive use of the title *national representative library* continue between the two libraries. This paper examines the disputes between the two national libraries of Korea from the beginning of the library legislation activities of the 1950s up to the present time.

**Keywords:** national library, library act, Korea, National Assembly Library, National Central Library

## Izveček

V Koreji obstajata dve nacionalni knjižnici, to sta Narodna knjižnica Koreje in Knjižnica državnega zbora. Glede na to, da obe knjižnici izvajata funkcije nacionalne knjižnice, so se v 50. letih 20. stoletja začele razprave o njuni združitvi, ki so trajale do sredine 70. let. Tudi v 21. stoletju se spori v zvezi z izključno uporabo naziva *narodna predstavniška knjižnica* med knjižnicama nadaljujejo. Članek proučuje spore med dvema korejskima nacionalnima knjižnicama od 50. let 20. stoletja, ko so se pričele aktivnosti za ureditev bibliotekarske zakonodaje, do današnjega dne.

**Ključne besede:** nacionalna knjižnica, zakon o knjižnicah, Koreja, Knjižnica državnega zbora, Nacionalna centralna knjižnica

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## **Introduction**

### **Purpose**

The National Libraries Section of IFLA (The International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions) is in charge of matters concerning the functions of national libraries.

National libraries have special responsibilities, often defined in law, within a nation's library and information system. These responsibilities vary from country to country but are likely to include: the collection via legal deposit of the national imprint (both print and electronic) and its cataloguing and preservation; the provision of central services (e.g., reference, bibliography, preservation, lending) to users both directly and through other library and information centres; the preservation and promotion of the national cultural heritage; acquisition of at least a representative collection of foreign publications; the promotion of national cultural policy; and leadership in national literacy campaigns. (IFLA National Libraries Section 2014)

In Korea, two national libraries fulfil most of the conditions described above. One of these is the National Library of Korea and the other is the National Assembly Library. Administratively, the National Library of Korea is affiliated with the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism, while the National Assembly Library is affiliated with the National Assembly.

Despite other existing examples of one country having two national libraries, the purpose of this paper is to examine the background and breakdown of attempts to unify the two national libraries in Korea, a country where the process of modernisation was delayed. The article further examines relations between both libraries and government institutions in the context of their disputes, as evidenced from documentation stemming from law revision periods.

### **Definition of Terms and Representations**

In this paper, the following terminology is used.

- National library is a library established and funded by a national government with the designation "national", to serve the needs of this government, often to function as a library of record for the nation's publishing output, and in some cases

to act as a central agency for library and bibliographic development in the nation<sup>1</sup>. (Dictionary 2014)

- The National Library of Korea, NLK: is a national library affiliated with the Korean Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism. It was established in 1945 and was officially renamed the National Central Library of Korea with the enactment of the Libraries Act in 1963. Due to the library having used the English language designation of National Library of Korea since 1995, this term will also be applied throughout this paper (hereinafter referred to as NLK).

- National Assembly Library, NAL: is the library established by the Korean National Assembly in 1952 (hereinafter referred to as NAL). The NAL Act was enacted in 1963.

- *gugga* (국가, 國家) and *guglib* (국립, 國立)<sup>2</sup>: are most often used to signify *national* when translating into the Korean language<sup>3</sup>. *Gugga* essentially represents the country itself, or the entire country, and is used when referring to the country as a whole. *Guglib* specifically indicates the fact that an institute has been founded by the state and since it expresses the circumstance of having been established and managed by the state, the term is usually applied to government funded organisations.

The above listed national library definition of “a library established and funded by a national government with the designation national” coincides with that of the *guglib* library and “to serve the needs of this government, often to function as a library of record for the nation’s publishing output, in some cases to act as a central agency for library and bibliographic development in the nation” coincides with that of the *gugga* library.

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<sup>1</sup> National library. Dictionary.com. *Dictionary.com Unabridged*. Random House, Inc.

<sup>2</sup> • *Guglib*, *national* is a Chinese-like word of Japanese origin, considered to have entered the Korean language during the Japanese imperial period. Its use spread during the post-war period, when prefectural institutions and agencies were taken over from Japan. It appears that the shift to *national* occurred quite naturally, the detailed history of which may be examined on another occasion.

• This paper follows the “Romanization of Korean” as specified in Notification No. 2008-2 of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. (8) “When it is necessary to convert Romanized Korean back to Hangeul in special cases such as in academic articles, Romanization is done according to Hangeul spelling and not pronunciation. Each Hangeul letter is Romanized as explained in section 2 except that ㄱ, ㅋ, ㆁ, ㄷ, ㅌ are always written as g, d, b, l. When ㅇ has no sound value, it is replaced by a hyphen, which may also be used when it is necessary to distinguish between syllables.”

<sup>3</sup> National may also be translated as *jeongug* (전국, 全國), *hangug* (한국, 韓國), *gugnae* (국내, 國內) and other terms.

To emphasize, “in some cases to act as a central agency for library and bibliographic development in the nation”, *jungang* (중앙, 中央) is added to the name, resulting in *guglib* or *gugga* central library.

The distinction between the application of terms *gugga* and *guglib* may further be explained using the following examples. *Gugga* policy, “the policies of a national government” (OED), *gugga* language, “a language spoken by a large proportion of the inhabitants of a nation; an official language in a particular nation, typically recognized and adopted by government or in legislature government” (OED), other collocations include *gugga* security, *gugga* examination. It is incorrect to express these phrases using *guglib*; therefore it is uncommon to use the designation *guglib* policy, *guglib* language, *guglib* security or *guglib* examination.

Judicial, legislative and administrative institutions established for the purpose of implementing national policy are *gugga* institutions. Institutions and organizations established by this type of *gugga* institution are *guglib* institutions and organisations; these include *guglib* university, *guglib* museum, *guglib* park and others. It is incorrect to make reference to *gugga* university, *gugga* museum or *gugga* park.

In other words, *guglib* incorporates the meaning of having been established and managed by the state, while the meaning of the state as a whole is signified by the use of the term *gugga*. Accordingly, that the *guglib* library and the *guglib* central library were established by the state evidently influences the role that *gugga* library and *gugga* central library have in relation to other libraries across the country. This paper uses the expressions *guglib* library, *guglib* central library, *gugga* library, *gugga* central library to differentiate among national libraries, depending on the relevant context.

- *gugga* representative library (국가대표도서관, 國家代表圖書館): is an expression for the national representative library, a representative library of the state. This expression has recently enjoyed broad use in Korea. In an environment where multiple national libraries co-exist, the use of *guglib* central library and *gugga* central library appeared in order to indicate the central component of each of the two libraries, while *gugga* representative library is used to emphasize the existence of the representative role itself.

## Research Method and Previous Research

Previous research pertaining to NLK and NAL predominantly deals with their history, organisation, function, role, service contents and evaluation; it also includes examples that compare their functions with those of foreign national libraries operating on the basis of having the same or similar roles. Despite longstanding disagreements between the two institutions, the author of this research was unable to find a study assessing the disputes between the libraries. Articles do, however, compare current NLK and NAL functions in relation to the enactment and revision of library legislation that was passed in order to prompt their unification. In recent years, a number of studies concentrating on network cooperation and sharing have been undertaken.

In order to examine the disputes between NLK and NAL, this paper focuses on bulletins and reviews published by both libraries and analyses the journals of the Korean Library Association as well as other relevant journals, research reports, library legislation and library legislation proposals that have been published on this topic.

Lee Chul Kyu<sup>4</sup> has examined the history, organisation and functioning of Japanese, American and Australian national libraries, arguing for the necessity of a *guglib* central library in Korea. He believes it more plausible to develop a *guglib* central library if both national libraries were integrated and affiliated with the National Assembly. Further to this idea, he proposed the creation of the “Draft Bill of Korean National Central Library”. (Lee, C. K. 1962)

Lee Bong Sun argues that Korea should also set up a unified national library system, thus avoiding work overlap among multiple institutions while allowing them to share burdens amongst each other and prevent national loss. (Lee, B. S. 1980)

Lee, P. J. compares the current situations of NLK and NAL, asserting that a national library centred on NAL would serve as a better option. He proposes that the following be fulfilled prior to the establishment of a national library: the constitution of a National Library Committee and the formation of an integrated system, simplified in such a way as exists in the American Library of Congress.

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<sup>4</sup> Lee Chul Kyu (1962) and Supreme Council for National Reconstruction (1962) are the same. (It is believed that the Supreme Council for National Reconstruction adopted Lee’s paper as reference material.)



Alternatively, the national library could be organized as a functionally integrated system, modelled on that of the British Library, which is managed by a Council. (Lee, P. J. 1980)

Due to the development of information and communications technology, search engines and digitizing technologies, cooperation and coordination proposals have in recent years been discussed more actively than has the argument of joining the two entities.

Lee Jee Yeon criticises the library cooperation network currently progressing at the national level and forming as centred around NLK and public libraries, asserting that a cooperation network at the national level has, in a strict sense, not yet been formed. With the development of digital technology, provision of services has been made possible by linkages in digital use, therefore bringing into existence the need for a support network that connects mutual cooperation services of the three *gugga* libraries. She states that support for each of the systems is necessary in order for this to be achieved. (Lee, J. Y. 2012)

## **National Library of Korea and National Assembly Library**

### **National Library of Korea (NLK)**

The predecessor of NLK is the Library of the Japanese Government-General<sup>5</sup> of Korea, which was opened in 1925<sup>6</sup>. This library was taken over at the end of the Second World War in 1945 and reopened as NLK in October of that same year. In August 1948, the Korean government was formed and in May 1949, NLK formally came into existence. NLK was then affiliated with the Ministry of Education; its organisational structure included the Library Director, a Deputy Librarian and comprised 6 divisions. Classification tables and cataloguing rules designed to meet Korea's actual needs were initiated as were training programs for librarians and other library staff. During that period, the library functioned as a national library, taking on the role of acting as guide and support for other libraries, implementing librarian training through an adjacent librarian academy and

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<sup>5</sup> At this time, South Korea was under Japanese colonial rule.

<sup>6</sup> NLK (2006, 42) reports that NLK was established on November 30, 1923, but referring to NLK 1973 chronology on p. 415, the office was opened on November 30, 1923, while the building was constructed in December 1923 and shown to reporters in January 1924. Premises were fully occupied by April of that same year, although records indicate that the official opening was held in 1925.

fulfilling many other tasks. It may be ascertained that NLK made a substantial contribution to Korean librarianship.

Due to the outbreak of the Korean War in June of 1950, NLK's structure was scaled down<sup>7</sup>. Based on provisions of the enacted Libraries Act, NLK became the *Guglib* Central Library in 1963. It was also afforded the function of legal deposit library and national bibliographies publishing library, thus legally becoming a national library.

In November 1974, the Library Director was appointed the level of administrator, the highest executive employee designation level among public officials employed in general service, signifying a significant promotion for the post<sup>8</sup>.

Since 1983, NLK has actively carried out various projects, most important among these being the development of KORMARC (Korean Machine Readable Catalogue), followed by the computerization of library management, the library network and digital library system and online services.

With the Libraries Act revision of 1987, NLK became the ISBN (International Standard Book Number) Registration Agency and in 1988, its main office moved to the newly constructed premises it still occupies today. Reorganisation of the government led to the establishment of the Ministry of Culture in 1990, which also resulted in transferring the affiliation of NLK from the Ministry of Education to the newly established Ministry of Culture. As a result of the organisational and functional adjustments of 2004, the function of formulating library policy was moved from the Library and Museum Division of the Ministry of Culture to the authority of the NLK.

The following libraries have been established subsequent to this period: the National Library for Children & Youths in 2006, the Korean Research Institute for Library and Information in 2007, the Digital Library in 2009, the National Library for Individuals with Disabilities in 2012 and the National Library of Korea Sejong in 2013.

National bibliographies include: the Weekly List for Legal Deposit Resources, the Korean National Bibliography, the Bibliographic Index of Korea, Korean

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<sup>7</sup> Office Amendments, May 31, 1957.

<sup>8</sup> Executive Order No. 7297.

MARC (Machine Readable Catalogue) on CD-ROM, the Union Catalogue of Foreign Books in Korea, as well as others.

The duties of NLK include: distribution of the Korean Library Automation System (KOLAS), (a task that has been well assisted by the Korean Library Information System-Network with KOLIS-NET serving as its centre), carrying out domestic cooperative activities and maintaining close relations with libraries nationwide (NLK). NLK is currently home to 3 departments, 3 libraries, 1 research institute, 18 divisions and a team of 275 staff members responsible for approximately 7 million 220 thousand volumes (NLK; KLA 2013).

### **National Assembly Library (NAL)**

The beginning of NAL reaches back to 1952, when it was set up as a reading room at the National Assembly of the nation's temporary capital, Busan. Reorganisation of the National Assembly Secretariat in 1955 served to enlarge and upgrade the reading room to that of the National Assembly Library. Based on the NAL Act<sup>9</sup> enacted in 1963, the Library Director may be appointed and dismissed by the Secretary General with the approval of the National Assembly House Steering Committee. The Director is a public official employed in special service<sup>10</sup>. The NAL Act of 1975 set the Director's remuneration package to the level of a Vice-Minister employed by the government<sup>11</sup>.

The Act specified that NAL was a deposit library, hence making it obligatory to deliver all materials published by state agencies and public organisations to NAL, while general publications could be delivered upon request.

In the 1960s and 1970s, the library's service and structure grew significantly, which has also served to influence on the upgrade of librarian posts. However, with the military coup of December 1980, the functioning of the National Assembly ceased, the NAL Act was abolished and the library's mechanisms diminished.

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<sup>9</sup> Act No. 5143, November 26, 1963. Enactment.

<sup>10</sup> Act No. 5143, November 26, 1963. Enactment.

<sup>11</sup> Act No. 2730, December 26, 1974. General revision.

The June Democracy Movement<sup>12</sup> of 1987 resulted in significant changes within Korean society, among these being direct presidential elections, local autonomous entity system restoration and the protection of political party activities.

As a result, National Assembly activities were also revived. In 1988, the new premises of NAL were completed and the NAL Act<sup>13</sup> was re-enacted, allowing NAL to regain its status as an independent organisation of the National Assembly. The post of the Library Director was promoted to that of political service and the organization of the library was also enlarged.

In 1985, a computer office was established, hailing the start of computerized library activities. In the 1997/1998 fiscal year, the “Basic Program for the Digitization of the National Library” was formed, setting the groundwork for providing digitalized services of the library’s most important material. The target users’ limit was extended from having been over the age of 20 in 1998, to being over the age of 18 in 2005.

NAL publishes the Periodical Index and the National Master and Doctorate Theses Bibliography as national bibliographies. At present, NAL cooperates and collaborates with 1523 institutions for the purpose of sharing and distributing national knowledge and information resources. It currently houses 2 offices, 3 bureaus, 1 library, 18 divisions and 289 staff members responsible for approximately 3 million 150 thousand volumes<sup>14</sup>.

## **Disputes between the National Library of Korea and the National Assembly Library**

### **Arguments in Favour of Unification — *Guglib* Central Library Establishment (1952–1963)**

#### **Dispute Process**

NLK was established upon national independence in 1945, at which point it assumed the position of Library of the Japanese Government-General of Korea. NAL, on the other hand, emerged (in 1952) as a National Assembly Reading Room during the Korean War (1950–1953); it was enlarged and upgraded to the establishment of a library in 1955. Although NLK has a longer history, NAL

<sup>12</sup> Also known as the June Democratic Uprising

<sup>13</sup> Act No. 4037, December 29, 1988. Enactment.

<sup>14</sup> KLA 2013 and NAL Accessed July 28, 2014, <http://www.nanet.go.kr/english/>.

progressed slightly move rapidly during the movement for the enactment of fundamental legislation<sup>15</sup>. The NAL Bill was drafted immediately following the opening of the Reading Room. This draft proposed an organization model similar to those of the American Library of Congress and the Japanese National Diet Library (Kim E. H. 1955, 188), thus granting NAL the role of a national library. Article 4 of the NAL Draft Bill equated the post of its Library Director to the level of a Minister of State and indicated that NAL enjoyed the status of national library. Article 20 defined their relationship as follows: “Current NLK shall become a branch library of the NAL and shall be effectively administered in a way to provide service to the citizens of Seoul in particular” (Kim E. H. 1955, 192; Jo et al. 1956). Although systematically well organized, NAL at the time represented little more than an office/bureau affiliated with the Secretary General of the National Assembly, despite its aspiration to become a national library and not to function merely as a parliamentary library. A bill proposing such changes was on the agenda of the National Assembly in 1956, but did not succeed in stimulating debate and was discontinued.

Conversely, the movement for the enactment of library legislation commenced with the inaugural meeting of the Korean Library Association (hereinafter referred to as KLA). At this plenary session, the necessity of adopting a Library Law gained ground and the subsequent promotion of such legislation resulted in the draft proposal of January 1956. Despite this proposal having been modelled on the Japanese Library Law<sup>16</sup>, it included in its provisions mention of public libraries as well as specific mention of NLK. In May 1957, KLA drafted a Library Law proposal in the form of comprehensive legislation that would include the central library, public libraries, school and academic libraries (including university and college libraries), specialized libraries and KLA (KLA 1957, 6). The proposal was made in November of that same year. It appears this proposal was designed to unify NLK and NAL as a central library. It may be speculated that the reason for the application of a new term, that of a central library, and the non-application of either the names NLK or NAL within the proposal derives from the fact that this

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<sup>15</sup> KLA (1977, 37) includes the entry “Library Law Draft” as one of the items of the December 17, 1948 Council Meeting. There is no indication of any articles or news related to Library Law following that time. Lee, T. J. (1980) notes: “When the Library Law Enactment Movement was (due to Korean War) seeking refuge in Busan...”, but as in the former case, there is no indication of any article or news related to Library Law after that. Although the necessity for the existence of an enacted Library Law is apparent, no materialised proposals were found.

<sup>16</sup> Has the legal name of Library Act, but regulates only the field of public libraries.

period directly followed the National Assembly Library Law proposal that had been rejected by the National Assembly in 1956. It may also have been influenced by the fact that the Head of the Committee<sup>17</sup> charged with drafting the proposal was affiliated with NAL.

Furthermore, from attestations claiming that “this period marks the beginning of national central library related problems (KLA 1962, 105)” and given that the NAL Law proposal which had been on the agenda of the National Assembly in 1956 had included the question: “Is it possible to enact a law only about NAL in spite of the fact that NLK also exists? (KLA 1962, 125)”, it may be concluded that the term *central library* did not refer exclusively to NLK or to NAL during that period.

The draft that was under consideration of the KLA Council in December 1957 comprised chapters on general provisions, national library, municipal public libraries, private public libraries<sup>18</sup>, school and academic libraries and the Library Association (KLA 1962, 105; 1977, 112–3). Nevertheless, it may be concluded from the Public Library Law draft bill agreed upon in July 1958 (KLA 1977, 114) that up to this point, no general consensus had been reached within the KLA as to the range of libraries that were to be included in the Library Law. Rather, a decision on the range of the Library Law was announced at a later Council Meeting. Since the synthesis received a majority of votes, the proposal (KLA 1958, 52–3) that was afterwards made formally assumed the shape of a comprehensive law. KLA reconstructed the Committee and in November 1958, formulated a proposal that included 4 Chapters and 30 Articles on general provisions, public libraries, school and academic libraries, and the Library Association. Article 3 of Chapter 1 of this proposal is the *Guglib* Library Act (KLA 1977, 114). This proposal namely includes public libraries and school and academic libraries, but presupposes the enactment of a separate law dealing exclusively with the national library (KLA 1962, 105–25; 1977, 106). It may be presumed that the *guglib* library in this draft does not refer to NLK, but rather, to the national library. Reasons for this include the fact that both libraries were discussed in the same chapter of the 1957 proposal (the chapter referring to the central library), as well as the fact that during that period, there existed in the Korean general public a fairly low understanding, not only of NLK, but of all libraries in general. The

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<sup>17</sup> Kim Seong Won.

<sup>18</sup> Established by juristic persons.

possibilities for enactment of a law pertaining exclusively to NLK were likewise non-existent due to its small scale. If this period is to be considered as difficult with respect to library legislation enactment, it is more probable that the *guglib* library refers to the central library and not to NLK.

In May 1959, a proposal comprising 4 Chapters and 35 Articles on general provisions, public libraries, school and academic libraries, and others, was drafted. Article 4 of Chapter 1 addresses *Guglib* Central Library. From the contents of this Article, it may be concluded that legislation pertaining to *guglib* central library was to be regulated separately. Within a period of one year, the term used in the proposal had been changed from “*guglib* library” to “*guglib* central library”. This circumstance points to an agreement within the library field (with KLA at the forefront) in terms of establishing a national central library. The bill was again introduced in the National Assembly but was again not passed.

As a result of the April Revolution<sup>19</sup> and the turmoil that led to the 1961 military coup, the year of 1960 was marked by a complete social chaos. The National Assembly was consequently dissolved, while the Supreme Council for National Reconstruction brought legislative, judicial and executive government under its own control, gaining a de facto hold of power.

Immediately following the revolution, KLA proposed the enactment of the Library Law to the Supreme Council, which discussed it and subsequently transferred the jurisdiction of libraries to the Ministry of Education (KLA 1961, 34). On the other hand, the Ministry of Education proposed a separate draft, where the *guglib* central library became affiliated with the Ministry of Education, while all other libraries were brought under the jurisdiction of *guglib* central library and Chief of *Guglib* Central Library was given authority to award designation of the Librarian Certification. KLA protested, arguing that such action was unjust. It approached the Ministry of Education with a proposed revision request and engaged in several meetings with the Ministry of Education and related agencies in regard to the issue (KLA 1977, 121–2). Although the Bill of 1959 determined the enactment of a separate *guglib* central library regulation, the draft bill of the Ministry of Education affiliated the *guglib* central library with the Ministry of Education and also appears to have indicated that the draft bill was unjust in terms of the intent to regulate libraries.

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<sup>19</sup> Students demonstrated against the autocratic leader Rhee.

Facing powerful opposition from the library field, the Ministry of Education formulated a new draft bill comprising 4 Chapters and 23 Articles in 1962. This draft bill constituted general provisions, public libraries, school and academic libraries and penal provisions, and included within its structure: Chapter 2 – Public Library: First Paragraph – General Provisions, Second Paragraph – *Guglib* Central Library, Third Paragraph – Municipal Libraries, Fourth Paragraph – Private Public Libraries. Unlike previous proposals, *guglib* central library was considered as a part of the chapter on public libraries and hence, its status diminished.

While the Library Law draft bill was being discussed at the Vice Minister’s meeting, KLA organised the first Korean Library Conference. The topic of the conference was “Year of Library Law Enactment” and there were public discussions on “issues related to the *guglib* central library establishment”. Since the Library Law draft bill included provisions on *guglib* central library, circumstances surrounding the form of its establishment depended on the enactment of legislation that would mark the passing of this draft. With the intent of holding a public “debate on the possibilities for establishing a *guglib* central library with expenditure currently engulfed by both NAL<sup>20</sup> and NLK (KLA 1962, 114)”, representatives of a public library, a university library, NLK, NAL, and a special library each expressed their opinion regarding the role and function of the *guglib* central library. Four of five representatives supported the establishment of an improved *guglib* central library as opposed to the unification of NLK and NAL.

Immediately following this conference, the draft bill being discussed at the Vice Minister’s meeting was withdrawn<sup>21</sup>. Reasons for this withdrawal stemmed not only from issues directly related with the *guglib* central library. In a period during which the number one item determined by national policy was economic development<sup>22</sup>, it may reasonably be assumed that the reasons for the withdrawal were grounded in the draft bill having placed too great a burden on obligatory library establishment regulation and professional librarians’ placement regulation—both of which were directly connected with the national budget (KLA 1963, 15).

It is nevertheless true that this period had been timely for the resolution of issues related to the establishment of *guglib* central library. For a substantial period of time, the role of *guglib* central library had been under public scrutiny and

<sup>20</sup> At the time called Supreme Council for National Reconstruction Library.

<sup>21</sup> The 48<sup>th</sup> Vice Ministers meeting minutes, July 26, 1962.

<sup>22</sup> Five-Year Economic Development Plan. First implemented in 1962, a government-led five-year economic development plan that resulted in rapid economic growth.



the Library Law proposal was withdrawn after the support for its enactment had already been broadly determined. During the course of this research, the author has, however, been unable to identify a movement which encouraged the establishment of *guglib* central library on the part of NLK, NAL, their overarching institutions (Assembly Secretariat and the Ministry of Education) or even by KLA. In July 1963, the Ministry of Education proposed a draft bill that consisted of 4 Chapters and 29 Articles and which amended only the condition of the large budgetary burden. This finally resulted in the acceptance of the bill by the Supreme Council for National Reconstruction in October of that same year.

### Discussion

Those who argued in favour of establishing a *guglib* central library on the basis of unifying the two libraries did so with the desire that the libraries fulfil their function as a national central library. Because the functions, services and activities of both libraries overlapped, it was impossible to avoid a waste of public funds. Most of those in favour of the libraries' unification aspired for the establishment of a *guglib* central library that centred on NAL. For this reason, an extensive research pertaining to the establishment of a *guglib* central library centred on NAL was carried out, including a *Guglib* Central Library Act proposal (Kim, E. H. 1955; Lee, C. K. 1962).

The reason for the fact that much of the public opinion was in favour of a NAL centred *guglib* central library was based on the argument that NLK did not have sufficient prerequisites to fulfil the *guglib* central library function. These arguments may be synthesized with the following points: 1. Affiliation of NLK with the Ministry of Education—a government agency did not make this library different from others established by governmental agencies. 2. NLK received poor treatment within the Ministry of Education and the impression of employees having been demoted was fairly strong. 3. Due to frequent changes surrounding the post of Library Director, it seemed improbable that a lasting, consistent library policy be formulated. 4. Given that, status wise, the position of the Library Director meant little more than a position of Chief of a Bureau, many disadvantages were apparent regarding library management. 5. The Ministry of Education faced numerous problems regarding the need for an urgent resolution of

issues related to the improvement of school facilities<sup>23</sup>, thus it was also unable to financially or even spiritually assist the nourishment of libraries. 6. A cooperative system of assistance organization fostering the library function had not been organized within the Ministry of Education.

By comparison, NAL was: 1. Affiliated with the National Assembly, an institution overlooking budget related proceedings and thus able to more liberally dispose with the budget as compared to a bureau of the Ministry of Education. 2. Distanced from political influence. 3. As an independent agency of the National Assembly, NAL had the authority to manage library personnel affairs as well as the possibility to secure the most exceptional talents. 4. Its Library Director post enjoyed high status, which was advantageous for domestic as well as foreign library cooperation. 5. The United States of America (representing Korea's closest ally) and Japan (being closest to Korea's sentiment) successfully managed their legislative authority libraries (the Congress and Diet) as their respective National Libraries.

The reasons for opposing the establishment of a national central library centred on NAL were as follows: 1. Although the National Libraries of the United States and Japan are legislative authority libraries, there are internationally more examples of national libraries affiliated with branches of executive government. 2. NAL's primary objective was to support the legislative activities of members of the National Assembly, therefore making NAL unsuitable for taking on the role of a national library.

## Overview

Although the library field has reached mutual consensus with respect to the benefit that would arise from establishing a national central library, such a library has not yet been established. The period during which active debates and bill proposals took place was politically chaotic, which effectively resulted in the failure to pass library legislation.

Furthermore, debate over the establishment of the national central library centred on the economization of national resources. Namely, since the affairs of both libraries overlapped, the national library that was to be founded also needed

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<sup>23</sup> Compulsory education had been introduced, but the government faced the problem of having insufficient facilities. Government-owned public companies subsequently developed schools through the "School Facilities and Equipment Improvement Plan" and other similar initiatives.

to be economically viable. At that point in time, there prevailed arguments in favour of integration that was to be centred on NAL primarily because NAL enjoyed comparatively better conditions than did its counterpart. Disregard towards NLK as being a viable option likewise resulted in greater attention being afforded to NAL.

It must finally be noted that the library field devoted substantial efforts to the enactment of library legislation. Having engaged in a “too hasty” approach may also be considered as reason for the consequential results. Librarians of the time were of the opinion that the formation of library legislation was decisive for library development. KLA had been struggling for the enactment of library legislation since its very foundation. Although the National Assembly had been silenced during the military coup of 1961, the library field proposed a draft bill which led to enactment through a formulation guided by the Ministry of Education. However, the Ministry of Education did not, at that time, have sufficient understanding for libraries and therefore passed the bill with conformance to the governmental policy, while continuing to disregard the wishes of the library field itself.

The desired result of library legislation enactment had been obtained, but the result consequently had large and adverse effects on the lack of establishment of a national central library. For that reason, the *guglib* central library became a library affiliated with the Ministry of Education and was given a mention in the chapter on public libraries, which served to create its image as being central among public libraries and not the national library itself.

## **Unification Discussion — *Gugga* Central Library Establishment (1964–1987)**

### **Dispute Process**

Even after the Libraries Act had been enacted and the *guglib* central library founded, debate on the unification of NLK and NAL remained vibrant. This was influenced by both internal and external factors.

1. That previous discussions regarding *guglib* central library had not yet reached a conclusion was one internal factor. Immediately following the enactment of the Libraries Act, NLK was renamed *guglib* Central Library (of Korea). The term *guglib* central library, as applied by the library field, was not

simply a designation for one organisation, but instead served as a designation for a central library of the State, essentially comprising the integration of NLK and NAL. However, following a passage of the Libraries Act, the designation of NLK was changed to “*guglib* central library”, in accordance with what had been determined by the Act. This served to create a gap between the resulting reality and the *guglib* central library that had initially been envisioned in the original law enactment process. As a result, the terms *gugga* central library and *gugga* representative library emerged in place of *guglib* central library. 2. Since NLK was affiliated with the Ministry of Education and was regulated on the basis of the chapter on public libraries, its image as that of a library affiliated with an office of the Ministry of Education and as a central library among public libraries was stronger than the image of being a central library of the state. 3. Relocation due to material increase also resulted in the prevalence of unification support and may be identified as the final internal factor.

External factors were based on the United Kingdom’s research of the functions, organisations, services and other characteristics of national libraries that had resulted in a unified structure-scheme proposal in Britain (International Encyclopedia of Information and Library Science 2014, 48). As a result of this research, The British Library Act was enacted in 1972, and served to unify several libraries with long history and tradition into The British Library in 1974. This also served as the most prominent argument among supporters who were in favour of unifying national libraries in Korea (Grogan 1973; Jang 1974, 1975; Lee B.S. 1974; Ha 1974; Han, S.J. 1978).

Until the mid-1970s, analyses carried out with respect to the functioning of the National Diet Library in Japan, the Library of Congress of the United States and the National Library of Australia indicated that these libraries managed their facilities and services in a rational and effective manner. These conclusions had a strong influence on the library field, leading the majority to express preference for a unified central library management system in Korea, as opposed to having several separate libraries with similar functions (Jang 1964, 1974; Lee, C. K. 1965; Yun 1966; Lee, B. S. 1974; Eom 1974; Kim D. H. 1974; Ha 1974).

KLA also prompted the Ministry of Education and related agencies to prepare an annual library promotion plan for the country and proposed the union of both libraries as one of the necessary conditions to be included in the plan, hence

officially expressing in favour of unification. Its explanation of reasons mandating unification read as follows:

In order to facilitate the enlargement of national scope of operations, both libraries shall be merged, their personnel, funds, collections and other shall intensively be brought together. Creation of a national bibliographic control, union catalogue, creation and distribution of printed catalogue cards, production and storage of microfilm of valuable materials and others. (KLA 1967, 3)

The discussion surrounding the relocation of both NLK and NAL around 1974 coincided with the most active debate of the libraries' unification up until that time. 1974 also marked the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary number of NAL's bulletin, which included in its publication statements of librarians prompting the unification of both libraries for the purpose of developing the country and the library system.

The prevailing voice of support reasoned that because it was difficult for either library to manifest the national library role, it was necessary for them to unify and therefore, fulfil the modern library function based on a model of NAL centred unification. (Lee, B. S. 1980; Kim, D. H. 1974; Eom 1960; Jang 1974)

The reason as to why it was impossible to unify around NLK lay in the fact that NLK was little more than a government office library and not a national library. Popular opinion also believed that the low positioning of the post of its Library Director would serve to hinder the library's activities both at home and abroad. (Jang 1974, 45)

Those who opposed NAL-centred unification did so with the argument that NAL's primary service was to the National Assembly. Thus NAL could not become a national library, but could only remain a specialized, parliamentary library. (Lee, S. J. 1974, 48)

As the opposition to unification and the establishment of one powerful national library grew, support for a different perspective—that of the libraries' coexistence—also emerged. This perspective argued that the national libraries could share the role of national library (Kim, J. H. 1969; Kim, S. I. 1974; Jeong 1978). In addition, there also rose viewpoints which opposed unification in a more indirect manner, stating that NLK's current position as a *gugga* central library had already been legally recognised and was therefore undisputable (Lee, C. S. 1969; Lee, S. J. 1970).

In 1975, NLK drafted three Library Law revision proposals. Article 17 (Establishment) of the first proposal stipulated that:

The provision of library services determined by this law shall be made by NLK, placed in affiliation to the minister in charge of education, an institution representing the state in domestic and foreign library activities. (NLK 1975)

Article 12 (Establishment) of the second proposal noted:

In NLK, the state shall place the central library mechanism for the collection of books and other related library material and provision of library services under this law to each legislative, judicial, administrative institution and the citizens. (NLK 1975)

Finally, Article 18 (Positioning) of the third proposal specified that:

NLK shall be a representative library at home and abroad. (NLK 1975)

The first and the third bill emphasize the role of NLK as the state representative library, while the second bill places importance on the central library and considers the possibility of unification with NAL. Although not visible on the surface, NLK did not exclude the possibility of unification. Its proposals may therefore be viewed as attempts to put forward a library representing the state and to achieve prominence through unification.

During the economic development of the mid-1970s, public opinion began to shift towards opposing unification. This was primarily due to the growth of NLK, the reorganisation of its management structure, its research duties as a national library and the broadening of its services.

This same trend of opinion is also apparent in KLA's Korean Library Development Plan of 1979 (KLA 1979). In this plan, KLA examined the situation of public libraries, university libraries, school libraries, special libraries and librarian training. Although it had drawn up the plan for the purpose of library development, it afforded no mention of a national library. Debate surrounding implementation of the plan began in 1975. Since opinions on the plan's periods of goal setting and process of development differed, a special committee was formed in 1977 with the purpose of planning its development process. Although it was stated that the plan was relevant for library law revision proposals, there was no mention of a national library. The library law that was being debated at that time was an example of comprehensive legislation that covered all libraries; the

development plan also included all types of libraries. By comparison, the proposal created by KLA in 1967 had demanded unification of both libraries. The exclusion of a national library from the formulation of a national library development plan is therefore quite unusual. Opposition against unification continued to grow stronger and on the basis of available documentation, it may be presumed that common ground on the unification issue had not been reached even within KLA itself.

In the midst of this situation, there occurred the military coup of 1979, bringing about the reorganisation of the National Assembly in 1980. NAL's affiliation was transferred to the National Assembly Secretariat, causing it to lose its independent status. The National Assembly Library Act was abolished and the movement for NAL-centred unification lost influence. Furthermore, in 1984, the House Steering Committee published a plan to reform the National Assembly Secretariat and NAL. The contents of the portion of the plan referring to the library provide that:

In America and Japan, the parliament library performs the national library functions, but in our country NLK has been established. NAL should be distanced from the role of the national library and make the most of its specialisation as a genuine parliament library. Even if it shall be cultivated as a special library focusing on social sciences, such as politics, parliament, economy and others, it has many characteristics as a public library. (National Assembly 1984)

After this report served to finally bring an end to the proposal of NAL-centred unification that was being led by those affiliated with NAL, the library's prompts for unification ceased.

As a result, the amended Libraries Act<sup>24</sup> of 1987 consisted of 8 Chapters and 47 Articles. Chapter 2 dealt exclusively with NLK and included the following provision: "In order to operate effectively, NLK will cooperate with NAL." This may be viewed as a complete acknowledgement of the capabilities of NAL, that is, an acknowledgment of NAL as a national library similar to that of NLK. It may also be viewed as an effort to resolve conflicts with NAL in a positive manner.

## Debate

During this period, rivalry may be observed between NAL (which had a substantially superior budget, staff resources and functional capacity) and NLK

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<sup>24</sup> Act No. 3972, November 22, 1987. Amendment.

(which legally held the position of a national library). NLK was now in the situation of maintaining its legal status and did not actively participate in the unification debate. Conversely, up to the mid-1970s, NAL had still occasionally insisted on unification. Prior to the enactment of library legislation, active debate on the establishment of a national central library continued to take place. The debate focused primarily on NAL-centred unification, but also gave rise to negative views and the emergence of a conservative theory on the issue of unification.

In summary of its argument, the unification theory proposes the establishment of a library as an independent state organisation not belonging to any administrative agency in order to effectively be able to respond to budgetary and staff resource demands, facilities, collection development, international material exchange and similar matters, since a national library such as this does not currently exist. (Jang 1964, 1974; Lee, C. K. 1965; Yun 1966, 1969, 1975; Kim, J. G. 1969; Lee, C. H. 1974; Kim, S. I. 1974; Jang 1974; Kim, D. H. 1974; Ha 1974; Eom 1974; Lee, B. S. 1974, 1980; Lee, P. J. 1980)

Those insisting on NAL-centred unification proposed a politically unbiased national library, one that would not be affiliated with ministries or government offices. At the same time, it was also argued that affiliation with the National Assembly would be more beneficial from a politically unbiased point of view when taking into account the position of its Library Director. The positive budgetary aspect of an agency that was under the direct supervision of the National Assembly rather than the Ministry of Education was also provided as an advantage favouring NAL-centred unification (Jang 1964; Lee, C. K. 1965; Yun 1966, 1969; Kim J. G. 1969; Kim, D. H. 1974; Ha 1974; Eom 1974; Lee, B. S. 1974, 1980; Lee, P. J. 1980). In reality, NAL's budget was growing while that of NLK was decreasing. This was coupled with a remarkable rise in the number of books available on NAL's shelves.

Supporters of the conservative theory (Kim, S. I. 1974; Jang 1974) proposed the formation of a special board for the purpose of unification and for grounding unification in research that would lead to the examination of a comprehensive and specific unification plan for the purpose of establishing a single national library in its name and substance. Though this board was never actually formed, the idea itself represented an advanced approach that would serve to avoid prejudiced disputes which resulted from the unification issue being treated solely from the



librarian point of view. The idea was that the board would evolve the issue using a more comprehensive, substantiated and influential mechanism.

In summary, opponents of unification were unable to provide evidence that it would be *right* for Korea to follow the example of the United States, Japan and a few other model countries, whose parliamentary libraries served the function of National Library. They were of the opinion that NAL should become the national library, particularly given that its budgetary and personnel conditions (including the status of its Library Director), were superior to those of NLK. Yet realistically, the possibilities for unification were low. If both libraries were to divide service divisions among themselves, the possibility for a special research library, where each of the two libraries would be able to most effectively develop their respective roles, would be more feasible. (Jeong 1978; Kim, Jung Han 1969; Lee, S. J. 1974; Kim, S. I. 1974; Yun, Y. D. 1978; Kim, Jong Ho 1978)

The libraries did actually communicate with one another on the issue of unification. A record from April 1974 (NAL 2012, 517) confirms that representatives of both libraries were present at a round table conference while the unification debate was gaining ground. Since it appears that neither of the parties were able to convey their views, the meeting did not bring about any fruitful results. This demonstrates significant differences in the views of each of the libraries, as has also been evidenced by the points explained above.

## Overview

During the Five-Year Economic Development Plan that began under government guidance in 1963, NLK faced successive budgetary cuts; its rate of growth was also inferior to that of NAL. In the midst of this period, there also emerged an order that NLK be changed to *gugga* central library, a state agency in name and substance. But the NLK's primary mission was to fulfil its role as a public library, while it also served the special function of carrying out the tasks and duties of the central library (NLK 1966). When viewed from this perspective, the low recognition for the idea of a national library makes sense. However, the military coup of 1979 brought about the weakening of the National Assembly in 1980, causing NAL to lose its position as an independent agency as well as its power to discuss unification.

Furthermore, discussion on the unification issue taking place at this time had limited conditions: there were circumstantial differences of both libraries;

examining the case of The British Library served to bolster support in favour of unification; however, Korea's was a different example of affiliation with the National Assembly and the public administration. On the surface, these seemed like unification attempts by two libraries that sought to develop a better functioning national library. Possible adverse impacts of unification remained under-researched, while a real and long lasting plan for unification was not created. The debate may ultimately be defined as a futile discussion without any substantial movement.

## Qualification Discussion—*Gugga* Representative Library (1987–present)

### Dispute Process

Keeping pace with national economic growth, both libraries experienced continual expansion. In 1988, both libraries relocated to newly built premises. The new government that came into power that same year announced that a new Ministry of Culture was to be built. Librarians issued public statements and organised round tables, thus actively promoting relocation of the Ministry of Culture. Despite resistance from the Ministry of Education (which held vested interest on the issue), the relocation of the Ministry of Culture was decided in 1990.

The Ministry of Culture drafted the Public Library Act (draft bill) in 1990. Article 17 (Duties) of the Proposal stipulated that: “NLK shall perform the duties in the following Subparagraphs”. Subparagraphs 1 to 11 list NLK's obligations, while the final Subparagraph, Subparagraph 12, specifies: “Other services necessary for executing the function as the representative library of the State”. (Ministry of Culture 1980) This represented recognition of the discussions that had taken place up to that point, and most likely gave an expression to a state representative function held by NLK. This proposal was enacted as the Library Promotion Act<sup>25</sup> in 1991. The second chapter of this Act was dedicated to NLK, in Article 16 (Duties) Clause 1, stipulating: “The National Central Library, as the representative library of the State, shall carry out the following service”, subsequently listing 11 items. Namely, the title *guglib* central library does not give the impression of representing the (interior and exterior of the) State, therefore this recognition was explicitly stipulated in the law, since the recognition of a sole library representing the (interior and exterior of the) State was low. In the proposal,

<sup>25</sup> Act No. 4362, March 8, 1991. Enactment.

the role of *gugga* representative library was one of the duties afforded to NLK, whereas law-associated tasks were identified as not being the duties of the national central library, but rather, the duties of the library representing the State. Specifically, qualifications of a national representative library were afforded to NLK and the library was expected to fulfil the role of the central library within their context.

Social changes in the second part of the 1990s also influenced library institutions and resulted in a renewed urge for the revision of library legislation. In 2003, the Institution for Culture and Tourism Policy (affiliated with the Ministry of Culture) conducted research on the Library Law, which resulted in the publication of a tentative revision. In the third chapter of its proposal, the term *gugga* representative library was used instead of *guglib* central library. This brought up the necessity for materialisation and clarification of the role of a library representing the State. Clarification of its role and function was made under the chapter title: *Gugga* Representative Library (Kim, S. H. 2005, 11). Yet, in comparison with other chapters on public library, university library, school library and others, this chapter was somewhat imbalanced. To better balance it with other chapters, application of the term *gugga* library was deemed more appropriate (Hong 2004, 41). As its existence had now been legally acknowledged, *Gugga* Representative Library was arranged into a separate chapter, and from 1991 onwards, national representative library as a designation came into use. On the other hand, this term was also applied to NAL (Lee, M. H. and Lee, S. L. 2002; NAL 2005), resulting in continued dispute between NLK and NAL as to which of the two carried the position of the representative library of the state (Kim et al. 2003, 109). Inserting the *Gugga* Representative Library chapter into the Library Law indicates the intent to appoint NLK as the sole *gugga* representative library of the State.

*Gugga* representative library is another expression for a national (central) library, but criticism has been voiced due to the specific interpretation of the term and the difference in function not having been made sufficiently clear. Due to the criticism afforded to the use of *gugga* representative library, *Guglib* Central Library was reused as the third chapter title, yet since a clear conclusion on the use of terminology has never been reached, it remains unclear as to what the correct

role of *gugga* representative library actually is. Article 18 (Establishment, etc.) of the Libraries Act<sup>26</sup> from 2006 stipulates:

- (1) The Minister of Culture and Tourism shall set up the National Library of Korea under his/her control as a library representing the State.
- (2) Where it is necessary for the efficient business handling and balanced development of district libraries, the National Library of Korea may establish branch libraries according to district and field as a library representing the State.

Further Article 19 (Duties) stipulates:

- (1) The National Library of Korea shall perform the duties in the following Subparagraphs.

Library duties are listed in Subparagraphs 1 to 7 of Article 19. Subparagraph 8 determines: "... other services necessary for executing the function as the representing library of the State".

Namely, NLK is stipulated as being the representative library of the State, yet the duties and established purpose of the vital central library of the State remain unregulated. It follows that the establishment of branch libraries by field and by region is not the obligation of NLK as central library of the State, but has been included within the description of Disposal of Business Affairs, a task of the *gugga* representative library. Rather than this being a role of the central library of the State and representing the preservation of its representative position in Korea, Articles 18 and 19 must be understood as products of an error that was made when setting the focus.

Another item causing discord between NLK and NAL resulting from the 2003 proposal is the provision on cooperation. Subsequent to the Law of 1987, the following provision was included with respect to NLK duties: "NLK shall cooperate with the NAL in order to efficiently execute its duties". Opinion is divided as to why this provision was not included in the proposal of 2003. On the one hand, the omission has been viewed as serving to effectively cease cooperation with NAL as a result of NLK not having the intent to cooperate with NAL, resulting in the further assumption that cooperation had not been positive (Hong 2004, 41). On the other hand, NLK cooperation with other libraries was seen as something natural, therefore it follows that there was no necessity to specifically mention any cooperation with NAL (Oh 1988, 12). If NAL was to be

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<sup>26</sup> Act No. 8069, December 20, 2006. Amendment.

treated as a library performing the *gugga* library function, this should be considered as mutual cooperation. This stipulation has legitimacy, but loses legitimacy if NAL is perceived as merely a *guglib* library. NAL is not the only *guglib* library. Other *guglib* libraries include the Supreme Court Library of Korea, National University Libraries and, if libraries established by each Ministry were treated in a strict fashion, these would also all be *guglib* libraries. It is therefore unjust to perceive NAL simply as a *guglib* library.

## Debate

After 1987, theories surrounding the unification of both libraries disappeared, but the disputes between NLK and NAL remained. In the governmental organisation of 1988, library policy was transferred to the Ministry of Culture, while the Library Act of 1991 granted NLK the qualifications of a library representing the State, laying down the operations of *gugga* representative library. Although various terms defining the role and position of NLK as a national library had been applied in the past, the meaning and position of its status continued to lack clear definition. The designation *gugga* representative library represented an addition to its qualifications. For this reason, even its operation as a national library in accordance with regulations does not clearly establish its general affairs as a *gugga* representative library. It may be said that this has been the root of the negative effects which have subsequently resulted from its disputes with NAL. Both NLK and NAL must cease viewing the other as a competitor; they must stop engaging in a competitive approach with one another. Even if NAL is not deemed to be a national central library, it is one of the national libraries and has (historically) been functioning as such (Han 2002, 101, 147). That NLK is a national library should be discussed after its being a central library is acknowledged.

## Overview

Immediately after the library administration was moved to the supervision of the Ministry of Culture in 1991, no objection was raised when enactment of the Library Promotion Act qualified NLK as a library representing the State. In addition, following the transfer of affiliation to the Ministry of Culture, only one article prompting unification was published.

After NLK's affiliation was transferred to the Ministry of Culture, the services provided by NLK have continuously expanded. Stated differently, NLK has

experienced significant growth as a result of the attention the Ministry has vested into library matters. Austerity was emphasised during the IMF bailout of 1998, when a sweeping reform of national level organisations was deemed necessary. There appeared a movement encouraging that NLK management be contracted, and despite NAL also facing contraction of its own structure, there were mp appeals to unify both libraries. This can be viewed as an acknowledgment of the existential value of both libraries, of seeing the unique function of each as separate entities—those of NLK and NAL.

Nevertheless, disputes surrounding the title, role and position of *gugga* representative library have not been dissolved. NAL has been striving to effectively carry out its role as a *gugga* representative library (Jo 2005; NAL 2005), therefore it is invalid to treat NLK as the sole *gugga* representative library. Consequentially, *gugga* representative library should not be treated as a mere designation, but needs instead to be acknowledged as clearly fulfilling its unique role and function.

## Conclusion

NLK was the first of the libraries to be established, but during its initial period, it did not actually serve as a library, given that the Korean War broke out just after the conclusion of the Second World War. It was at this time that NAL was founded. Over subsequent years, NAL consistently grew. In the 1950s, Korea was one of the poorest countries in the world. As a result, the budgets of both libraries were extremely limited and were thus incapable of retaining a sufficient number of experts. Therefore, the debate on unifying both libraries into a single national library must be understood as completely reasonable and natural.

However, supporters of NAL-centered unification were very active at the beginning of the library unification debate. They used a unilateral approach that was influenced primarily by their perceptions of the national libraries of the Unites States of America and Japan, presenting these as being the most desirable model(s) to be applied in Korea.

At the same time, there was little understanding of the pro-unification environment that surrounded both libraries. A thorough analysis of the material and intangible capacities of both libraries for the purpose of unification was not conducted. The same can be said for a phased plan that would gradually bring forth a rational and practical unification process. Due to the coexistence of the two

libraries (both managed through state support), a long-standing rivalry existed between them and numerous disputes occurred in the process of recognizing the other's role.

With the development of IT, library material has been digitized. As networks have been formed, the debate arguing for physical unification has ceased. The current debate deals with the national library cooperation system and system construction. In March 2012, a seminar on the joint policy of three *gugga* libraries (NLK, NAL and the Supreme Court Library of Korea) entitled "Mutual Cooperation among National Libraries for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century Knowledge Information State" was held (Lee, B. S. et. al. 2012). This seminar served as an opportunity for promoting cooperation among and between members of the National Assembly and the three *gugga* libraries, a cooperation that would be implemented through the participation of library science researchers and library representatives. Rather than placing a focus on the unification of services, the seminar facilitated discussion on realistic coordination and cooperation programmes. It presented the direction for both libraries to take from then onwards. It is expected that specific proposals on coordination and cooperation shall be discussed in future.

It is believed that the organisation of such seminars and on-going public debate serve as a welcome opportunity for an examination on how to dissolve long-standing disputes between the two libraries and enable them to more effectively accomplish their mutual role of a National Library. Nonetheless, the debate should not cease with the coordination and cooperation between the two entities, and should not limit itself on how to best ensure the role of national library. Instead, it is also necessary to continue with the debate on the National Library System as a whole—one that includes coordination and cooperation among all libraries. To prevent the reoccurrence of past disputes, it is primarily necessary that the libraries conduct a thorough self-analysis; an objective third-party evaluation and research must to be undertaken as well. Following this, it would be preferable to create a system enabling coordination and cooperation among all libraries as a collective part of Korea's national library system.

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## Museums, Manga, Memorials and Korean-Japanese History Wars

Jeff KINGSTON\*

### Abstract

This paper examines why the history wars between South Korea and Japan are intensifying in the 21<sup>st</sup> century and the prospects for reconciliation. South Korea's history museums promote anti-Japanese nationalism, making it difficult to unshackle the present from the past. In 2014 there was controversy over a Japanese manga exhibit that resonates with broader bilateral disputes over colonial history ranging from the comfort women to forced labor. These battles over the shared past have become internationalized, stoking mutual vilification and jingoistic sentiments.

**Keywords:** South Korea, Japan, museums, manga, comfort women, reconciliation

### Izveček

Ta članek preučuje, zakaj se spori o zgodovini vojn med Južno Korejo in Japonsko stopnjujejo v 21. stoletju, in tudi možnosti za spravo. Južnokorejski zgodovinski muzeji spodbujajo anti-japonski nacionalizem, zaradi česar je težko osvoboditi sedanost preteklosti. Leta 2014 se je pojavila polemika o razstavi japonskih mang, ki je odmevala s širšimi dvostranskimi spori o kolonialni zgodovini, ki segajo od žensk za tolažbo do prisilnega dela. Te bitke za skupno preteklost so postale mednarodne, opremljene z medsebojnim obrekovanjem in šovinističnimi čustvi.

**Ključne besede:** Južna Koreja, Japonska, muzeji, manga, ženske za tolažbo, sprava

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## Introduction

The War Memorial of Korea is a sprawling complex in Seoul, South Korea where those who died in the fratricidal Korean War (1950–53) are honored. One approaches the main building across a massive plaza with a towering, carved obelisk in the center surrounded by statues and bas-reliefs of soldiers and refugees, a gripping statue of reunion between two brothers divided by the conflict (the South Korean soldier towering over his frailer North Korean kin), tributes to the sixteen countries that dispatched troops under United Nations auspices and an outdoor exhibit of military planes, tanks and ships just to the right of the main building. The War Memorial has become a contested battleground in South Korea's intramural history wars, conveying an official narrative glorifying and validating the martial past in ways that are subverted by new memories and fresh remembering that have emerged with the end of military rule and rise of democratization. (Choe 2007) The nation's Truth and Reconciliation Commission launched in 2005 has excavated some of the hastily buried, awkward history that exposes the South Korean (and U.S.) military's indiscriminate killing of civilians wrongly suspected of being communist sympathizers. (Morris-Suzuki 2009) Unsurprisingly, the findings of this investigation have not yet been integrated into the War Memorial's more triumphal narrative.

There is a stone tablet at the entrance of the War Memorial plaza proclaiming, "Freedom is Not Free". The irony became apparent just three days before a special exhibit at the War Memorial was to open on the premises on July 12, 2014, with newspaper headlines announcing that the *One Piece* manga/anime show from Japan was cancelled. Why? Because in this Japanese manga/anime series featuring the adventures of pirates and other outlaws searching for treasure there are some sketchy depictions of the Rising Sun flag—a red center with lines representing sun rays extending outward—that Koreans associate with Japanese militarism and the painful experiences of Japan's colonial rule 1910–45. According to Tsukuba University's Ōsawa Hirotaka there are very few scenes in the manga in which this Rising Sun flag is displayed and more importantly, it is the flag of the protagonists' enemy and therefore not glorified.<sup>1</sup>

In contrast, the same show staged simultaneously during the summer of 2014 was a huge hit in Taiwan (also a former Japanese colony 1895–1945) attracting

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<sup>1</sup> Interview August 2014.

100,000 visitors in the first week alone. The promotional campaign emblazoned the Taipei metro in One Piece cartoons, something unthinkable in Seoul’s subway given the prevailing sensitivities about the two nations shared history. After all, it wasn’t until 1998 that South Korea began to incrementally ease the blanket ban on Japanese cultural products that was imposed following independence in 1945. (Trends in Japan 2014) In fact, satellite broadcasts and the Internet had facilitated considerable cultural seepage before then, and Korean translations of Japanese manga were widely available and extremely popular, a grassroots rejection of state policy that helped propel the state-sanctioned cultural opening.



Fig. 1: Enemy vessel with Rising Sun-esque flag approaching the pirate’s ship.<sup>2</sup>

There is no denying the popularity of Japanese popular culture among young Koreans who are avid fans of manga and anime and disinclined to see them through the prism of historical animosities or state promoted narratives of victimization because that is not what they are about. This hasn’t prevented the ROK government, however, from deploying popular culture in a global battle to win hearts-and-minds. In January 2014, soon after Prime Minister Abe Shinzo’s controversial visit to the Yasukuni Shrine in Tokyo on December 26, 2013 that serves as ground zero for an unrepentant, glorifying view of Japanese imperialism, the South Korean government requested that the annual Angoulême International Comics Festival in southwestern France exhibit Korean *manhwa* (cartoons) about comfort women, the euphemism for women forced into sexual slavery between 1932–45 to provide sex for Japanese soldiers. Most were teenage Korean girls.

<sup>2</sup> All photos are courtesy of author.



(Soh 2008)<sup>3</sup> Among Koreans, Abe is associated with revisionist history that downplays, justifies, valorizes and shifts blame for Japanese imperialism. In his first stint as premier, Abe drew ire in 2007 when he quibbled about the level of coercion used to recruit Koreans to serve as comfort women on March 1<sup>st</sup>, the day when South Koreans remember their anti-Japanese uprising in 1919 and celebrate Independence Declaration Day. The Angoulême organizers turned down a request by the Japanese government to exhibit a Japanese manga about comfort women that supports claims that comfort women were not forcibly recruited by the Japanese military. (ANN 2014) Although this graphic riposte was not displayed, organizers allowed Japanese Embassy staff to pass out pamphlets explaining what the government has done to address the comfort women issue. Strange as it may seem, the realm of cartoons and pop culture is another fiercely contested battleground in the history wars.

Returning to our discussion of One Piece manga, in the seventy-four volumes published between 1997–2013, there are hardly any Rising Sun-esque images and they are not prominently displayed. This is also the case for the 665 thirty-minute anime episodes, 12 movies and about thirty console video games as of 2014. While One Piece features a lot of violence, meaning the War Memorial site seems an appropriate venue, it has evolved into more than a simple story of pirates' adventures, drawing on Greek and Roman mythology, historical events and contemporary global culture. Some of the themes such as racism, slavery, eugenics, war, justice, social hierarchies and war profiteering speak indirectly to the colonial experience, but there is nothing that specifically relates to Korea's subjugation, and One Piece does not stoke patriotic or nationalist sentiments. It is, however, wildly popular, amassing the highest total manga sales ever in Japan, selling adventure fantasy that pulls in huge crowds, some 800,000 visitors to a 2014 exhibit similar to the ones staged in Taipei and Seoul. Interestingly, the manga is a best-seller in South Korea and hundreds of televised episodes of One Piece dubbed in Korean have been aired in South Korea since 2003 with uncut and edited versions appearing on different channels and until 2014, no controversy over its few scattered images of Rising Sun flags.

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<sup>3</sup> Soh complicates the issue of victimization and details the range of experiences in ways that undermine popular conceptions of the system by drawing attention to Korean complicity. She is also critical of contemporary advocacy groups that have used comfort women as political pawns.

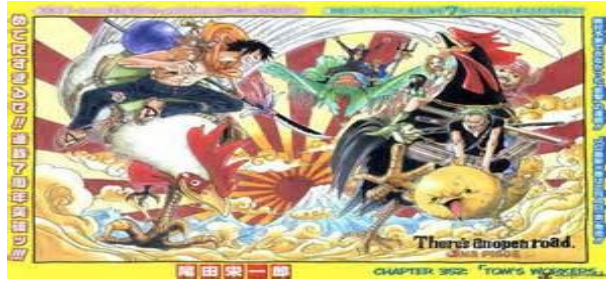


Fig. 2: One Piece Manga episode with offending Rising Sun-esque motif

Netizens in Korea, one of the most wired societies anywhere, have become guardians of public mores and the thought police of the 21<sup>st</sup> century; some seem to have an obsession with the Rising Sun flag and pressured the War Memorial to cancel the One Piece show over the flag. The back-story of the One Piece saga is that recently there have been a number of cases where K-pop artists have been zinged online for displaying or wearing Rising Sun flag images. (K-pop 2013) Whether as a backdrop for a music video poster, or on designer hoodies and hats, the Rising Sun flag that conjures up images of Japanese imperialism and brutal subjugation among many Koreans seems to have become the East Asian swastika. In a move similar to how Western punk and metal bands tried to cultivate rebellious, transgressive personas by dabbling in Nazi or fascist imagery, use of the Rising Sun flag has become a merchandizing strategy guaranteed to irritate many Koreans and draw attention in a highly competitive field. Given how assiduously K-pop bands are marketed and the extent to which coordinators choreograph everything about their dance routines, appearances, clothing, diet and private lives, it is hard to imagine that such displays were unwitting. But the Rising Sun flag is good copy and, after the attention grabbing ritual apology, the show goes on, hopefully accompanied by rising sales.

Although there were no Rising Sun flag images among the many items in the proposed show, and advance ticket sales had been brisk, War Memorial management abruptly decided to cancel the show at the last minute. Organizers, however, took the case to court and won speedy justice, the judge ruling on July 17, 2014 that the government-run facility was contractually obligated to host the exhibit since it had agreed to rent the space to organizers. The court also ruled that

One Piece does not glorify Japanese imperialism, perhaps the first legal opinion about the politics of any Japanese manga anywhere. (Asahi 2014)<sup>4</sup>

Soon after the court ruling, Kim Seong Ho, a Korean reporter, pointed out why the flag flap was absurd,

In Korea, it was one of the best-selling manga.... Later on, it was broadcast on KBS, where it also recorded the highest viewer ratings. In particular, the creator of One Piece, Oda Eiichiro is known for his strong opposition to Japan's imperialism and militarism, which has often caused controversy in Japan. (Kim 2014)<sup>5</sup>

Sora Yang, a specialist in popular culture at Harvard University, believes that the controversy over One Piece demonstrates that, "pop culture is a good deal more revealing than we think it is."<sup>6</sup> She believes that the driving factor to cancel the show reflects, "not the power of public sentiment as it is, but the fear of what it might and could be." Japan, as bogeyman, lives on.

The delayed show finally premiered on July 26, 2014 and proved a big hit with Korean fans of Japanese pop culture that flocked to the exhibit whipping out smart-phones to take pictures of the life-size models of the characters on display. So in the end, this tempest in a teapot proved to be good PR with no protests and South Koreans embracing both the rule of law and Cool Japan. Alas, the two countries don't have many of these happy endings to brag of. It's worth pointing out that in May-June 2014 a blockbuster show by Japanese pop artist Kusama Yayoi, "A Dream I Dreamed", further demonstrated that the complex politics of history, and the mutual vilification industry in both nation's media and among netizens, are not always accurate barometers of grassroots sentiments.

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<sup>4</sup> The newest episode of One Piece serialized in Weekly Jump magazine during 2014 is set sometime in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, perhaps towards the end of the Tokugawa Era (1602–1858). There is a depiction of a Rising Sun-esque flag with the kanji for *wa* (harmonious) etched in the center. For Japanese this is an unmistakable reference to Japan, especially as there are samurai silhouettes in the foreground. The pirate protagonists refer to *Wa* as a closed country where the warriors are strong and hostile, making a raid difficult. Ōsawa speculates that perhaps some Koreans are concerned that One Piece might begin valorizing Japanese martial culture and values, but he discounts this possibility because unlike other popular manga, One Piece has consistently eschewed nationalism and patriotism and its main characters are stateless outlaws.

<sup>5</sup> Sora Yang, a researcher on popular culture at Harvard University provided the link and translation.

<sup>6</sup> Interview August 2014.

## Constructing History

History museums and memorials serve as repositories of selected memories that provide a window onto defining experiences of a nation. As such they reveal a nation's soul, its anguish, its dreams and traumatic legacies. Problematically, they seek to, “combine the tasks of commemoration and of communicating history”, but usually do so incompletely. (Morris-Suzuki 2009) The nationalist narratives on display present a past for contemporary consumption, one that serves political purpose. (Denton 2014) The ghosts of the past that haunt these sites linger in the collective imagination, wraiths and apparitions that kindle shared remembrance and invoke powerful and primordial sentiments. These talismanic shrines to painful experiences and reminders of loss evoke nationalistic passions and promote unifying storylines. They are often sites of collective remembering of traumas endured, portals into the past that impart lessons and promote patriotism.

Yoshida Takeshi, a historian at Western Michigan University and author of “From Cultures of War to Cultures of Peace” (2014), is concerned that the history museums may stoke bilateral tensions and make reconciliation more difficult because they suggest misleadingly monolithic views of denial among Japanese. In his view,

Like their counter parts in China and Japan, elementary, junior high, and high school students visit these museums. While some don't pay much attention to the exhibits, horrifying images of the atrocities may provoke nationalism/nationalistic sentiment among these young visitors. If the visitors in S. Korea know little about different Japanese viewpoints regarding Japan's wartime past, they may simply conclude that militarism has surged in Japan.

In South Korea, it is hard to overstate the power of the state to wield museums as cultural weapons to promote monolithic, collective memories aimed at ramping up nationalism and patriotic devotion. While South Korea accommodates discordant narratives on various issues, public discourse about Japanese colonial rule has not been challenged or undermined by competing interpretations and remains a historical space devoted to the alluring narrative of victimization and un-righted wrongs. By not taking the measure of its shared history with the Korean Peninsula, and tackling the onus of responsibility only episodically, evasively and ambiguously, Japan has handed the hammer of history to Koreans who have, naturally, wielded it with a vengeance.

In South Korea's history museums, the shared past with Japan features an angry remembering with graphic depictions of suffered endured and atrocities inflicted, thus highlighting unresolved grievances that stoke the embers of resentment and hatred while nurturing a sense of shared degradation mixed with defiant patriotism. Museums and memorials about Japanese colonial rule explicitly nurture a national identity rooted in anti-Japanese nationalism, not only ensuring the odious past is not forgotten, but that it is also mobilized in the present to forge an unassailable common identity of stoic and heroic resistance, sacrifice for the nation and unity. Sophia University historian Sven Saaler argues,

history is first of all mobilized to construct a South Korean national identity, in which Japan is one antipode, but not the only one. Some museums have a somewhat anti-Japanese focus, but overall the main point is to establish a (South) Korean identity. This is a very common phenomenon in modern nation-states and not particularity of Korea at all.<sup>7</sup>

In history museums in China and Korea that focus on Japan, the Japanese depredations are richly and graphically detailed, leaving no doubt about the extent or nature of Japan's heinous crimes. There is no shrinking from the cruelty and savagery of Japanese imperialism. Despite the similarities of history museums in the PRC and ROK, there does seem to be one striking difference. Chinese museums highlight the humiliations endured, sending a contemporary message on the need to be strong. (Denton 2014) South Korean museums don't invoke humiliation, keeping the focus on the barbarity of Japanese colonial oppression and the steadfast, heroic resistance of Koreans. Of course, Chinese museums also feature heroic resistance in the face of Japanese barbarity. This insistence on the gruesome details seems designed to counter Japanese equivocations and disingenuous misrepresentations while stoking anti-Japanese animus. Hatch points out that Chinese museums express a more coherent narrative useful for promoting collective identity than do Japan's war-related museums where competing valorizing and denunciatory narratives are on display. (Hatch 2014)

According to Yoshida, "Chinese and South Korean peace museums tend to differ from their Japanese counterparts in that they often champion nationalism and ethnocentrism in a way similar to Japanese kamikaze and war museums." (Yoshida 2014, 199) While he is right to argue that history museums in South Korea do not encourage reconciliation, it would seem that Japan bears some

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<sup>7</sup> Interview August 2014.

responsibility for the stridently accusatory displays precisely because it has not taken the measure of the nations' shared history and thus not addressed the victim's yearning for dignity. Japan has also avoided grand gestures of contrition and reconciliation that are the burden of the perpetrator; it is too much to ask the victim to meet halfway before the victimizer has resolutely and unambiguously accepted responsibility for its misdeeds. Japan has failed this test. Thus South Korean museums and memorials focus on reminding about what the Japanese perpetrated, erecting barriers to improved relations that will no doubt persist because no matter what Japan does it will probably never be enough, thereby ensuring that it will never try enough.

### **Politics of History**

History haunts and inflames contemporary relations between Japan and South Korea. In an August 2010 speech commemorating the centennial of the Japanese annexation of the Korean Peninsula, then-Prime Minister Kan Naoto said:

The Korean people of that time were deprived of their country and culture, and their ethnic pride was deeply scarred by the colonial rule that was imposed against their will. Those who render pain tend to forget it, while those who suffered cannot forget it easily. To the tremendous damage and sufferings that this colonial rule caused, I express here once again my feelings of deep remorse and my heartfelt apology. (Kingston 2011)

This apology drew a sharp rebuke from current Prime Minister Abe Shinzo and right-wing groups that gathered outside the prime minister's official residence in protest.

In South Korea's fractious society, ethno-nationalism is handy because there are few things that everyone can agree on with the exception of vilifying Japanese colonialism. As such, in democratic South Korea, politicians time and time again play the history card to boost inevitably sagging popularity because confronting Japan plays well in the theater of politics. And, as current President Park Geun-hye fully understands, being seen as soft or well disposed towards Japan is a major political liability that opponents don't shy from exploiting for advantage. Her father, former President Park Chung-hee, is remembered for many things, but his pre-1945 military service in the Japanese Imperial Army and subsequent decisive role in normalizing relations with Japan in 1965 bestow an awkward legacy on Ms. Park, making it extremely difficult for her to insulate contemporary bilateral relations from unresolved historical grievances. (Han 2014) In this 1965

agreement, the South Korean government accepted \$800 million in loans and grants in exchange for agreeing that all issues of compensation were settled, closing the door to individual redress with no apology. As such, this agreement has been a longstanding source of controversy in South Korea, a wound that was reopened in 2005 with the release of the archived documents related to the negotiations over the 1965 normalization accord. These documents revealed that the Japanese government had allocated funds for individual redress, but that most of it was diverted to infrastructure and industrialization projects at Park Chung-hee's behest.

This duplicity rankled and provides context for the August 2010 ruling by the South Korean constitutional court that the government was violating the rights of Korean comfort women by not making efforts to press Japan for individual compensation. Then in a landmark decision in May 2011, the Korean Supreme Court ruled that the 1965 treaty normalizing relations with Japan does not invalidate claims by former forced laborers and their families for withheld wages. (Kingston 2013) These rulings forced the relatively pro-Japanese government of President Lee Myung-bak to become the unlikely champion for the victims of Japanese colonial rule and helps explain escalating tensions since then. (Dudden 2012) Subsequently, in July 2013, Korean high courts in Seoul and Busan ruled in favor of plaintiffs seeking redress from the recently merged Nippon Steel & Sumitomo Metal Corp. and Mitsubishi Heavy Industries. The Seoul judge ruled that the companies committed "crimes against humanity" by working with the Japanese government to mobilize forced labor in support of a war of aggression and "illegal" colonial rule. (Kingston 2013)

Despite this rancorous patch in bilateral relations, Tokyo and Seoul nearly finalized a deal on the comfort women, but it unraveled in December 2012. Under the terms of this agreement the Japanese Ambassador to South Korea would have visited the home of each surviving comfort woman and delivered a letter of apology from the prime minister in addition to monetary compensation. The hitch was whether Japan would accept legal responsibility for the colonial era abuses. The Japanese side was willing to accept moral responsibility in making this humanitarian gesture of atonement and reconciliation, but was adamant that it would not accept legal responsibility. Both sides suggest the other is to blame for the last minute failure, one that has sparked bitter recriminations and a sense of betrayal on both sides. Off the record, Japanese diplomats complain that the South

Korean government moved the goalposts at the last moment, requiring an admission of legal responsibility, when the deal was nearly finalized.<sup>8</sup> Korean diplomats, also requesting anonymity, argue that a carefully calibrated agreement shirking legal responsibility falls short of the grand gesture required to restore dignity to the comfort women and the nation and therefore could not compromise on this point. Andrew Horvat, a specialist on regional reconciliation issues at Jōsai International University in Japan, believes that the South Korean move was deliberate and, “designed to scuttle the agreement by hard liners on the Korean side who have little to gain from an agreement and everything to lose since their only issue would be resolved.”<sup>9</sup> Soon thereafter Prime Minister Abe Shinzo was elected to office, making a deal all but impossible given his apologist views regarding the comfort women system.

Since President Park Geun-hye’s inauguration in February 2013 she has insisted that Japan’s PM Abe embrace a “correct view” of history before she would meet with him and upbraided a succession of US envoys sent to convince her to soften her stance. She reminded high ranking US officials, including Secretary of Defense Chuck Hagel, that Germany’s reintegration into Europe would not have been possible if it acted like Japan in downplaying what it had done and shirking the burdens of history. Abe’s visit to Yasukuni Shrine at the end of 2013 vindicated her criticism precisely because it is not just a religious space devoted to honoring the war dead. (Kingston 2007) The US government took Tokyo and Seoul by surprise when it issued a swift and sharp rebuke, expressing Washington’s view that Abe was impeding contemporary security cooperation in northeast Asia between its allies and gratuitously stoking regional tensions. Abe has further provoked Korean ire due to his revisionist views on history, especially the orchestrated attempts in 2014 by his party colleagues to discredit the 1993 Kōno Statement in which Japan admitted state responsibility for the comfort women system, apologized for coercive recruitment and promised to atone. (Morris-Suzuki 2014)

Finally, at the insistence of the US, more than a year after Park took office, she met Abe in the Netherlands in March 2014 on the sidelines of the Nuclear Security Summit. To pave the way for the meeting the US had prevailed on Abe to publicly declare that he would not overturn the 1993 Kōno Statement, a “just enough”

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<sup>8</sup> Interviews Tokyo 2013–2014.

<sup>9</sup> Interview August 2014.



gesture that fell well short of what Park means by “correct”, i.e. unequivocal acknowledgement of Japan’s burden of history on the Korean Peninsula. Unsurprisingly, this trilateral meeting of heads of state was a frosty gathering with minimal dialogue on the issues that divide.

While South Korean public opinion polls support improvement in bilateral ties, and business leaders are especially keen to do so, it remains politically tricky between these “frenemies”. Due to the sharp shift in the region’s economic epicenter to China over the past decade, and South Korea’s burgeoning trade relations, there is growing concern about Beijing’s expanding influence reminiscent of the vassal state relations that prevailed until the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In this context, maintaining good ties with the US and improving relations with Japan is seen to be a prudent hedging strategy. But Park’s paternal legacy leaves her vulnerable on Japan, and is a major factor in why she has taken such a hard line on history.

### **Comfort Women Remembered and Internationalized**

Japanese reactionaries have been eager to turn the page on the shared past before it has been read, while South Koreans show no inclination to forgive or forget the traumas experienced at that time. No issue is as divisive as the “comfort women” system that involved Japanese military and government complicity in the coercive recruitment of tens of thousands of young women, mostly Koreans, to serve in military brothels. The Japanese Diet formed a committee in 2014 that conducted research and released findings aimed at discrediting the 1993 Kōono Statement by depicting it as a political compromise between the governments, a diplomatic olive branch and gesture of goodwill rather than a historically documented and accurate appraisal. It was due to the Kōono Statement that the government supported establishment of the Asia Women’s Fund (AWF), launched in 1995 and terminated in 2007. The AWF offered compensation and letters of apology signed by the prime minister, but because it was an equivocal gesture sidestepping the state’s legal responsibility, it did little to promote reconciliation. (Kingston 2010, 198–205) <sup>10</sup>

Subsequently, a South Korean nongovernment organization commissioned a statue of an Asian girl barefoot in traditional dress, sitting next to an empty chair,

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<sup>10</sup> Perhaps the greatest legacy of the AWF is a digital museum about the comfort women system. It is available in Korean, Japanese and English.

her gaze fixed eerily in silent rebuke across the street on the Japanese Embassy in Seoul. The bronze statue was unveiled in December 2011 to mark the 1,000<sup>th</sup> weekly protest by a dwindling number of comfort women; only 55 remain alive as of mid-2014. Former President Lee Myung-bak (2008–13), South Korea's most pro-Japanese leader since Park Chung-hee, grew so exasperated with Japanese intransigence over the comfort women and forced labor issues that he threatened to place additional statues on the site.



Fig. 3: Comfort Woman statue in Seoul across from Japanese Embassy

The internationalization of the comfort women controversy has simmered in UN human rights committees and in dueling op-eds around the world, but now there are overseas efforts to create tangible memorials that commemorate the women's suffering and cause considerable discomfort among Japanese government officials and conservatives. Since 2010, four towns in the U.S. have unveiled comfort women monuments that have drawn angry protests by conservative Japanese politicians.

The comfort women monument movement in the US is directly linked to PM Abe's 2007 comments quibbling about the level of coercion involved in recruiting Korean women. There is a perception in the US, driven by 21<sup>st</sup> century human rights and gender equality norms and values, that too many Japanese politicians are in denial about the comfort women system and demonstrate insufficient contrition. In response, Korean-American groups have played a role in lobbying and fundraising to commemorate the suffering of comfort women. In 2010 Palisades Park, New Jersey where more than half of the population is Korean American, became the first municipality to erect a comfort women memorial

despite intense lobbying by Japanese diplomats not to do so. There is also a comfort women memorial in Nassau County, New York at the Veterans' Memorial in Eisenhower Park.

On 2013 Glendale, California unveiled a statue identical to that in Seoul that is placed in the town's public park. (Levine 2014) It did so on July 30, the day the town council has designated Comfort Women Day. A Japanese-American woman resident in Glendale together with a Los Angeles based nonprofit group that campaigns against the comfort women redress movement, sued the town of Glendale in California. The lawsuit filed in the US District Court in Los Angeles argued that the town of Glendale, by erecting the statue, infringed on the federal government's right to conduct foreign affairs and demanded that it be removed. The plaintiffs also argued that the Japanese government was not involved in sexual slavery, claiming that, "by installing the public monument, Glendale has taken a position in the contentious and politically sensitive international debate concerning the proper historical truth of the former comfort women." Although the Glendale council approved installation of the statue, the lawsuit alleges that the text of a plaque adjacent to the monument regarding the history of comfort women was not reviewed and approved in violation of the city's code. The plaque dedicates the monument to the memory of 200,000 comfort women from all over Asia while imploring the Japanese government to accept responsibility for its role in the system. The plaque also explains that the adjacent empty chair, "symbolizes comfort women survivors who are dying of old age without having yet witnessed justice." (Johnston 2014)

In August 4, 2014 the judge dismissed the lawsuit and the plaintiffs' demand to remove the comfort women statue. The judge also confirmed that, "the statue is entirely consistent with the federal government's foreign policy." That same day the town of Union City, New Jersey became the fourth in the US to establish a comfort women memorial.

Sven Saaler, professor of Japanese history at Sophia, doesn't think that the new memorials represent a significant change because,

The issues at stake are the same. Building memorials is just an attempt to set something in stone, quite literally. Previously, appeals to the international community were made through criticizing textbook contents or visits of politicians in Japan to certain memorials. Now memorials are built in order to

appeal to the international community, but the original intent and the issues at stake have not really changed.<sup>11</sup>

Yoshida, professor of history at Western Michigan University, comments,

Politics, power, economy, justice, and national identity are probably the reasons behind the internationalization of Japan's wartime atrocities. To many Americans, forcing women into sexual slavery is a violation of human rights, and it is no surprise that many of them support building the memorials dedicated to these women. Many Americans are probably unaware of violations of women's rights around the US bases in the world, though. The PRC and the South Korean government seem to have been using the past to unite the nation, too.<sup>12</sup>

While Japanese conservatives allege that Korean-American groups are orchestrating this anti-Japan campaign, Mindy Kotler, director of the Washington D.C.-based Asia Policy Point, comments,

Koreans are coming of age politically in the U.S. They are practicing "retail politics" as every ethnic group in the U.S. has. They are not doing anything different than the Irish, the Armenians, the Jews, or the Greeks. It's a Japanese worldview that sees this as an effort to embarrass Japan. It is not viewed that way here, only as standing up for your heritage. (Johnston 2014)

Following a brief visit to Tokyo in April 2014, President Barack Obama visited Seoul where he condemned Japan's "comfort women" system as

a terrible, egregious violation of human rights. Those women were violated in ways that, even in the midst of war, was shocking. And they deserve to be heard; they deserve to be respected; and there should be an accurate and clear account of what happened. I think Prime Minister Abe recognizes, and certainly the Japanese people recognize, that the past is something that has to be recognized honestly and fairly. (White House 2014)

It is interesting that Obama only "thinks" Abe gets it, implying he may not, while he knows the Japanese people understand the moral demands of historical responsibility. Clearly, Abe remains behind the eight ball of revisionist history in part because he has eroded trilateral trust between Washington, Seoul and Tokyo and not made any gestures that address this pain or the victims' search for justice and dignity. (Togo 2014) Indeed, in August 2014 Navi Pillay, the outgoing United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, lamented that Japan, "has failed to

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<sup>11</sup> Interview August 2014.

<sup>12</sup> Interview August 2014.

pursue a comprehensive, impartial and lasting resolution” to the comfort women issue and was critical of the 2014 Diet inquiry by conservative lawmakers intent on debunking the 1993 Kōno Statement. (Pillay 2014)

As Alexis Dudden, professor of history at the University of Connecticut observes,

In the internationalization of history, the story of the sex slaves has resonated most and rightly so. This is why Japan now finds itself again receiving censure from the UN Human Rights Commission: just what doesn't Abe “get” about the term “slavery”? For the Japanese government, this is not just a losing story, but beneath the nation's dignity. It's also why the surviving Korean sex slaves' decision to use any money gained in the future for an international fund—they set it up 2 years ago—is telling: the victims teach the rest of us that truly awful histories are by definition international once they are learned as history.<sup>13</sup>

### **Ahn Jung-geun: Awkward Avatar of Anti-Japanese Nationalism**

To defend the Orient one must improve (or change) one's strategy. The time to act is now, otherwise all will be lost.

欲保東洋 先改政略 時過失機 追悔何及<sup>14</sup>

Japan is worried that China and South Korea are ganging up on it over history, pointing to the memorial hall unveiled at Harbin Station in north-eastern China earlier this year honoring Ahn Jung-geun, the South Korean independence activist who in October 1909 assassinated Itō Hirobumi, a prominent Japanese statesman closely associated with Japan's annexation of the peninsula. (Rausch 2013) This memorial was suggested by Park in the summer of 2013 and taken up by Chinese President Xi Jinping, attesting to warming bilateral relations at the expense of Japan.

Historian Sven Saaler points out that,

statues to independence fighters that were active in a transnational setting are nothing unusual, so the Japanese claim that the building of this memorial was a one-sided interpretation of history is not only incorrect, it is also inappropriate and hypocritical given the extremely one-sided interpretations

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<sup>13</sup> Interview August 2014.

<sup>14</sup> Ahn Jung-geun Memorial Hall website, translations by Yun Hyun Sook.

of East Asian history advocated by members of the current [Abe] administration.<sup>15</sup>

“We recognize Ahn Jung-geun as a terrorist who was sentenced to death for killing our country’s first prime minister,” said Suga Yoshihide, Prime Minister Abe Shinzo’s chief Cabinet spokesman in January 2014.

In reply to Suga, Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman Qin Gang stated: “Ahn Jung-geun is, in history, an upholder of justice who fought against Japan’s aggression. If Ahn Jung-geun was a terrorist, what about the 14 Class-A war criminals of World War II honored in Yasukuni Shrine?” For Koreans this “terrorist” is a national hero and patriotic martyr who gave his life for his nation, a narrative of dying honorably, a model of ultimate sacrifice to inspire contemporary Koreans.

In a triumph of chutzpah over history, Ahn’s legacy has been repositioned in light of contemporary political and diplomatic battles. (Denney and Green 2014) Although he was a passionate advocate of Pan Asianism under Japanese leadership—a form of collective self-defense against western imperialism—he has been transformed for contemporary purposes into an exemplar of anti-Japanese nationalism. In this narrative, his act of assassination takes center stage while his Pan Asian writing and advocacy of regional unity and cooperation are marginalized.

In the heart of Seoul, Ahn has long been honored as a national martyr and hero with a far more extensive memorial hall than that in Harbin. Tōgō Kazuhiko, former Japanese ambassador to the Netherlands and grandson of wartime Foreign Minister Tōgō Shigenori (one of the Class-A war criminals enshrined at Yasukuni Shrine), once told me that he abhorred the assassination, but grew to admire Ahn upon learning about his Pan-Asiatic views at this museum. Ahn wanted to forge a united response among Asians to Western imperialism and viewed Japanese colonialism as a betrayal. He held Itō Hirobumi personally responsible for this treachery because he drew up the 1905 Eulsa Treaty that made Korea a protectorate of Japan with the acquiescence of the western powers following Japan’s victory over Russia. (Dudden 2005) Subsequently, Japan engaged in a devastating scorched earth policy to subdue resistance that led to annexation in

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<sup>15</sup> Interview August 2014.

1910. Ahn was executed on March 26, 1910 before completing his “A Treatise on Peace in the East”, a call for regional solidarity to resist western imperialism.



Fig. 4: Ahn Jung-geun Memorial Hall

To commemorate the centennial of Japanese colonization, the sleek new Ahn Jung-geun Memorial Hall on the hillside of Namsan Park in central Seoul reopened in 2010, replacing the museum built there in 1970. This iteration is designer chic, a series of twelve translucent cubes edged by a shallow moat nestled in a grove of trees. The dozen cubes symbolize the number of unsung heroes who participated in Ahn’s Society of Patriots. As Ahn was Catholic, it is striking that the number corresponds to the number of apostles.

The entrance is a downward sloping ramp flanked on the right by a wall etched with Ahn’s calligraphic messages and handprints, all missing his ring finger that was cut off to provide blood as a substitute for ink when inscribing a flag with the characters for “Korean Independence”. These messages were originally written while Ahn was imprisoned after being arrested for the assassination. They include quotes on morality and loyalty from the Confucian Analects and other Chinese classics and as such constitute cultural weapons, a way for Ahn to continue his struggle and convey his message even while incarcerated. (Wakabayashi 2008) They are signed—Ahn Jung-geun “Citizen of Great Korea”. Some were written for a Japanese prosecutor (“Seriously worrying and thinking about the safety and crisis of the country” (“國家安危勞心焦思”) and a Japanese guard (“The devotion to the country is the serviceman’s duty” (“為國獻身軍人本分”) that were returned to the South Korean government by the families of the original recipients. Ahn seemed to win the grudging respect of Japanese officials during the five month imprisonment before his execution because of his dignity and

religious piety, a remarkable turn of events given that he had killed one of Japan’s national heroes. One of Ahn’s own poems on display reads: “Every year the same flowers bloom, but the people change with the passing of time” (年年歲歲花相以、歲歲年々人不同).



Fig. 5: Ahn’s distinctive handprints and calligraphy adjacent to entrance ramp

Spread over three floors, the exhibits honor Ahn as a “patriotic martyr” and are brimming with nationalistic symbols, none more compelling than the massive Korean flag hanging behind Ahn’s statue in the spacious gallery close to the entrance, one that is festooned with his bloody calligraphy spelling out “Korean Independence”. There is a dramatized reenactment of the assassination and subsequent courtroom scene, the pistol used in the shooting, a replica of his severed ring finger and even an Ahn anime room. The museum highlights Ahn’s background and participation in the pro-independence movement against Japan as his Pan Asian thoughts are overshadowed by displays devoted to his patriotic activism and the assassination.



Fig. 6: Korean flag with Ahn’s bloody calligraphy declaring independence



Interestingly, the museum is located on the site of Chōsen Jinguū, the Shinto shrine built by the Japanese in 1925 and dedicated to Emperor Meiji and Amaterasu, the Sun Goddess of Japanese mythology. It was demolished after independence in October 1945 because it symbolized Japanese cultural imperialism and efforts at Japanization. (Han 2014) From 1925 Korean elementary and middle school students were required to attend Shinto Shrines (there were 1,140 scattered over the peninsula as of 1945) where the Japanese Emperor was venerated, and from 1935 such attendance was also compulsory for university students and government employees. (Wakabayashi 2008) This spiritual space once devoted to imperial veneration is now re-consecrated as a locus of colonial condemnation.

Denney and Green (2014) argue,

While Koreans and Chinese remember Ahn as a heroic independence activist, many Japanese will continue to see him as a terrorist, pure and simple. And while South Korea has by and large moved beyond the fissures of its contentious past, the divisive history of figures like Ahn are a stark reminder that legacy politics in the region continues to fan the flames of conflict, and seems set to do so for many years to come.

Ahn is heavily politicized and frequently instrumentalized to justify and bolster an anti-Japanese sentiment that he did not share. Franklin Rausch argues that,

a survey of An's writings and his interrogation and trial transcripts turns up little that is anti-Japanese in this broad sense. In fact, An invariably referred politely to the Japanese Emperor and avoided criticism of the Japanese people and government as a whole. (Rausch 2013)

Donald Keene, who wrote a biography of Emperor Meiji, asserts that,

An was not anti-Japanese. The man he most admired was undoubtedly Emperor Meiji, and one of his most vehement accusations against Ito Hirobumi was that he had intentionally deceived the emperor, who desired not the subjugation of Korea but peace in East Asia and Korea independence. An was delighted to read about Japanese victories over the Russians and claimed that his compatriots shared his joy over the defeats suffered by one of the agents of White Peril. He regretted only that Japan had broken off the war before Russia was reduced to total submission. (Keene 2002, 664)

Killing Itō was about exposing his lies in the hope this would lead the Meiji Emperor to reform Japan's policies in Korea. The self-styled "righteous soldier" fighting the "righteous war" erred in thinking that his death would spark a rational

reconsideration of Japan's colonial project in Korea. Little could he imagine that he would subsequently be drafted to serve as patron saint for "righteous" anti-Japanese agitation in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

Keene notes,

An still hoped that relations between the two countries would become closer, providing a model for the whole world to imitate. An urged a sympathetic Japanese prosecutor not to worry about whether or not he would be condemned to death. (Keene 2002, 664)

Rather than being virulently anti-Japanese, Ahn proposed a loose confederation between China, Korea and Japan, a Pan Asian vision advocating trilateral cooperation and autonomy. Ahn expected Japan to take the lead since it was the most advanced of the three nations and could promote successful modernization in East Asia. But this is not the Ahn the contemporary state needs so his shooting Itō to death is highlighted at the expense of his desire for Pan Asian cooperation.

## History Imprisoned and Unshackled

The seven red-brick buildings of the Seodaemun Prison History Hall look more like an old factory complex than an infamous colonial-era prison where the Japanese government in Chōsen (the colonial name for Korea) incarcerated and tortured anti-colonial activists and political agitators.

The prison facility now serves as a museum featuring dark cramped cells, replete with scenes of torture and canned screams of pain.<sup>16</sup> One sign proclaims: "Torture-A Tool for Ruling the Colony". We learn that water and fingernail torture, and savage beatings, were common practice in the underground torture chamber where prisoners were interrogated. To intimidate them, they were kept waiting their turn in an adjacent "temporary detention room" so they could hear the sounds of torture and moans of pain, and anticipate what lay in store.

It is an unnerving space of cruelty, a crypt for the hidden horrors of the colonial past. The wooden isolation cells resemble standing coffins that visitors can step inside to experience the claustrophobic experience as a companion secures the door. Perhaps the most riveting feature of the facility is the possibility of having one's picture taken and digitally inserted onto the face of a prisoner undergoing torture. There is also a table where one can sit hooded wearing a

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<sup>16</sup> I visited in 2009 before extensive renovations and again in 2014.

wicker basket, arms extended and manacled at the wrists, reenacting how the fingernail torture was administered.



Fig. 7: Fingernail torture

Seodaemun was the largest of sixteen prisons built throughout the peninsula in 1908, “with the aim of suppressing the Korean patriots who were fighting to regain national sovereignty.” Renovated in 2010 for the centennial, the Seodaemun exhibits now convey more about the colonial era history, explaining for example that the space of the facility was expanded thirty-fold in the 1930s to accommodate the increased number of Korean independence activists. Established with a capacity for 500 prisoners, by the end of the colonial era Seodaemun housed 23,532. At that time there were 261 warders, Korean employees referred to as “faithful first-line puppets”; before the 2010 renovation the delicate topic of colonial collaborators was not raised. The museum explains that on average there were, “30 or so prisons in each city, making the country like a huge prison.”



Fig. 8: Seodaemun Prison

Unlike in China, there is no dwelling on national humiliation. In the National Resistance Hall of the museum visitors learn, “the Korean people were never frustrated about the annexation but actively launched independence movements.” It is a story of brave and unrelenting resistance by staunch patriots despite Japan’s,

“harsh colonial rule, making Koreans fall into a state of slavery and frantically trying to liquidate Korean culture and language.” It was an “incessant struggle” in which “the whole of Korea” participated, except for the many collaborators. A display about the “heroic struggle” notes that activists targeted Japanese and pro-Japanese Koreans, complicating the valorous narrative with collaboration.



Fig. 9: Cell-block where post-independence, pro-democracy political prisoners were held

Although unacknowledged in the museum’s pamphlet, the museum has tackled the controversial use of the jail to incarcerate a new generation of dissidents by South Korea’s military regimes from the 1960s–1980s, thereby linking the pro-independence and pro-democracy struggles as well as the Japanese colonial and ROK military regimes. There are several cells on one corridor with displays featuring the stories of these post-independence political prisoners although after the 2010 renovations one can no longer see the messages these prisoners scratched onto the walls. One plaque explains that the prison was operated until 1987, where, “many democratization activists during the despotic regime after liberation were imprisoned, tortured and died.”



Fig. 10: Cell-block with dioramas about ROK political prisoners

So the post-2010 version of Seodaemun embraces a more controversial history, complicating what had been a straightforward prosecution of the Japanese by implicating Koreans in collaborating with the colonial regime as warders and therefore part of the colonial system of subjugation. Moreover, the museum now tells the previously untold story of the prison's role in the suppression of the pro-democracy movement, a place where political prisoners opposing a succession of Korean authoritarian regimes were jailed, tortured and killed. In that sense Seodaemun has become a powerful symbol of resistance against the 20<sup>th</sup> century arc of tyranny that engulfed the peninsula, connecting colonial and independent Korea, underscoring the painful evolution from an oppressed nation to its democratic flowering since the denouement of military rule at the end of the 1980s. The indictment of the ROK military, forced now into the dock alongside the nefarious Japanese, is a bold statement signaling just how far democracy has come. But, the pain persists because like the Japanese, South Korea's military henchmen have not been held sufficiently accountable and won't be.

## Resilient History Wars

Nearly seventy years after the end of Japanese colonial rule on the Korean peninsula in 1945 the legacies continue to reverberate angrily within both countries and between them. Prospects for reconciliation between these frenemies seem remote because on too many issues concerning the shared past there is little common ground between what Koreans insist on and what conservative Japanese are prepared to acknowledge. The failure of the AWF (Asian Women's Fund) to heal wounds and the last minute collapse of a deal on the comfort women at the end of 2012 represent missed opportunities. Paradoxically, these reconciliation initiatives provoked considerable bitterness, leaving scar tissue on both sides. Clearly the onus of history is on Japan to address the maimed dignity of its Korean victims, but reconciliation initiatives also require Koreans to enable Japan to regain dignity; otherwise there is insufficient incentive to proceed.

For many Japanese the history wars are about humiliating Japan and this has sparked an anti-Korean backlash. The Japanese media has cashed in on (and fueled) the "anti-Korea" (*kenkan*) boom, churning out hate mongering stories in the weekly magazines. (Schreiber 2013) Nationalist anti-Korean manga are also quite popular. (Sakamoto and Allen 2007) This media frenzy has also spilled over into street protests by racist/anti-immigrant groups such as the rightwing Zaitokukai that harass ethnic Koreans, calling on them to leave Japan and threatening to kill

them if they don't. (Dudden 2010) Korean schools have also endured hate speech barrages by such xenophobic Japanese groups, although the courts have levied fines and issued injunctions. The vast majority of Japanese repudiate this harassment and there have been larger counter demonstrations, but contemporary Japan, viewed from South Korea, can appear ominous, especially given that PM Abe espouses jingoistic views and is closely associated with the distortions and misrepresentations of revisionist history. He also appointed like-minded cronies to the board of NHK, Japan's quasi-state broadcaster. Momii Katsuto, Abe's handpicked chairman of NHK, downplayed the comfort women issue at his first news conference in January 2014, suggesting that South Korea was always "raking over old ashes" in asserting demands for further compensation.

Viewed from South Korea, this looks like the same old story of denial and downplaying, a narrative that stokes anti-Japanese nationalism. Korean museums, as we have seen with the One Piece manga brouhaha, are sites of these history wars and also serve as repositories for various unresolved grievances and the mobilization of the painful past to whack Japan, thus inciting rage and indignation in both nations. This cycle of mutual recriminations over shared history is not unique or inevitable, but has proven remarkably resilient. Korea's history museums confront the logic of reconciliation with narratives that reduce history to a zero sum game, edifices of memory that reject reconciliation. As such they are tangible symbols of reproach to those who seek to free the present from the dungeon of the past.

Problematically, both the Japanese and Koreans have good reason to cling to their mutual recriminations and vilification because it stokes a useful nationalism. In Japan, Abe fans nationalistic sentiments to promote his patriotic agenda while South Korea seeks to keep Japan wriggling on the hook of history. For Seoul and Tokyo, thus, the upside of reconciliation appears limited.

Many Japanese are exasperated by the history wars because in the seven decades since defeat, Japan has been a force for peace and prosperity in Asia. While this positive record counts for little in South Korea, it is not only jingoistic Japanese who feel that Japan's positive contributions and relatively exemplary record should earn it some kudos rather than what has become ritualized vilification. Japanese may indeed feel perpetrator's fatigue, tired of being blamed for pre-1945 events, but this is not a compelling argument for ignoring a tragic past that remains poorly understood by many Japanese. Japan is certainly not alone

in wishing away its historical burdens or banishing them to the margins of mainstream narratives. Indeed the Germans are remarkable for not averting their collective gaze from the worst their nation was capable of while the Japanese stand with much of Europe and the U.S. in shirking responsibility and falling short on gestures of atonement and reconciliation.

The sense of being victimized by its history of victimizing is nonetheless extraordinary among conservative Japanese. From their perspective, Koreans are playing the history card to wheedle concessions and compensation from Japan. In this kaleidoscopic view of history, what Japan did then pales in significance relative to what it is being asked to do now. Naturally, Koreans don't see it this way and remain insistent about reminding Japan about past horrors because it seems too eager to move on. Saaler explains, "The manipulation of history for nation-building purposes is, of course, not unique to South Korea; it is what every nation does and is what modern nationhood and nationalism are rooted in...state-sanctioned myth-making."<sup>17</sup>

Overall, in Japanese museums, textbooks and popular narratives, what was endured overshadows what was inflicted during the 1895–1945 period of Japanese imperialism. (Dower 2012)<sup>18</sup> It's not that this suffering cancels the debts, or creates a reassuring moral equivalency, but rather the collective gaze is drawn inward and eyes are averted from the colossal crimes of Japanese imperial expansion. Instead, Pan Asianism is invoked to reassure that whatever happened overseas was done with good intentions, driven by the noble mission of liberating Asia from the yoke of western imperialism. Some Japanese also esteem colonialism in Korea as a hothouse of modernization and progress, but this exculpatory narrative is a dead-end, one that infuriates Koreans and inflames the history wars.

## Rethinking Museums

What role can museums play in engaging and shaping public discourse and attitudes towards the shared past? South Korea's history museums remain trapped in angry and accusatory narratives that allow for little nuance, commemorating colonial suffering and conveying a grim history of relentless Japanese depredations. It's a tale that needs telling and retelling because the Japanese have

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<sup>17</sup> Interview Aug. 2014.

<sup>18</sup> Hatch (2014) reminds us that there are significant exceptions to this generalization.

not been listening and have not done enough to confront the ghosts of the past. And so this past is endlessly excavated and mobilized. The evolution of the Seodaemun demonstrates, however, that there are possibilities of complicating narratives, making new connections and reexamining nationalist discourses.

Andrew Horvat who reported on South Korea from the 1970s as a journalist and worked as the Director of the Asia Foundation's reconciliation programs in the early 2000s, is somewhat optimistic that eventually the story of extensive Korean collaboration that currently stirs righteous moral condemnation will shift towards acceptance or at least a greater degree of toleration. He argues that,

anti-Japanese nationalism in Korea is so all-pervasive, so fierce and so universal because without it Koreans would have to confront the unacceptable reality of collaboration. This collaboration should not be seen in moralistic terms, but it is now. The fact is that Japan was the only game in town for Koreans, especially those like President Park's father, who were ambitious and wanted to get ahead. You either accepted Japanese rule, and used it to get ahead, or you stayed on the farm and ate barley.

As of 2014 the "barley eaters" narrative still appears to be in the ascendant as the politics of history portrays this choice as one between unalloyed Good and Evil, making it hard to imagine how collaboration can be decoupled from morality and repositioned as a practical (and widespread) accommodation to prevailing colonial realities.

Collaboration remains a dark space in Korean history because many of those who have exercised political and economic power in post-WWII South Korea were catapulted into the elite by their colonial-era experiences, and skills and networks developed under Japanese rule. This reality gnaws at the sanctimonious national identity that prevails. Yet "decriminalizing" collaboration might be a useful step towards reconciliation because it would open up new possibilities for collaborative research and museum exhibits featuring reconsideration of the shared history, drawing on intriguing progress in the realm of transnational colonial literature. (Kleeman 2003)

Morris-Suzuki (2009) suggests the possibilities of mingling national narratives, creating virtual spaces where,

...different narratives [can] be brought into contact with one another... allowing the light of [each] national narrative to illuminate the darkness of the others, and enabling the perspectives of the many victims ...to emerge from the shadows.



It is an intriguing idea, but disseminating it may prove difficult.

For example, there is a digital museum about the comfort women that was compiled by the Asia Women's Fund and is translated into Korean, Japanese and English. (AWF 2007, Wada 2008) This virtual library upends the misleading narrative of Japan's collective amnesia, conveying important information about one of the festering wounds in bilateral relations. It contains reference materials, voices of some of the victims collected in an oral history project, memoirs of Korean comfort women, five volumes of documents collected by a government investigation and some videos. In short, it is an invaluable resource for teachers, researchers and journalists. But the AWF never got traction in South Korea and activists groups there discouraged former comfort women from accepting the proffered compensation because it was seen to be a Japanese government subterfuge to avoid taking direct legal responsibility and thus shirking the burdens of history. (Soh 2008) In the absence of rebranding, getting Koreans into the door of this museum may prove difficult.

My pessimistic conclusion is that the time is not ripe for reconciliation in museums, textbooks or other spaces for narratives of Korean-Japanese history and won't be for the foreseeable future. Much as mutual understanding is an alluring goal, and efforts towards this should be maintained, the pathologies of the past won't be overcome in the absence of sufficient government will to do so; here the signs are not encouraging. In South Korean democracy, there is very little room for compromise on colonial history and an irresistible temptation to score points for political gain at the expense of reconciliation. Japanese government officials and conservative politicians feel that sincere efforts such as the Kono Statement and AWF have been sabotaged and dismissed, and that their counterparts will never be satisfied, leaving them disinclined to pursue further reconciliation initiatives. It is unlikely that resilient grassroots ties can achieve what museums have not, because even as people in Japan and South Korea enthusiastically consume each other's popular cultures, visit each other's tourist sites and interact far more than before through various educational, cultural and civil society exchanges, the venomous backlash in both countries in recent years suggests that unshackling the present from the past remains a long-term project.

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*Korea and Japan: a Precarious Relationship*

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## **Pindola in Korea and Japan: Is the Wandering Jew Coming from East Asia?**

Beatrix MECSEI\*

### **Abstract**

The legend of the Wandering Jew became very popular, especially from the 17<sup>th</sup> century Western Europe. The story of punishment by eternal life until the next coming of Jesus Christ has parallels with the Buddhist legend of Pindola Bharadvaja, a disciple of Shakyamuni Buddha who was also punished by eternal life until the coming of the Future Buddha, Maitreya. The similarities were dealt with by the Japanese polymath, Minakata Kumagusu (1899) and Walter Edwards (1902) in the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, claiming that the story of the Wandering Jew was influenced by the Asian legends of Pindola.

In this paper I show that even if we do not have convincing evidences for proving any historical connections between these legends, the myth of eternal life as a punishment is an interesting idea, which appears in many traditions, forming layers on the existing and ever-growing traditions of myths and pictorial representations.

**Keywords:** The legend of the Wandering Jew, Pindola, Dokseong, the “Lonely Saint”

### **Izvešček**

Legenda o potujočem Judu je postala zelo priljubljena, še posebej v Zahodni Evropi od 17. stoletja. Zgodba o večnem življenju kot kaznovanju do naslednjega prihoda Jezusa Kristusa ima vzporednice z budistično legendo o Pindoli Bharadvaji, učencu Šakamunija Bude, ki je tudi bil kaznovan z večnim življenjem, dokler ni prišel Buda prihodnosti, Maitreja. Podobnosti sta obravnavala japonski polihistor Minakata Kumagusu (1899) in Walter Edwards (1902) na prelomu 20. stoletja, ki trdita, da so na zgodbo potujočega Juda vplivale azijske legende o Pindoli.

V tem prispevku bom pokazala, da tudi če nimamo prepričljivih dokazov za potrditev zgodovinskih povezav med temi legendami, je mit o večnem življenju kot kazni zanimiva ideja, ki se pojavlja v mnogih tradicijah in oblikuje plasti na obstoječih in vedno rastočih tradicijah mitov in njihovih ilustrativnih reprezentacijah.

**Ključne besede:** legenda potujočega Juda, Pindola, Dokseong, »Samotni svetnik«

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## Legend of the Wandering Jew

The legend of the wandering Jew tells a story of a man from Jerusalem who refused Christ to have a rest in front of his house, and even used violence to chase him. When this happened Jesus told this man the following: “I’m leaving, but you have to wait until I come back” (Losonczi 2006). Since that time the man from Jerusalem would wander until the next coming of Jesus Christ according to the legends. (Mecsei et al. 2013) In fact, there is no reference to this story in the Bible. The legend does not even specify that the person who committed the sin against Christ was Jewish. Yet, there are some aspects which seem to be connected to the story: the possibility of immortality is mentioned in John 21, 20–23, while a sin committed against Jesus Christ is narrated in John 18, 19–22. (Losonczi 2006) Both “biblically” confirm the two main motifs of the myth of the Wandering Jew: aggression against Jesus Christ and an elongated lifespan until his return. As it was suggested by Losonczi (2006)<sup>1</sup> the legend of the Wandering Jew was a Christian invention, but there are other opinions which argue for the Asian origin of the story.

As with legends, we can suppose an amalgamation of different beliefs and traditions, so it is very interesting how scholars are trying to connect the story to certain traditions. The legend of the wandering Jew reached the height of its popularity in 17<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Serious authors referred to the Wandering Jew, sometimes without any link to the biblical background or without a Jewish protagonist. In the Dutch speaking

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<sup>1</sup> Losonczi in her study (2006) deals with the legend of the Wandering Jew in the period between the 12–17<sup>th</sup> centuries, the parallels and models in written and pictorial sources. She points out that the Crusades had a huge role in the Eastern legends and stories spreading in Western Europe. Most of them came through the Italian peninsula to Europe, and indeed here we find the first written example of the legend. The first mention of the legend seems to go back to 1223, to the *Ignoti monachi Cisterciensis S. Mariae de Ferraria chronica et Ryccardi de Sancto Germano chronica priora*, an account from Bologna, Italy. In 1228, the same story is found in Britain, in the *Flores Historiarum* chronicle, written by Roger of Wendover, a Benedictine monk in St. Albans. There is no evidence that the monks in St. Albans knew the earlier Italian version. These early sources say that Armenia was the place where they met the Wandering Jew, but in the Middle Ages Armenia often meant the Middle-East, and the eastern origin of the story probably is not a coincidence. (Losonczi 2006) Around the 1400s, there are several accounts about the Wandering Jew from the Holy Land, such as the one about the envoy of the Portuguese King, the Flemish Jan Aerts van Mechelen. He went to Jerusalem in 1484 and reported a mysterious meeting with a Jew called Jan Baudewyn. Baudewyn was kept behind eight doors and could be seen only with the permission of the sultan, because his supernatural powers converted any viewer to Christian religion. In that text the sin against Jesus Christ is mentioned together with the punishment of staying on Earth until the second coming of Jesus Christ. (Losonczi 2006)

countries, August Vermeylen is probably the best known author who wrote a book along these lines. The theme of the “Flying Dutchman” is also about somebody suffering his whole life because of something wrong he did, but in fact there is no immediate connection with the Wandering Jew. In the Koran too, there is a story of a never-resting protagonist, in the so-called “Al-Samiri”. (Mecsi et al. 2013)

### Asian Origins of the Legend of the Wandering Jew?

Minakata Kumagusu (1867–1941), a polymath from Japan, when coming to study in Europe at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, noticed the similarities between the story of the Wandering Jew and the Asian story of Pindola Bharadvaja, one of the disciples of Shakyamuni Buddha, and published an article “The Wandering Jew” in the *Notes and Queries* in year 1899 (Minakata 1899). There were also some other scholars who attempted to connect the two stories, supposing a link between the Buddhist and Christian legends (Edmunds 1902).

Pindola Bharadvaja, one of the four Arhats or “spiritual practitioners” who realized a high stage of attainment (de Visser 1923, 6) were asked by the Buddha to propagate Buddhist law (Dharma) after he enters Parinirvana (de Visser 1923, 58). According to the earliest Indian sutras each of the four was associated with one of the four compass directions, to spread Buddha’s message.

Pindola Bharadvaja is considered as one of the most important arhats according to several legends. His veneration has preceded the common in-temple veneration of Arhats in groups of 16 or 500. His name refers to his role as a protector of refectories (Sanskrit *pinda* = alms, food for monks).<sup>2</sup> We have evidence that in China by the 5<sup>th</sup> century CE the cult of Arhat Pindola was already existent, due to a 457 CE translation of the “Ching binlutou fa” (“Method of Inviting Pindola”) into Chinese, Taishō 1689, 32, 784b-c (Kent 1995, 16, note 11)

Apart from the stories he was discussed in relation with food and food offering, the most interesting episodes are concerning Pindola’s punishment with an eternal life, until the coming of Maitreya, the Buddha of the Future. He was punished because he showed off his magical qualities unnecessarily in front of the lay public. The story is well known as it is found in the scripture “Vinayas of Five Different Schools” and is recounted in a number of Pali commentaries as well. The story is

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<sup>2</sup> This role is also mentioned in the Buddhist sources in Korea in the so-called Pindola-sutra (Cheongbindurogyeong 청빈두로경), in *Daejeongjang* 대정장, 32, 784b. (Lee 1999, 17)

described in the Ashokavadana sutra as the following (in the translation by John Strong 1979):

Jyotiska, a rich man of Rājagrha, had a begging bowl made from a block of sandalwood, and, wishing to see a display of supernatural powers, he suspended it from the top of a high bamboo pole and organized a contest: whoever could bring the bowl down using magical powers could keep it. Different heretic masters (*tirthikas*) all try to obtain it, each one pretending in various devious fashions to be endowed with supernatural faculties. But the rich householder is not to be fooled; he wants graphic proof of their powers. Then Pindola happens by together with Mahā Maudgalyāyana. He urges the latter (who is well known as a master of supernatural faculties) to take the bowl, but Maudgalyāyana declines and suggests that Pindola do it instead. Pindola, therefore, flies up into the air in full view of the assembled crowds, tours the city several times, grabs the bowl and brings it to the rich man who fills it and honors him. He then goes back to the vihāra. The whole incident, however, is reported to Buddha who questions Pindola, reprimands him severely for having exhibited his supernatural powers, and then makes a Vinaya rule to the effect that the performance of magical feats in the presence of laymen will henceforth be a *duskrta* offence.<sup>3</sup> (Strong 1979, 71–72)

Another famous story from the Ashokavadana shows the importance of Pindola not being dead, and keeping a living connection between the times of Shakyamuni Buddha and the times of the Indian king, Ashoka. Here we can read about the cultic importance of the long eyebrows of Pindola:

Aśoka invites the community of the four quarters to come to him in Pātaliputra where he plans to make them offerings of food and clothes. (*pañcavārsika*, a quinquennial entertainment of the Sangha). A great number of monks are assembled. However, it is immediately apparent that the reunion is incomplete, for at its very center, the seat of the elder has remained empty. Aśoka, in consternation, asks Yagas, the most venerable elder present: “How is it that the elder’s seat is not mounted? Is there here someone else who is older than you?” “There is, O great king” comes the answer. “This seat is that of Pindola Bhāradvāja whom the Buddha designated as foremost of lion-roarers.”<sup>4</sup> Aśoka is astonished that Pindola is still alive, and asks: “Is it possible for us to see him?” “Great king”, answers Yagas, “you will see him now.” And there follows the account of Pindola’s spectacular arrival. Flying through the air surrounded by several thousands of Arhats in “half-moon formation”, he alights in the midst of the assembly and takes his place on the

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<sup>3</sup> See the various Vinaya accounts in Lévi and Chavannes (1916, 233–47), and the expanded version of the story in *The Commentary of Dhammapada*, edited by H.C. Norman (1912, vol. 3: 199–203 (in Burlingame vol. 30, part 3: 35–38), Aśokavadāna (in Burnouf 1876, 353).

empty seat, his white hair flowing and his white eyebrows so long that they hang down and cover the pupils of his eyes. (Strong 1979, 71–72) Pindola Bhāradvāja has arrived to receive his food offering, and his presence is clearly a sign that Aśoka’s offering is being carried out properly (Strong 1979, 83–84).

At this point there occur some intriguing verbal exchanges between Ashoka and Pindola which provide clues to the interpretation of his cult and legend as a whole. By virtue of the fact that Pindola personally knew (and attained enlightenment under) the Buddha, he establishes a connection between the age of the Buddha and the present, the time of Ashoka. In an actual, more experiential sense, Pindola also makes the Buddha himself present in the here and now situation. This is expressed in the text in a rather intriguing way:

Although Pindola is physically there on the seat in front of him, Aśoka does not immediately see him “face to face”. As we have mentioned, Pindola’s long white eyebrows hang down and cover the pupils of his eyes, and this, in quite literal terms, keeps them from “eye to eye” contact. (Strong 1979, 84)

This noteworthy physical feature of Pindola, which is mentioned in only one other text, is on the one hand simply indicative of Pindola’s great age; he has, after all, been alive for a number of centuries. But the text is so curiously specific about his eyebrows and his eyes that some further interpretation is called for.

The matter becomes clear when it is put in the context of the Buddhist ceremony of the consecration of Buddha images. As it is well known, the climax of any ritual of dedication of a painting or a statue of the Buddha is the moment of the “insertion of the eyes.” (Strong 1979, 84) Until they are painted or put in, the image is considered to be lifeless, ritually irrelevant, just a lump of clay or stone or metal. “But with the eyes in, it becomes alive, consecrated, a Buddha-image rather than an image of the Buddha” (Strong 1979, 84).

With his white brows covering his pupils, Pindola at first sits before Ashoka in much the same way as an unfinished “blind” Buddha image. It is, therefore, a moment of great importance in the text when, we are told, with King Ashoka bowing down before him, “the elder lifted up his brows with both hands and gazed straight at the king.” (Aśokavadāna in Burnouf 1876, 354) Here, in the cultic situation established by Ashoka and confirmed by his offerings and devotion, the live Pindola is consecrated, or we could say, is sacralized in much the same way as an image of the Buddha. And just like the Buddha image at the precise moment of

its consecration, Pindola “makes present”, ritualistically speaking, the Buddha who is absent in Nirvana (Strong 1979, 85).

### **Pindola and the Wandering Jew: Eternal Life as a Punishment**

Comparing the legends of the Wandering Jew and the stories of Pindola in Asia we can see that apart from the similar motifs, we cannot find it very convincing to connect them exclusively with a direct link. However, as the nature of legends indicate syncretic tendencies, growing and getting richer with newer and newer elements, layers, thus colouring the traditions. (Birtalan 2011, 210) The comparative tendencies searching for elements connecting Christian and Buddhist traditions were especially popular during the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

However, the story of the “eternal wanderer” can help us to identify some layers of traditions and myths which appear in the 17<sup>th</sup> century Korea in the form of the not very well-known, but widely revered and very visible figure, the so-called “Lonely Saint” (Dokseong).

### **The Mysterious “Lonely Saint” in Korea**

In South Korea, a so-called “Lonely Saint” is a popular and frequently-worshipped deity. His representations can be found in almost any Korean Buddhist temple, though he remains an obscure and little-understood figure by both Buddhist believers and scholars of Korean culture. They simply associate him to magic and immortality, as this Buddhist figure is often placed in a landscape full of symbols for good health, longevity and fortune symbols, well-known from Korean folk-paintings: mountains, water, waterfalls, clouds, the red sun, deer, cranes, turtles, *bullocho*-mushrooms and peaches.

In the Joseon era (1432–1910) Buddhism was suppressed in favor of Confucianism, however, Buddhism never ceased to exist, and it produced very interesting iconographies. The styles became more diverse, the materials cheaper, and the patrons were coming from a much wider audience than before. In this milieu, from the 17<sup>th</sup> century onwards we can see the existence of a particular representation of a Buddhist monk, appearing together with shamanistic and Daoist deities in the furthestmost Samseong Halls of the Joseon temple complexes. This monk is called *Dokseong* or “Lonely Saint”, and he is a popular and frequently-worshipped deity in South Korea. His representations can almost

always be found in Korean Buddhist temples. However, his identity and characteristics remain obscure and little-understood by both Buddhist believers and scholars of Korean culture. His iconic representations are usually placed together with the popular Korean Shamanist/Daoist deities the *Sanshin* (Mountain-spirit) and the *Chilseong* (Seven Stars spirit) and possibly other non-Buddhist representations in a special shrine for non-Buddhist deities, usually a triad of them, within temple complexes, usually above and behind or next to the Main Halls. However, sometimes he has his own shrine, but again, so far away from the other Buddhist deities.

Who is this Buddhist figure, so far away from the more venerated Buddhist deities? Why does he appear together with the shamanistic and daoist deities? Why can we find very similar background motifs on the paintings aimed to represent him?

To answer these questions I have collected the available sources representing him, putting together my own photographs and the splendid photo-collection of Prof. David Mason, a long-time resident in Korea and an avid collector of the Korean Mountain spirit-representations (Mecsi 2008).<sup>5</sup>



Fig. 1: Sanshin Hall and Samseong Hall, Palgong Mountain, Sudo Temple

We could glean from this that *Dokseong* is regarded as a somewhat shamanic deity and supplicated for real-world benefits in the Korean Shamanic fashion, but is generally accepted as more of a Buddhist figure than the others enshrined with

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<sup>5</sup> I would like to thank Prof. Mason for his great generosity to share his photo-collection with me, enabling me to scan the related slides into a digitalized format for this research. All photos in this article are published with his approval.

him, creating a surprising mystery and controversy about his historical origins and religious identity. By looking through the material (which I loaded on a special website), some aspects suggested that he can be connected to one of the foremost Buddhist enlightened-saints (Arhats in Sanskrit), Pindola Bharadvaja, a mythical figure widely held by Northeast Asian Buddhists to be one of the sixteen original and primary disciples of Shakyamuni Buddha. Aspects of this figure's mythology help explain his Shamanistic status and function in Korean temples. We have analyzed these images together with the written sources in order to shed light on the origins of the representation of the Korean "Lonely Saint" and to place them into a wider context, and to rediscover his functional identity.

## Description of the Lonely Saint

Dokseong is always depicted as an elderly man with a distinctly bald head (sometimes protruding a bit at the top) and no hat, with kind but sad eyes, with white hair on the sides of his head and long white eyebrows, usually with no beard or moustache (a shaven face), but occasionally with an "unshaven" stubble of facial hair (never a long beard). He is always depicted seated (cross-legged or with one knee up), wearing Buddhist robes<sup>6</sup> and barefoot, and holding a *yeomju* (Buddhist rosary) and/or a wooden staff. In some cases he may be making a *mudra* (an iconic gesture in Hindu/Buddhist art) with one hand. He is almost always depicted as sitting on a rocky cliff-top beneath a pine-tree, and there is usually a rich background of mountains and forest, with clouds and a waterfall. Near him may also be an incense-burner, books (presumed to be Buddhist sutras), mushrooms, bamboo, flowers, deer, turtles and cranes or other birds (whether perching or flying). All of these are symbols of the powers of natural factors to grant or inspire health, longevity and wisdom to spiritual practitioners in the mountain-forests; they are common in Korean religious paintings and appear with equal frequency in *Sanshin* (Mountain-spirit) paintings and in other associated artworks. Child-servants may be shown attending him, holding (offering) gifts such as fruits that symbolize longevity, fertility and fecundity, and possibly brewing some sort of tea for him; these are called *dongja* in Korean, and are common secondary figures in East Asian religious iconography. A statue of Dokseong is usually placed on the altar in front of his *taenghwa*, as with Sanshin,

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<sup>6</sup> Often in the "southern" style, with one shoulder bare. He is never painted wearing the gray and brown robes of a 20<sup>th</sup>-century Korean monk. This acknowledges his Indian origins (Mason 1999).

and it often shares iconographic motifs with the painted portrait, although a statue of a Buddha, Bodhisattva or Arhat is sometimes used instead.

Because his representations appear to be portraits of some elderly master-monk, there are a few Korean Buddhist monks who hold the opinion that he may represent venerable master Payak 波若 (562–613), a renowned monk from the Goguryeo Kingdom<sup>7</sup> who studied Tiantai Buddhism<sup>8</sup> on China's Mount Tiantai, gaining enlightenment and died there, never returning to Korea. However, this theory is not widespread among Buddhist believers or scholars, and plays no discernable role in the ritual veneration of Dokseong (Mason 1999, 100).



Fig. 2: Lonely Saint, Yeongwol Jeo-dong, Bodeok Temple

There is no evidence from historical or contemporary sources, nor motifs from his iconography, that suggests identification with any other historical master-monk of India, China or Korea itself. However, it is an interesting addition to the reception and appropriation of this figure.

Dokseong is named also as “*Naban jonja*” 那畔尊者. This name can also be found as an identification written on some of his representations and in later Korean texts.<sup>9</sup> The meaning of this name can be explained as *naban* 那畔 “another

<sup>7</sup>고구려 or 高句麗. One of the Three Ancient Korean Kingdoms, traditional dates 37 BCE–668 CE.

<sup>8</sup>天台, Wade-Giles: T'ien T'ai. He is recorded to have studied under Founding-Master Zhiyi (智顛, Wade-Giles: Chih-I, 538–97). Mount Tiantai is now in Zhejiang Province.

<sup>9</sup>*Baekpa Geungseon* (백파궁선 白波巨旋, 1767–1852): *Jakbeopgwigam* 작법귀감 *Jebanmun*, *Dokseong Jaewimun* 독성재의문 獨聖齋義文 (Pak 1993).



way”, in contrast with the word *joban* which means the “ordinary way” according to Lee Ji-kwan (1999).

The first literary evidence in Korea can be found in a ritual text stored at Haeinsa, one of Korea’s greatest monasteries, titled the *Haeinsa Jebanmun* (해인사제반문 海印寺 諸般文) which has a postscript written by Nakam Winul (낙암의눌 落巖義訥, 1666–1737) dated 1719 referring to the cult of Dokseong as a traditional practice, thus showing that it had already existed well before that time (Lee 1999, 13).<sup>10</sup>

The *Haeinsa Jebanmun* and other ritual texts also contain other details which help us understand the visual representations, and in addition, they refer to a Buddhist saint, or Arhat, who had very similar features to our Korean Lonely Saint thus connecting it with some Indian and Chinese legends. This way the name “Naban jonja” can be also understood. The features of this “Naban jonja” or Dokseong are particularly interesting as they reflect the elements of the legend of Pindola Bharadvaja, the never-dying arhat who was punished by eternal life. In the *Jebanmun* texts it is emphasized that Dokseong had very long eyebrows, a motif that appears on most of the images. The distinctively long eyebrows can be seen also on representations of Pindola amongst the 16 Arhats.

As we mentioned earlier, the long eyebrows had a cultic significance as it was indicated in the Indian Ashokavadana sutra, forming a direct connection between the times of Shakyamuni Buddha and King Ashoka.

A story of Chinese origin which also emphasizes the long eyebrows appears in Korean sources (*Daejeongjang* 50 in Lee 1999):

Tao-an (or Kor. *Doan-beopsa*) in fearing that his Sutra-commentaries would not be in perfect harmony with the original contents had a dream where an Indian Buddhist monk appeared in front of him whose hair was white and had extremely long eyebrows. This monk has reassured Tao-an about his work and said that he would not enter Nirvana and would help him finish the Sutra-commentaries. Tao-an, when he woke up, immediately knew that the monk he saw in his dream was no other than Pindola. (Lee 1999 in Strong 1979, 70)

Elements of some stories about Pindola might have arrived to Korea quite early, as there is an interesting episode in the *Samguk Yusa* (*Supplementary Legends of the Three Kingdoms*, written by monk Iryeon in the 13<sup>th</sup> Century) which might be

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<sup>10</sup> 해인사 제반문 *Haeinsa Jebanmun* 1719. (Pak 1993, 2 p.683a)

referred to as a parallel of Pindola's story. Derived from Indian sources, this alternate old story shows Pindola's misuse of supernatural powers and explains his exile from Nirvana:

The Chinese translation of the original Indian text (*Sumagadhavadana*) describes that when hurrying to attend one of the Buddha's meetings, Pindola flew through the air, absentmindedly dragging a mountain behind him as he was mending his robe on the top of the mountain before, planting the needle into the ground with the thread still attached to his hem. This caused a pregnant woman to have a miscarriage when she saw the flying mountain above her head. Thereupon Pindola's supernatural displays could lead to a possible loss of life. (Strong 1979, 74)

The Korean parallel to Pindola's story of dragging a mountain behind him appears in a *Samguk Yusa* story where it is said that "In Baekje Kingdom a holy monk brought a mountain to the site of Mireuk-sa 彌勒寺, by causing it to fly through the air. Mireuk-sa is dedicated to Maitreya." (Iryeon 1972, 144; Covell in Strong 1979, 76)



Fig 3: Lonely Saint, Jaek Mountain, Pyochung Temple, Jinbul Hermitage

In the background of Dokseong images, as we have already seen, we can often find health/longevity/good-fortune symbols well-known from Korean folk-paintings. We can see mountains, waters, waterfalls, clouds, the red sun, deer, cranes, turtles, *bullocho*-mushrooms and peaches, and we can also encounter the magpies often seen in Korean tiger-paintings. We can speculate that the reason for putting this Buddhist saint in the company of Daoist and shamanist icon-symbols can be connected to this certain Arhat, Pindola, whose legends indicate his connection with magic and immortality, concepts which play very important roles

in East Asian folk-religions. Therefore, the ubiquitous placement of this Buddhist figure into a landscape full of these symbols from other traditions is further evidence that the original identity of Dokseong is in fact Pindola Bharadvaja.

## Pindola in Japan

In Japan this Pindola figure became popular in a different way. There, from the Edo-period (1603–1868) onwards, he is venerated in a form of a sculpture and it is believed to cure several illnesses. Apart from that, he was also venerated as a patron saint of the refectories following the Chinese tradition. In Japan the sculpted image of Pindola is usually placed outside the temple, mainly at the entrance, whereas in Korea the images of the Lonely Saint are usually placed farther from the main halls, together with the non-Buddhist deities. This can be a sign that indicates Pindola's position as an intermediary between our world and the consecrated realms. In Japan his figure is usually painted red, explaining it as a sign of his gluttony, but this colour often disappears due to being touched by sick people who hope to be thereby cured.

## Conclusion

In Joseon Korea where Buddhism was suppressed by the Confucian ideology, different iconographies appeared and a special syncretism can be observed. From the 17<sup>th</sup> century onwards we can trace a special figure, called Dokseong or Naban jonja, who is usually represented as a monk in a landscape setting, full of symbols of immortality. His figure is usually enshrined together with shamanist and Daoist images, thus making a special connection with those practices.

The connection is especially strong with them, since he is also used in the same fashion, for real-world benefits and for long life.

From these features we can identify this Buddhist saint with one of the foremost pupils of Shakyamuni Buddha, the Indian Pindola Bharadvaja, who is called Binduro in Korea, and Binzuru in Japan. This particular Arhat, Pindola Bharadvaja, can still be seen and identified in the group of 16 or 500 either in Korea or in Japan,<sup>11</sup> but he was also worshipped as a separate figure from very

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<sup>11</sup> The difference in visual representation between Binduro in Korea and Dokseong is that when Binduro is represented, he is usually shown in the group of arhats, but very often his longer eyebrows make him identifiable within the group. When he is represented as “Dokseong”, he is shown alone within a landscape setting referring to immortality.

early times (we have evidence that in China the cult of Pindola existed already in the 5<sup>th</sup> century CE.). Since he is associated with magic and longevity (he had to stay on Earth until the coming of the Future Buddha, Maitreya), he became surrounded by longevity symbols and placed together with Daoist and folk-deities in Korea. This form of enshrinement is unique to Korea; we have seen how in Japan he is conceived as a healing saint and his figure is usually represented in a sculpted form outside the halls of Buddhist temples from the Edo period onwards. The common feature of these images in Korea and Japan is that both are approachable and very human figures who are intermediators to the holier and more psychologically-distant Buddha-realms. This feature is supported by the background religious texts which discuss Pindola as not entering Nirvana, but living on Earth maintaining a unique direct living connection with the historical Buddha Shakyamuni, whom he used to see face-to-face.

This legend reportedly influenced the European legend of the “Wandering Jew”, according to the Japanese scholar Minakata Kumagusu (1867–1941), thus connecting not only the Buddhist traditions with the Daoist and folk-religions in the case of Asian countries, but also reaching to the Western world and colouring Christianity-related myths and legends (Minakata 1899, 123).

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# Koreans in Japan: Processes of Community Building in Marginal Places in Kyoto

Nataša VISOČNIK\*

## Abstract

The article mostly deals with an area on the southeast of Kyoto, which is known to be settled also by the Korean minority. The research based on a few short fieldworks focuses on their struggle to gain access to the resources through the process of community building (*machizukuri*). The process of *machizukuri* began under the liberation movement of another marginalized group known as *burakumin*, who live in the neighbourhood area. The research also looks for the relationship between these two discriminated groups. This article thus challenges the idea that the involvement in the process of community building of one group serves as a know-how for other marginal communities for collaborations with cities and local self-governing establishments.

**Keywords:** *zainichi* Koreans, *machizukuri*, marginality, *burakumin*, local self-government

## Izveček

Članek predvsem obravnava z območjem na jugovzhodu Kjota, kjer je znano, da živi tudi korejska manjšina. Raziskava, ki temelji na nekaj kratkih terenskih raziskavah se osredotoča na njihov boj do dostopa virov skozi proces oblikovanja skupnosti (*machizukuri*). Proces *machizukuri* se je začel v okviru osvobodilnih gibanj druge marginalizirane skupine znane kot *burakumin*, ki živi v sosednjem območju. Raziskava si tudi ogleda odnose med tema dvema diskriminiranimi skupnostma. Tako članek tudi izziva ideje, da lahko vključevanje v proces oblikovanja skupnosti ene skupine služi kot izkušnja za druge marginalne skupnosti v sodelovanju z mesti in lokalnimi samoupravami.

**Ključne besede:** *zainichi* Korejci, *machizukuri*, marginalnost, *burakumin*, lokalne samouprave

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## Introduction

In recent years local citizens' movements have spread rapidly throughout Japan. There is considerable evidence of high levels of motivation and enthusiasm among Japanese people for efforts to make more liveable places, as demonstrated by the spread of *machizukuri* across the country during the 1990s. Created with the aim of improving the quality of the local environment, and of environmental management processes, such activities are widely referred to as *machizukuri*, and represent an important development in local politics and urban management in Japan. Thousands of *machizukuri* (also called “community building”) processes have been established nationwide, in an enormous outpouring of local energy into attempts to achieve more bottom-up input into local place management in which local citizens play an active role in environmental improvement and management processes.

This article looks into these processes of community building from a perspective of marginal group living in south-east of Kyoto. Marginalised communities in Japan often live in particular parts of big cities, usually on their outskirts, where members of oppressed ethnic groups, the impoverished or lower castes live. One of such places is the districts called Higashi Kujō in Minami-ku at the south-east part of Kyoto city. The research based on a fieldwork in this area focuses especially on one main group living there; the Korean minority (*zainichi Kankokujin* or resident Koreans).

The process of *machizukuri* began under the liberation movement of another marginalized group known as *burakumin*, who live in the neighbourhood area (Sūjin area in Shimogyō-ku). The research also shortly compares the struggle of the Korean minority and *burakumin* minority groups and particularly looks for the relationship between the two discriminated groups. In the case of *burakumin*, the negative consequences of marginality served as a starting point for innovation and potentials, expressed in the community building very successfully.

In this way, article also challenges the idea that the involvement in the process of community building of one group serves as a know-how for other marginal communities for collaborations with cities and local self-governing establishments.

After a brief introduction of the place and the term “marginality”, the article outlines the origins of the social phenomenon *zainichi* Korean discrimination. Then it considers in more detail the developments and modernization processes

within the life in *buraku*, and discusses the important role of *machizukuri* in the liberation movement in the course of the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> century. *Buraku* (“hamlet”) or *tokushu buraku* (“special hamlet”) are home to people with criminal backgrounds, criminal ancestors, people of foreign ancestry (especially Korean), people living in poverty or/and having an unclean occupation (or an ancestor with one). The oldest *buraku* neighbourhoods are believed to be in Kyoto, the ancient capital, and go back a millennium, in its history.

The question is why do modernity symbolized by the dismantling of the outcast status groups, the legislation of “equality”, and progress towards a capitalist economy fail to do away with feudal prejudices and still pushes those people to the margins of the mainstream society even nowadays.

### Marginal Place

A marginal place of a big city was historically a place where coexistence of and confrontation between the impoverished working class, or minorities on one side, and the majority, the capital on the other side were generated. Two of such marginal spaces in Kyoto are Higashi Kujō Minami-ku<sup>1</sup> where Korean minority lives, and Sūjin in Shimogyō-ku<sup>2</sup> where *burakumin* live on the south-east part of the city. These areas served as a border line of the city for hundreds of years and these liminal spaces were settled by various kinds of people.

Mizuuchi (2002, 13) argues that this kind of confrontation caused urban poverty in the context of industrial capitalism, which represented economic poverty and feudal and classist marginality, and poverty determined by social status and ethnicity. In the Meiji Restoration period (1868–1912), urban space experienced a drastic transformation along with revolutionary changes in spatial and social structures. The living space shared by factory labourers, an increasing

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<sup>1</sup> The place Minami or South Ward (南区 *Minami-ku*) is one of the eleven wards in the city of Kyoto in Kyoto Prefecture. As of April 2008, the ward has had an estimated population of 98,320 people. It is roughly bound to the east by the Kamogawa (Kamo River), to the west by the Katsuragawa (although it extends across the river in some places), to the north by Hachijō Street and the JR Kyōto line (leading into Kyoto station), and to the south by the Meishin Expressway (although it extends across the expressway in some places). (Minami ku)

<sup>2</sup> Shimogyō-ku has a population of 75,748 and an area of 6.82 km<sup>2</sup>. Three rivers, Horikawa, Kamogawa and Takasegawa, are in the ward. Kyoto Tower and Kyoto Station are major landmarks in Shimogyō-ku. Shijō Street on the northern edge of the area, especially around the Shijō Kawaramachi intersection, is the busiest shopping district in the city. Kyoto Station has an extensive shopping centre, including a department store in the station building, and the underground Porta mall. (Shimogyō-ku)



number of workers of urban miscellaneous jobs, and manufacturers unable to adjust to the progress of technology became the “slum” area, where the urban poverty previously hidden behind the feudal class system became spatially visible. Regulations covering construction, hygiene and lodgings, combined with land price and rent increases related to the emergence of an urban middle class, forced many poorer people to move from relatively central metropolitan areas into specific outlying districts. Since the Taishō period (1912–1926), people from the colonized Korea migrated to urban areas next to minor factories, neighbouring these ghettos and cheap inns’ quarters, and giving them an additional characteristic of spatial division among ethnic groups.

Today in these two areas, especially in Minami-ku live more people from the working class than in any other Kyoto districts; many of them came from rural areas in search of employment, in addition to those who have emigrated for a variety of reasons from other regions. Besides restaurants and clubs, portions of the land near the Kamo River are lined with factories and industrial buildings. Residential areas include both standard houses and apartments, and occasional government-subsidized housing projects in public housing, where people with disabilities are placed as well. Because of the big *zainichi* Korean community Higashi Kujō is sometimes called “Kyoto’s international town”. The terms *buraku* (hamlet), *tokushu buraku* (special hamlet) or *dōwa chiku* (assimilation districts) are used to describe the place Sūjin where *burakumin* live just next to Higashi Kujō.

The people living in this area are all marginalised, though for different reasons. The marginalised people might be socially, economically, politically and legally ignored, excluded or neglected, and are therefore vulnerable to livelihood change. According to Gurung and Kollmair (2005, 10) marginality is primarily defined and described by two major conceptual frameworks, the societal one and the spatial one, which are both possible to find in these two cases. The societal framework focuses on human dimensions such as demography, religion, culture, social, economics and politics in connection with access to resources by individuals and groups. This was how both the *burakumin* as native Japanese but a caste and *zainichi* Koreans as a foreign ethnicity were marginalized in one sense. As both groups live at the edge of the city, they are also spatially marginalized. The explanation of the spatial dimension of marginality is primarily based on physical location and distance from centres of development, lying at the edge and poorly

integrated into the system (Gurung and Kollmair 2005, 10), as we can see in Kyoto city.

### *Zainichi* Koreans in Japan

The notion of ethnic Koreans residing in Japan challenges the assumption that Japan is “homogeneous” (see Hicks 1997; Ryang 2005) and also raises questions about what it means to be “Korean” or “Japanese”. Koreans constitute the largest “foreign” community permanently residing in Japan.<sup>3</sup> Despite their similarities in physical appearance and considerable acculturation to mainstream Japanese society, Koreans in Japan have been discriminated against by both the Japanese state and Japanese society. They continue to face and respond to numerous forms of discrimination, human rights violations and social injustice, as well as intra-communal political diversity, which is relevant to others’ experiences in the West and beyond.<sup>4</sup>

Japan colonized Korea for three and a half decades from 1910 to 1945, incorporating Koreans and other Asians within its expanding empire. Its empire-building coincided with its attempts at modern nation-building after the 1868 restoration of imperial order under Emperor Meiji. The Japanese in Korea, Taiwan, Okinawa, Manchuria and elsewhere sought simultaneously to establish their own privileged position and to assimilate the colonized people through the imposition of the Japanese language and education system (Ryang 2005, 2). At the beginning they were given Japanese citizenship, which however did not protect them from discrimination, although the government tried to infuse the heterogeneous population with a sense of homogeneity and community (Weiner 2009, 1). In 1947 their citizenship was revoked; they were classified as aliens and given foreigner’s passports. The Koreans were forced to work in mines and munitions factories (Fukuoka and Tsujiyama 1991, 5) and the assimilation politics at that time extended to every aspect of life—political, religious and cultural. From 1939 on the *sōshikaimēi*<sup>5</sup> policy forced many Koreans to adopt Japanese-style names and abandon their Korean names (Ryang 2005, 2; see also Fukuoka 2000, 6). Although according to the Naturalization Laws Koreans are no longer required to adopt

<sup>3</sup> According to statistics from the Ministry of Justice, there were 565,989 Koreans in Japan in 2010. This figure does not include those who have adopted Japanese citizenship, which might be around 284,840 according to the figures from 2005. Added to this number should also be long-term visitors (82,666), Korean students in Japan (18,208), who make up 950,703 in total. (Ministry of Justice 2010)

<sup>4</sup> For an in-depth account about the Korean minority living in Japan, see Visočnik (2013).

<sup>5</sup> The term literary means “create a surname and change one’s forename” (Fukuoka 2000, 6).

Japanese-style names, there is informal pressure for them to do so as we can learn from many personal stories. This stems from the fact that, as Hicks (1997, 86) has argued, in Japanese thinking, race and ethnicity are not separated. They are called *zainichi*<sup>6</sup> Koreans, but the term “Korean-Japanese”<sup>7</sup> is also in use, although is not officially recognized and has two essential characteristics, describing people who are of Korean descent and live in Japan.

Working low-paid jobs and settling at the edge of cities, they quickly became defined as “impure”. Although no longer officially recognized after 1871, their idea of “dirty people” based on occupation such as the *burakumin*<sup>8</sup> in feudal Japan and *baekjeong* in feudal Korea was to supply motivation for all members of Japanese society to maintain their own “purity” and avoid “dirt”.<sup>9</sup> Thus Koreans were cast in a similar role as “dirty people”—*chōsenjin-burakumin* in Japan.

As *eta* people were already residing in Tokujō, Koreans came to Kyōto in the 1920s, at the time of large-scale construction of the Tokaido Line of Railways (Maekawa 1974, 39), the Higashiyama tunnel construction, river wall construction of Kamogawa and widening construction of Kujō Street, and the development of the Yūzen dyeing factory, whenever the need for workers was big. The Korean population of Tokujō increased significantly in the time of the large black market that appeared in the region (today’s Kyoto Station). The market especially flourished after the end of the war, when a lot of Koreans planned to return home

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<sup>6</sup> The term *zainichi* emphasizes place of residence rather than bloodline. Since the late 1970s, the younger generation has used the term to emphasize their different approach to living in Japan to that of the first generation *zainichi*. This term also avoids the inclusion of nationality as a defining element in identifying this community (Chapman 2008, 4–5; Inadsugi 2002, 559–62).

<sup>7</sup> The term “Korean-Japanese” does not exist in order to keep the myth of racial homogeneity alive and it is also a contradiction in terms, since a person can be either one or the other, but not both. This is hard for many Koreans to accept since they feel that retaining their cultural identity is a fundamental right. In relation to this, even today Japan refuses to allow dual nationality for its citizens.

<sup>8</sup> *Burakumin* were discriminated because of their occupation or a specific location of their living since ancient times. Discrimination of the *burakumin* is religiously-sanctioned class discrimination. A key concept in understanding any such form of discrimination is that of “defilement”. Something is “defiled” (*kegare*) when it is out of its “proper” place in society. (Mist 2012, 6; Boyle 1; see also Buraku Liberation League) Much like day labourers in modern Japan, those who were marginalized ended up doing the “3-D” jobs (dirty, difficult and dangerous) that society needed done but which nobody wanted to do. (See more in Visočnik 2014)

<sup>9</sup> This dirtiness is usually associated with the fact that Koreans bred pigs, as pork was an important element of the Korean diet. It also associated with smell, because Korean people in the past were considered as “bad smelling”, as the interviewees would say. Garlic, which was a very important ingredient in Korean cuisine (like *kimchi*, キムチ) and which Japanese people did not use at all in their cuisine, also had a strong smell. Koreans were also excluded from the general housing market and forced to live in tenements and flop houses with poor sanitation and basic health care problems.

and sold rice (“black-market rice”) at the train station before leaving Kyoto. Those who stayed worked in the field spreading to the south. They also collected waste paper and scrap iron, old clothes and sold them in their shops. At that time, the population of Tokujō was about 30,000 people and among them, 10,000 were Koreans. They lived in a poor living environment in the so-called “illegal housing”; there were also lots of fires, where many people lost their lives.<sup>10</sup>

When Koreans immigrated to Japan, they joined the outcasts at the bottom of the industrial reserve army. When workers’ movements began, the mechanisms for ideological discrimination and ideological suppression developed. To combat the rising working-class consciousness after the Rice Riots of 1918, the Public Security Law was passed in 1925 to provide the legal framework for the suppression of “communistic” ideas. In the Marxist view then, the structure of pre-war Japanese capitalism supported status discrimination in both its objective and subjective aspects. In the post-war period, with the Fascist movement defeated and discredited, the Japanese society underwent firstly a revolutionary and then a counterrevolutionary development. The key forces underlying change in the revolutionary phase were pressures from below, from the progressive social forces of the Japanese society, and the American Occupation operating under the principles of the Potsdam Declaration. The revolutionary period was marked by various reforms. (Neary 2009)

Ruyle (1979, 63) states that their racial discrimination had its origin in the conquest of Korea and the promulgation by the ruling class of the idea that the Japanese were a superior race. The cultural identity and citizenship issues have been a major problem between the Koreans and the Japanese government, which still remains to be solved today. The formation and transformation of ethnic identity and cultural diversity are concerns Koreans in Japan share with many other minority groups in the contemporary society. Japan’s national identity is produced and reproduced by discursive strategies rather than by reality itself. (see also Visočnik 2013, 114–6) Although *zainichi* Koreans live in *buraku* together with *burakumin* they are treated in a different way from *burakumin*. According to

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<sup>10</sup> There is another place near Kyoto, called Utoro, in Kyoto Uji Iseda town, where one community of *zainichi* Koreans lives. They moved there during the war to work in a military airfield the Japanese tried to build. In the mid-1980s, Nissan Motor Co., a successor to the war-time company, contrived to evict them from their homes by selling all of the village land. With much struggle in US courts and by going public, they won support for their cause, and awareness about the wartime compensation issues. The town is also connected with Tokujo, as they have performed in the Madang festival in Tokujo.

McCormack (2013 76, 77), they are called new comers or commoners and are like poor labourers, orphans and discharged criminals. In the past the differences were even greater, but today government's actions to improve the living conditions in marginal areas are getting closer and similar to the ones of *burakumin*'s.

Koreans form the largest ethnic group in contemporary Japan. They are also a diverse group. The most important boundary lies between “newcomers”, who are a “voluntary minority”, and “old-timers”, who are an “involuntary minority”. The newcomers were born and mostly educated in South Korea, and came to Japan to obtain better economic benefits. They do not intend to reside in Japan permanently. Many of them are illegal workers, estimated to number 320,000. Newcomers are younger, more self-confident, and more aggressive; they are more driven to succeed, compared with the old-timers. (Okano 1997, 526–7)

Among the long-term resident Koreans, further divisions exist. The majority are permanent residents of Japan, representing 688,144 of a total 1.28 million registered foreign residents. Others have taken up Japanese citizenship: The number of ex-Koreans who were naturalized in the period 1952–90 is estimated to be 155,547. Differences are observed in terms of generation, affiliation with North and South Korean organizations, regions of residence, and social class. (Okano 1997, 527) Long-term Korean residents in Japan are an involuntary minority group. The existence of the Koreans in contemporary Japan is a direct result of Japan's colonization of the Korean peninsula from 1910 to 1945.

The original Koreans fled to Japanese cities in pursuit of employment after being dispossessed of their farming lands by the Japanese colonial authorities, or from 1937 to 1945, being shipped to Japan as forced labour to fill an acute shortage of workers in the war economy. The Korean population in Japan at the end of the war was almost 2,3 million, about three quarters of whom returned to Korea within a year after the end of the war. Those who stayed on longer in Japan soon faced the division of Korea in 1948 and the outbreak of the Korean War, which made their repatriation difficult. Under Japanese colonization, Koreans were Japanese subjects, but in 1952 when Japan regained sovereignty, Koreans living in Japan suddenly and unilaterally became foreign nationals.

There remains a legacy of the colonial period when the dominant Japanese “defined” Koreans as an inferior and second-class group of people and deliberately discouraged the maintenance of their language and ethnic culture. Koreans, as well as Japanese, are said to have internalized this definition: they hold a negative

identity of themselves and their culture. Had a different definition been applied to Koreans as an ethnic group, they might well have experienced different treatment.<sup>1</sup> While facing symbolic prejudice and discrimination in interpersonal relations in common with the other three involuntary minority groups (the Ainu, the Okinawans, and the *buraku*), most Koreans face the added disadvantage of not possessing Japanese citizenship, such as limited access to government employment. (Okano 1997, 527–8; Kim D. 2002, 5)

It is public knowledge that Koreans face barriers in the employment market, although its extent is difficult to quantify. Koreans have been denied access to employment in public service, which requires that applicants be Japanese nationals. Osaka prefecture eliminated its restrictions in respect of public school teaching in 1973, a decision followed by several other local governments in the 1980s. The elite government law school from which all of Japan's aspiring lawyers must graduate was closed to foreign nationals until a young Korean resident won his case in the Supreme Court in 1977. In the 1970s, several court cases against prestigious employers who refused Korean applicants on the basis of foreign nationality were resolved in favour of the plaintiffs. In spite of improvements brought about by these cases, Koreans have yet to achieve equal access to the employment market. Disillusion is experienced by all young Koreans seeking a place in the workforce but is felt more keenly by better-educated Koreans who have formed high expectations for their adult life. (Okano 1997, 529)

The term Japan-Residing Koreans refers to the permanent ethnic Korean residents of Japan. Technically, it designates only those “Korean immigrants” who have lived in Japan since prior to August 15, 1945, and applied for the permanent residency within 2 years after the end of the War, as well as their direct descendants. They constitute the largest ethnic minority group in Japan. According to the Korean Residents Union in Japan, the population of Japan-Residing Koreans as of the year 2005 was approximately 600,000. As the term (i.e., Japan-Residing Koreans) suggests, they are not Japanese in any legal sense. They used to be required by law to register their fingerprint; this infamous “fingerprint law” was abolished in January, 1993. Nonetheless, all Japan-Residing Koreans have Korean nationality and they still are required to carry the Alien Registration Certificate while they are in Japan (Fukuoka 2000, 5; Ministry of Justice 2010).

Also notable about Japan-Residing Koreans' societal positionality is that the group designated by this term does not include the Koreans who have been

naturalized because such individuals have Japanese nationality. (Matsunaga and Torigoe 2007, 350)

### **Building a Place to Live – *machizukuri***

Since the collapse of the bubble economy in the early 1990s, *machizukuri* groups and processes have spread widely throughout Japan. (Sorensen and Funck 2007) Shortly after the Great Hanshin Earthquake the government saw itself unable to cope with the crisis as efficiently as the local and regional Non-Profit (NPO) and thus volunteer organisations engaged in *machizukuri*. This was the beginning of a more serious consideration of the social aspects of community building on the part of the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), which adopted *machizukuri*<sup>11</sup> as a part of its platform.

There were several factors that contributed to the boom in suburban housing at this time. First, as mentioned above, the rapid growth of the economy during the first two decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century had led to a swelling of the ranks of the working class crowded into existing urban areas and new industrial districts adjacent to them. This caused both upward pressure on rents and a declining quality of life in large cities. Second was the rapid expansion of white collar middle class salaried workers who filled management positions in the emerging industrial sector and staffed the growing government bureaucracy. This new class could afford a daily train fare which the working classes could not, and provided a growing market for suburban homes beyond the urban fringe industrial belts out in the open countryside where land was cheaper and the environment better. While the old urban middle class tended to hold on to their city centre shop-houses, these were frequently devoted primarily to the business, and the primary residence shifted to the new suburbs. Third was the technological development in the railway industry where electrification was proceeding rapidly, especially in the suburban lines in the metropolitan areas, allowing a much more flexible approach to the development of new lines and stations than was the case with steam engines, which were slower to accelerate and more suited to inter-city trunk lines where the stations were spaced further. (Sorensen 2002, 140)

A fourth factor was also crucial: government regulation of the rail industry. In 1906 the state had bought out virtually the whole private railway sector (at that

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<sup>11</sup> The term can be translated as “community development”, “neighbourhood building” or “town making”.

time with almost twice the length of track in service as the government-built railway system) to create a national inter-city rail system, leaving only a few lines in private hands, primarily those in the larger metropolitan areas where there had been considerable duplication. (Sorensen 2002, 140)

Activities in this process include an extremely broad range of projects, from the building of new parks and community centres, to historical preservation, to creating new housing types, to revitalization of declining shopping areas and environmental remediation projects. What is new is the increasing involvement and legitimacy of residents as volunteers in such processes, and the increasing willingness of local governments to support such voluntary activities.

The process of urbanization has been especially strong since the 1960s, but only since 1990s the idea of *machizukuri* became a leading process. It was first conceived as an ideological counterpart to conservative city planning. Local communities unified in Neighbourhood Associations (*chōnaikai*, *jichikai*, and *burakukai*), and some of these NAs had an essential role in liberation movements for rights of *burakumin* in *buraku* in Kyoto. (Yamamoto 2009, 38) Beside modernization and improvement of a city and living conditions with building up new houses and facilities, the resident movement in Kyoto has also a power to achieve preservation of an important heritage, such as the Bank of Yanagihara, a bank found by *burakumin* community in Kyoto. The *Buraku* liberation movement was able to exercise great political power, and large amounts of national funds were invested over a 27-year period in the *buraku* as *dōwa* assimilation projects.

First issue of the community building is creating more liveable and sustainable cities. It is widely argued that one of the great challenges of our time is to learn how to create more liveable cities, that are economically vibrant, provide high quality of life and health for their residents, and contribute to long-term environmental sustainability through reduced resource consumption and waste production. Neighbourhood-based *machizukuri* movements in urban Japan are an important case of attempts to move towards such goals, and should be better understood. (Sorensen and Funck 2007, 2)

A second major set of issues to which the study of *machizukuri* contributes is the questions of local governance, and the changing roles of and relations between central and local government, and between citizens and the state, in managing shared spaces that have been the focus of intense interest during the last decade and more. One important aspect of *machizukuri* is the attempt to strengthen and



gain greater involvement of and legitimacy for local community-based organizations in managing processes of urban change. Such urban management is the responsibility of local governments, although these operate within the context of significant constraints imposed by senior governments and their own position within regional, national, and global economic systems. (Sorensen and Funck 2007, 2)

The third major set of debates is the changing conceptions of the role of civil society in governance. One of the key sites of practical attempts to create new governance practices and priorities has been at the scale of the urban neighbourhood through the *machizukuri* processes studied. (Sorensen and Funck 2007, 3)

*Machizukuri* processes are also generating a growing depth of experience and expertise in participatory environmental management. The rapid spread of such processes indicates that many people value local environmental quality enough to invest a lot of time in working together to improve it. In a context of population ageing and population decline, new place-making strategies—already emerging in the more innovative settlements—are at a premium. Population decline is already creating a new dynamics in local governance in Japan, in which the creation of highly liveable places, with a welcoming atmosphere, quality services, and high amenity physical environments may become a significant priority. (Sorensen 2002)

The bubble economy gentrified inner cities, whose land represented an object of investment and speculation. Apartment and office buildings were built, changing the urban landscape previously dominated by gray and flat houses (Mizuuchi 2002, 28). Furthermore, *dōwa* districts have moved into the public limelight, having developed pioneering projects and welfare for the aged and handicapped as an experimental example of urban regeneration projects.

## Koreans in Kyoto

However, that was the case with the *burakumin*, which was different from the situation with the *zainichi* Koreans living on the margins of cities. In Osaka, for example, the ethnic enclave was reproduced in Ikuno-ward, which was dominated by *zainichi* people; Korean residents in Japan. The wooden tenement housing for working-class people was there, but there was also a number of public housing to which *zainichi* people had no access. (Mizuuchi 2002, 27) The situation in Kyoto

was similar, with small private businesses, but resident buildings were not originally constructed for them.

While the first-generation of *zainichi* people tried to develop their own businesses without demanding rights as Japanese citizens, the second and third generation peoples insisted on their fundamental rights as permanent residents. Their movement addressed the severe reality regarding the violation of rights of foreigners who were permanent residents of Japan, and demanded institutional change. They refused to be fingerprinted not necessarily because of the ideological antagonism between South and North Korea, but because their demands derived from their daily lives. In the 1990s, *zainichi* people finally won rights for access to public housing and pension. Moreover, they were now entitled to become government employees. (see Weiner 2009; Ryang 2005)

In 1997 Special Measures Law was extended: benefits for other disadvantaged groups who were welcome to live in *buraku* in the spirit of building a diverse and richer community. That meant that also other ethnic groups could move in. But that was not the case in Kyoto, where two groups were not really cooperating well at that time.

The second attempt in Kyoto to bring together different groups was the programme of Kyoto city “Outline of the Master Plan of Kyoto City (2001–2010)”, which also emphasized the city where all people could live without discrimination and violation of human and civil rights, as we can read on the website of Kyoto’s city municipal (Kyoto City 2010).

Though the connection between the *buraku* area and *zainichi* area has never really become stronger, there were also other benefits that came from these programmes, especially in last few years for Koreans. A new home for elderly was built in Higashi Kujō, there were many new apartment homes built, parks were renewed and new community centres were built. What is really interested is that the idea of diverse community life is much more present in the Korean community, where we can find people from other ethnic backgrounds moving into new apartment homes than in the *buraku* area.

### *Kibō no ie* (House of Hope)

One of such example is *Kibō no ie*, house built by a catholic organisation for children, which was established in 1967, few years after the great fire in Higashi Kujō in 1960, when lots of barracks were burnt down. This organisation helped

parents that they could bring their children into the kindergarten. At first, mostly Koreans were taking children into the day care, but through the years it became much more. It becomes a place where not only children but also adults could get together and talk, and organise events like Madang festival<sup>12</sup>—a festival established in 1993 with the purpose for coexistence and cooperation. Project *Kibō no ie* has also an important role in *machizukuri*, as they were holding meetings and planing their city area in Higashi Kujō, which is changing very fast—every year we can find a new apartment or community facility around that area.

In 2013 they built a new building, which accommodate also Kyoto City Network Salon for community welfare and multicultural exchange. Every day they have childcare for pre-school children and in afternoon children from primary and secondary school join them and wait for their parents.

In the new building there are also facilities for holding meetings, playing rooms and seminar rooms (Kyoto University is also using them), children or adults can practice instruments or have some courses of English, and women have handicraft and cooking courses. There are also many associations that come to hold meetings in this building and organise other events.

From the first floor on there are apartments which are for renting. As the whole building is financed by Kyoto city government, the rent for the apartment is cheap and it can depend on the income of the person. So besides the Koreans, other groups of people are welcome as well: elderly people, students and thus this became an important establishment, where the multiculturalism is emphasised and accomplished.

Kim Kwangmin says that in 1980 in Higashi Kūjo there were no water and sewage yet and there were still many barracks lined up in that area. In that time almost 80 percent of population in that “area number 40” (Kim K. 2013, 2) was

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12 Higashi Kujō Madang (東九条マダン) began in 1993 and it was the next turning point in the nursery school (day care) development in Higashi Kujō. One of the executives was Chechu Sōshiku and there was *Hanmadan* and Korean Youth Association and soon children from *Kibō no ie* day care centre participated as well. Children from day care performed *punmuru* (ブンムル, Korean traditional art also called *nōgaku* (農学) in Japanese and *pungmul-nori* (풍물놀이/風物놀이) or *nong-ak* (농악/農樂) in Korea is performed with music and dance). After they go to primary school and also become youngsters, they return and participate in the Madang festival. Through the years, *Kibō no ie* became a centre where people could meet in the afternoon and talk, make plans for the future of the neighbourhood or organize festivals. They could practice dance, music (like *samur-nori*/サムルノリ, North Korean traditional music with four instruments, which is played in Japan by Koreans). 사물놀이) and other traditional arts. (Kim 2013, 8–10; see also Chin 2013)

Korean. When Kim Kwangmin came to Higashi Kujō from Ikuno (Osaka city) it seemed like the area was forgotten by everyone around it. However, there were some negotiations, and inhabitants were colliding with administration with all their power, but it seemed in that area as if all that they knew was failure.

The catholic centre *Kibo no ie* was established in 1960, after the great fire in Higashi Kujō when lots of barracks were burnt down and first countermeasures were undertaken. Kim Kwangmin started working in the catholic kindergarten *Kibo no ie* in 1986 when the kindergarten basic principles were established. Before that it seemed that there were many twists and turns. (Kim K. 2013, 3–4) In 1960, besides barracks, it was also known to be a dangerous place. There were a lot of garbage lying around; many homeless people were wandering around. After the kindergarten was established, it became a place where children of Korean minority (*Kankokujin* and *Chōsenjin*) and also children from broken families with singular parents found their place for learning and playing. The sisters and priests in the catholic kindergarten had somehow a different approach to education where each child was treated as an individual, since every child had a different background and personality. Sisters were there until 1977 and then other teachers came to run the kindergarten (Kim K. 2013, 5–6)

In 1982, after some incidents expressing discrimination and after some talks with the school principals from schools in the neighbourhood, the idea of multicultural life appeared. In 1980 there were many foreign residents moving into Higashi Kujō and as the principal of the kindergarten Chechu Sōshiku says, no matter what background you have, everyone has the right to day care and education. (Kim K. 2013, 7–8)

In 2000 the day care centre received support from the city government, but at the same time it also faced a crisis, and preventing from being closed they tried to collect the support with the advertisement through their home page. (Kim K. 2013, 8–9) Since 2002 there were not only Korean volunteers but also people from other countries who volunteered in the centre, from Thailand, Philippines, China, Indonesia, Russia and Finland. (Kim K. 2013, 14) As Kim finally says, multiculturalism in their centre is not just the difference of cultures of foreign countries but also the difference of generations. They have exchanges between people from elderly home as well, as they call it *yasuragi kōryū* (やすらぎ交流), which means “peaceful exchange”. (Kim K. 2013, 14)

There is another kindergarten with the same name *Kibō no ie*, which is placed near the river Takasegawa and it was also built for children and as it is written on their website, they want to built u a place where children can grow up both physically and mentally healthy with the basics in Christian spirit. As it is written on their web page, the centre which is placed southeast of Kyoto Station was built for the children to gather after school and to be taken care for. It is also a place where they can play, where they can learn about issues like healthy living, coexistence with the environment, education, aging and multi-ethnic. They are deeply involved with the local community, cherishing the culture of Korea. There are exchange programs with the elderly in the region, and they keep an eye on environmental issues and poverty in the world. (Kibonoie Hoikuen) There are events for children like *hanami*, evacuation training, various tournaments and children's Christmas meetings and handicraft classes, cooking classes, theater playing, school club events, welcome parties, excursions, parent-child camps, birthday parties, events for teenagers, etc.

They also have ontents for parents, like consultations, parenting courses, mother clubs, exchanges with other families and local residents, interaction activities with the elderly and people with disabilities. (Kibonoie Hoikuen)

## Concluding Remarks

Because community initiative is not the same as legislation procedure, but rather an alternative comprehensive approach to city-building, it incorporated the thinking of the superstructure of a municipality and also of its soul. That is to say, the *machizukuri* concept integrated the people of the community into its making. It was not, however, simply a matter of increased public participation. The movement towards *machizukuri* was viewed as a step towards re-vitalization of civil society in Japan, a form of decentralisation that works towards the reconstruction of the notion of local community.

The experience of segregation and discrimination and the history of local isolation have given groups of people to live their lives in self-governing communities in search for happy dwelling. With the communities' own unique background and historical background these localities are also capable of functioning as models of self-governance and authority. They enjoy the position of equality with their surrounding neighbourhoods when it comes to community initiative. Especially with the community house like *Kibō no ie*, they manage to

bring together many different people of different nationalities and age groups and build a centre where people can meet and talk about their past and future living in Kyoto city.

These experiences of one marginalised group also provide many benefits for other marginalised communities, such as *zainichi* Koreans and the handicapped, who were formerly forced to live together but are today trying in various ways to get the best of such multicultural environment. It is possible to conclude that negative consequences of marginality served as a starting point for innovation and potentials, marginality can even provide an extra edge to start development and serve to connect people.

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*Korean Philosophy: Metaphysics and Political Theory*

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# Philosophical Interactions between “East and West”: China, Korea, Europe and the Case of Dasan (Jeong Yak-yong, 1762–1836)<sup>1</sup>

Jana S. ROŠKER\*

## Abstract

Though the Confucian system of thought, society, and government has a long history in Korea, Chinese Confucian scholars, preoccupied with the urgency of “saving the Confucian essence” used only Japan as a reference in Asia. Therefore, the present article aims to introduce Dasan 茶山 (Jeong Yak-yong 정약용, 1762–1836), who was one of the main representatives of Korean Confucian philosophy. It exposes his significance for the full-range understanding of the landscape of this important traditional East Asian stream of thought as well as for the intellectual syntheses between Confucian teachings and the Christian religion. The author analyses Dasan’s thought from the Sinological perspective and exposes several elements which represent an elaboration and an upgrading of traditional Chinese Neo-Confucian philosophy.

**Keywords:** Korean Confucianism, Dasan, the School of Practical Learning, *silhak*, *sangje*

## Izveček

Ne glede na dejstvo, da ima konfucijanski idejni, družbeni in politični sistem v Koreji že dolgo zgodovino, so kitajski konfucijanski teoretiki v svojih prizadevanjih za »reševanje esence konfucijanstva« kot azijsko referenco običajno upoštevali zgolj Japonsko. Zato namerava pričujoči članek predstaviti Dasana 茶山 (Jeong Yak-yonga 정약용, 1762–1836), ki sodi h glavnim predstavnikom korejske konfucijanske filozofije. Izpostavlja njegov pomen za celovitejše razumevanje širokega spektra te pomembne vzhodnoazijske idejne struje in za vzpostavljane miselnih sintez med konfucijanskimi nauki in krščansko religijo. Avtorica analizira Dasanovo miselnost iz sinološke perspektive in v njej izpostavi vrsto elementov, ki predstavljajo nadgradnjo tradicionalne kitajske neokonfucijanske filozofije.

**Ključne besede:** korejski konfucianizem, Dasan, Šola praktičnega učenja, *silhak*, *sangje*

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## Introduction

Although Confucianism originated in China, where it formed the crucial state doctrine for almost two millenniums, Confucian culture is not only limited to the Chinese world. Rather it represents a cultural heritage that is commonly shared in the entire East Asian region, including Korea, where Neo-Confucianism was established as the state ideology during the Joseon period (1392–1897). However, unfortunately, in the Chinese project of responding to the challenge of the West, Korea was almost absent for several decades. Until recently, Chinese scholars who were dealing with the Confucian revival hardly paid any attention to the Korean experience.

The revitalization of the complex traditions of Confucian philosophical thought has assumed increasing relevance and significance in recent decades. In the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, this tendency could be observed in the works of many of the leading modern Chinese philosophers (Tu 2010, 13) who were searching for ways to renew the methodological and theoretical aspects of the Chinese tradition, and especially of the pre-modern philosophy, which followed the Neo-Confucian revival.

Such aims are grounded in the conviction that the traditional Confucianism understood as a specifically East Asian social, political and moral system of thought can, if renewed and adapted to meet the conditions of the modern era, serve as the foundation for an ethically meaningful modern life, while also providing a spiritual antidote to the alienation which became increasingly visible as a collateral effect of the capitalistic glorification of competition and the single-minded pursuit of profit.

The revitalization of the Confucian tradition remains one of the most important theoretical currents in the contemporary East Asian theory. Due to its potentially stabilizing social function and its harmonious compatibility with capitalism, many scholars<sup>2</sup> see it as an Asian equivalent of Max Weber’s “protestant ethic”. In the modern Sinology, this view is known as the “post-Confucian hypothesis”:

Indeed, many scholars have invoked Confucianism as an important cultural cause of East Asia’s economic success. In particular, scholars such as Berger and Tu have gone so far as to propose what is called the post-Confucian thesis, i.e.: that Confucianism has not only facilitated economic development in East Asian countries, but also has enabled these countries to create a different kind

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<sup>2</sup> For example, see Feng Yaoming 1992, 227; Wang Hui 2000, 40.

of capitalism and take a different path to modernity than the West (Kwon 2007, 55).

Hence, it is by no means coincidental that issues connected to the Confucian revival belong to the most important tasks in contemporary research in the field of classical Chinese philosophy. However, when dealing with these issues, it becomes increasingly clear that Confucian culture is not only limited to the Chinese world, but also represents a cultural heritage that is commonly shared in the entire East Asian region. Thus, it is easily understandable that numerous modern Confucians have repeatedly exposed the importance of studying and researching the multifarious elaborations and developments of Confucian philosophy and ethics deriving from other East Asian regions, as for instance Japan and Korea. In his article entitled *Korean Confucianism from a Sinic perspective*, Tu Weiming points out:

I propose that a dialogue among civilizations focusing on the core values is necessary for human survival and flourishing in Confucian East Asia. The philosophical enterprise to identify the “universal ethic” must be broadened by thick descriptions of paths of learning to be human in the Confucian cultural sphere. The danger of shared vulnerability as well as the hope of shared aspiration impels us to move beyond unilateralism in order to work toward a dialogical civilization. (Tu 2010, 13)

In this context, we can mention another modern Chinese scholar, Lee Hong-jung, who describes the potential of the Confucian tradition in terms of its constitutive role within the concept of so-called “Asian values”:

Characteristic Asian values were transmuted into state-led economic models, playing a significant role in the economic development of Asian countries. Familism promoted strong cooperation among blood relatives, and created small- and mid-size family businesses based on Confucian familism and family ethics. These family businesses gradually developed to become the framework of Asian capitalism. Community spirit is also a key Asian value. By maintaining strong ties based on community spirit and solidarity, Asian populations have contributed to the economic development of the region. Promoting education, the most important Asian value, also stems from Confucianism which teaches that it is better to educate one’s children than to give them wealth. This tenet has helped pave the way to economic development. The emphasis on education has also raised management capabilities and technological expertise, and has facilitated economic development through improved productivity (Lee Hong-jung 2003, 32).

However, as already mentioned, in the East Asian project of responding to the challenge of the West, in the Chinese and, to a certain degree, in the Japanese scholarship as well, Korea has been more or less absent. Until now, Chinese Confucian scholars, preoccupied with the urgency of “saving the Confucian essence” only used Japan as a reference in Asia. They hardly paid any attention to the Korean experience (Tu 2010, 13). The first generation of the Confucian revival since the May Fourth Movement (1919–1949) does not seem to consider Korea relevant to their concerted effort to learn science and democracy from the West. In the second generation (1949–1979), Wing-tsit Chan studied Yi T’oegye’s interpretation of Zhu Xi’s thought. His primary purpose was to judge the adequacy of Yi’s understanding of Master Zhu. Tang Junyi was intrigued by the so-called “two schools” of Zhu Xi in the Korean Confucian tradition, but he was not motivated to study the phenomenon. Qian Mu also made reference to Korean Confucianism, but generally it was quite superficial.

I will try to illustrate my point by introducing some aspects of Jeong Yak-yong’s Neo-Confucian philosophy. Each of these aspects requires focused investigation. Together, they should present a persuasive argument for taking Korean Confucianism absolutely seriously for East Asian, especially Chinese, Confucian scholars. It should become obvious that an informed appreciation of Confucianism in Korea will enrich the self-understanding of East Asian Confucianism and, more pertinently to the present discussion, be essential for comprehending the full-range landscape of Chinese Confucianism.

The present article explores traditional Korean Confucian thought from a Sinic perspective, i.e. through analyses and critical evaluations of its Chinese and/or Sinological interpretations.

## **Historical and Methodological Background**

The Confucian system of thought, society, and government has a long history in Korea. Many think that since the fourteenth century, Confucianism and Korea were so closely intertwined that Korean history could not be understood without Confucianism while the study of Confucianism itself can be substantially enriched by resort to its Korean experience.

According to most researchers, knowledge of some of Confucian teachings can be traced back to the earliest days of our real knowledge of the peninsula. The country has a long history as a civilized and literate land, with the first dynasty

establishing about 57 BC. In the early years, Confucianism existed side-by-side with other religions and ways of life. For many centuries, its influence on Korea was continuous but not pervasive. With the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, however, its influence on government and society began to be decisive and, especially from the sixteenth century on, it dominated almost completely the thought and philosophy of the peninsula, continuing to do so until the opening of the present century. In the present article, however, we will not focus on the historical, social and political connotations of Confucian teachings in Korea, but rather examine and introduce its philosophical dimensions.

Neo-Confucian philosophy can be regarded as a discourse, which had the most profound influence upon traditional Korean thought (Yoo 2013, 181). Neo-Confucianism originated in China with Han Yu (768–824) and Li Ao (772–841) in the Tang Dynasty, and Zhu Xi (1130–1200) in the Song Dynasty became one of its most famous exponents. Neo-Confucians were important because they began to provide rational grounds for the standards established by ancient Confucian philosophers and to explain why they should be followed. According to Yoo Weon-ki (2013, 182), Korean Neo-Confucians in the sixteenth century in the Joseon Dynasty became even more precise and careful about supplying rational and systematic grounds for their claims. Good examples of such writing methods can be found in the so-called *Four-Seven Debate* between Ki Tae-sung (高峯 Kobong, 1527–1572) and Yi Hwang (李滉 T'oegye, 1501–1570). Their arguments were profound and based upon rational and logical grounds. However, most Korean Neo-Confucians do not seem to be interested in taking a logical approach to Neo-Confucian discourses. Instead, they tend to remain focused on summarizing and interpreting the crucial ideas and viewpoints of the past (i.e. mostly Chinese) Neo-Confucian philosophers without critically analyzing, or evaluating their positions. Besides, they were not very interested in judging the validity of the arguments. The reason for such writing methods probably lies in the fact that they were not familiar with such methods providing consistency, validity, and conceptual clarification. (Yoo 2013, 191) In the fields of metaphysics, socio-political philosophy and cosmology, however, Korean Neo-Confucian philosophers have contributed a lot to the world philosophy by exposing many aspects which are topical and most relevant even for the present day philosophy. Here, we could mention the Korean Neo-Confucian scholar Yi Yulgok (李珥 Yi I, 1536–1584) who believed that the universe could not be completely comprehended by human intelligence or through human thought processes alone.



Yulgok believed that the universe is a “mystery” which can and should not be reduced to the rational or conceptual framework of human cognitive system. His work is doubtless a rich resource for inspiration in recognizing and rediscovering the cosmological dimension of Korean Neo-Confucianism, for he developed an eco-cosmology, which emphasized the inter-relationship of men and the universe (Ro 2011, 122). This new eco-cosmology can be regarded as a basis for understanding ecological issues from the cosmological perspective.

Along with the above-mentioned scholars, Dasan<sup>3</sup> (Jeong Yak-yong, 1762–1836) is usually listed among the greatest Confucian philosophers in all Korean history. In the following, I will try—through a critical analysis of Chinese Confucian interpretations of his work—to introduce, summarize and evaluate his main contributions to the development of intercultural dimensions of Confucianism.

### **Dasan (Jeong Yak-yong, 1762–1836): His Life and Work**

Jeong Yak-yong (1762–1836), more widely known under his pen-name Dasan (茶山) is regarded in South Korea today as one of pre-modern Korea’s best philosophers. His main works deals with explorations of Neo-Confucian themes. He is considered as one of the greatest thinkers of the later Joseon period, for he wrote highly influential books on philosophy, science and theories of government. He was also famous for his poetry. Dasan’s philosophical position is mostly identified with the Silhak (practical learning 實學) school. As we shall see, he also delivered important contributions in the field of intercultural syntheses, namely between the Neo-Confucian and the Christian thought.

During his lifetime, he held significant administrative positions and was even a close confidant of King Jeongjo who ruled in the period from 1776 till 1800. This close relation has begun in 1784, when the King was deeply impressed by the objectivity and intelligence of Dasan’s replies to a set of questions he had formulated. One year before, Dasan had already passed the *chinsagwa* (literary licentiate examination), which allowed him to enter Seonggyungwan (成均館 the National Confucian academy). In 1788, Dasan took the top place in the *daegwa* (higher civil service exam) and was offered a position in the Office of Royal Decrees. However, because he belonged to the progressive “Southerner fraction”

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<sup>3</sup> In different transcriptions, his name is also spelled Tasan.

(Namin) of Korean Confucianism, he was seen as an enemy by members of the opposing “Old Doctrine fraction”. The conflict between them developed into royal intrigues, which led to Dasan’s expulsion; as a result, he was forced to spend eighteen years (from 1801 till 1818) in exile in Gangjin, a town in the South Jeolla province. His opponents grounded their accusations on his “revolutionary Western influences”, for he was allegedly not only researching and spreading the thoughts and methods of Practical Learning (which was introduced to China from Europe)<sup>4</sup>, but also some ideas of Roman Catholicism. This presumption was not merely based on his philosophical thoughts, but also on the fact that his elder brother was openly Catholic.

Although Dasan was probably never baptized, he also showed a positive attitude toward the Western religious system. His ideas were doubtlessly influenced by this system, for otherwise it would be hard to explain why God and the spirits occupy an important position in his classical writings. However, it is worth noting that Dasan’s understanding of Western learning was still mainly based on the re-interpretation of the Chinese Neo-Confucianism; it was not grounded on a form of faith that could bring the Western institutional factors such as the Church into the Confucian society of that time (Cawley 2012, 30). In understanding and absorbing such learnings, Dasan obviously tried to systemize Confucian thought. These methodological efforts led to the establishment of a new theoretical reference framework and thus played a very important role in the further development of Confucian philosophy in Korea.

Hence, it is not coincidental that Dasan is still considered by Koreans as a cross-cultural philosopher, and that his work serves as an example of how Koreans can borrow from the West while nonetheless remaining authentically Korean (Baker 2013, 41).

Dasan has namely modified traditional Korean Confucian moral philosophy to include notions of human nature and desires rather than innate virtue, the importance of free will rather than mere determination, and the existence of a Sangje (上帝 Highest Lord) as a necessary incentive to proper behavior (Baker 2013, 41). Though he supported these changes to traditional Korean Confucian

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<sup>4</sup> However, the relationship of the School of Practical Learning (*silhak* 實學) to Neo-Confucianism is also still subject to many theoretical controversies. Problems concerning the question whether it was “imported” from Europe and thus arose in opposition to Neo-Confucianism, or whether it should be seen as simply one variety of Neo-Confucianism, are still under debat.

philosophy with references to the Classics and his own personal moral experience, observers have noticed the possibility of Western influence on his thinking. In this context, it is important to note that although Dasan was a Confucian scholar, his thinking largely reflected certain characteristics of the Western thought (Baker 2013, 41). These foundations are mainly reflected in his critical theoretical re-interpretations of Confucianism, for he managed to incorporate in its frameworks some crucial new concepts, which is explored and introduced in more detail below.

## Metaphysical and Ethical Approaches

In order to understand the common thread of Dasan’s philosophy, it seems necessary to provide a basic approach to his above-mentioned understanding of Sangje (Highest Lord) as the ultimate reality (Chung 2006, 254). In the following, we will thus examine Dasan’s theoretical background and his transformation of the Confucian system through his concept of Sangje, because his approach is of utmost significance to the elaborations of the original Neo-Confucian concept of ultimate reality (*taiji*).

According to Dasan, Sangje governs all beings—nature, deities and men—with providence, transcending them at the same time. Sometimes, he is also called “Heaven” (Gun 1994, 5)

The conceptualization of Sangje was very close to the Western concept of a monotheistic God; Dasan stated explicitly that there was only one Sangje, not two, for he was so noble that he had no counterpart (Dasan in Gun 1994, 14). This theological idea was probably stimulated by his encounter with Catholicism in his youth. Unlike the classical Chinese Neo-Confucian philosophers, who thoroughly followed Mengzi’s philosophy of innate goodness, Dasan did not believe that humans were instinctively virtuous. As a result, we cannot even trust our minds to always tell us the right way to behave. To solve this moral dilemma, Dasan came up with an untraditional answer, grounded in his untraditional reading of the Confucian Classics (Baker 2013, 49). He believes that we need to be “shamed into doing the right thing” (Baker 2013, 49), for the only way we can be sure that we will be ashamed every time we do something wrong is if we keep in mind that, always and everywhere, we are being watched to see if we think and act properly. “Who can possibly watch us always and everywhere? There is only one possible answer: the Lord Above, whom he called by the ancient Confucian name Sangje 上帝.” (Baker 2013, 49)

But Dasan's Sangje also possessed an ontological dimension (Dasan 1974, 34). Dasan namely regarded all natural phenomena as products of two potentials that could be compared to spiritual and material substances. They represented the ontological basis of human beings. According to Gun Yoo Tae (1994, 16) these two substances which ultimately follow Sangje's providence, can be seen as forming dual metaphysics, for in Dasan's thought they represented two origins of existence. The origin of these two substances of which the phenomenal world is composed was Sangje. Thus, in theoretical terms, many scholars (see Gun 1994, 16) define Dasan's metaphysics as a theological dualism, for this Korean Neo-Confucian philosopher saw the phenomenal world as being composed of two (material and spiritual) substances, whereas the ultimate reason of existence was represented by Sangje, the only God and the object of religious faith.

Some other scholars, as for instance Li Fenggui (2005, 183) expose that Dasan neglected the importance of the spiritual essence *i* (理) which were seen by Zhu Xi as the primary ontological element. He emphasized the leading role of the material substance *gi* (氣) which he also equated with the concept of ultimate reality (*taiji* 太極). Thus, his onto-metaphysical system cannot be equated with the idealistic dualism. On the other hand, he also acknowledged the primary role of spirit, for his Sangje in the role of the Supreme Being was seen as the ultimate origin or source of existence; thus, scholars advocating the position, according to which Dasan's system is not dualistic, expose that his metaphysics cannot be regarded as a philosophy based on material dualism.

In my own opinion, Dasan's system can be regarded as a form of idealistic (theological) dualism. In his view, the primary role of matter is namely only referring to the phenomenal world (Dasan 1974, 23); ultimately, both contrasting poles (substances of *i* and *gi*) are unified in the pure spiritual realm of Sangje, forming a trinity which can in conceptual sense be compared with the theory underlying the Christian faith.

The two substances in question originally appeared in the Chinese Neo-Confucianism of the Song and Ming Dynasties (*li* 理 and *ki* 氣 in Chinese). In Chinese Neo-Confucianism, however, they appeared as a binary category, in which both anti-poles functioned in a complementary relation (see Zhu Xi 2000, 13–34). Hence, their unification in a comprehensive, all-embracing entity of a Supreme Being like Sangje and the formation of a trinity represents an innovative element in the Neo-Confucian philosophy.

However, Dasan’s Sangje was not a creator of the universe (Baker 2013, 53). There is also no heaven or hell in his theism. In essence, his Sangje was still a kind of Confucian (i.e. rather pragmatically conditioned) ultimate reality and his morality was thus a form of Confucian morality<sup>5</sup>. In the methodological or stylistic sense, his arguments were also essentially Confucian, for he remained within the tradition of philosophizing by writing commentaries on the Confucian Classics.

Nevertheless, his argument for the existence of his Confucian God required him to break with his Confucian tradition on several key philosophical issues, starting with the role of *li* in the cosmos and the definition of human nature (Baker 2013, 54).

As we have seen, Dasan’s specific and original synthesis between Western and Neo-Confucian thought becomes most clear in his ethical theories. Similar to the majority of other Confucian philosophers, for Dasan, the most urgent concrete problems were moral problems, especially those regarding the question of how to cultivate the ability to act appropriately in every situation. This becomes clearly visible in his treatments of the ethical function of emotion in his annotations of Confucian classics. Defining human nature as “preference” (Baker 2010, 58), Dasan argued that the specific content of nature is to “like good and dislike bad.” Verifying the existence of such nature based on his own psychological experiences and the existing canon of literature, he attempted to prove the presence and universality of moral emotions, especially in ordinary dialogue, relying on psychological responses to specific events and the notion of human nature (Baker 2013, 47). He exposed that emotions had to be properly adjusted (Dasan 1974, 19), because identical emotions could lead to contrasting actions, depending on whether or not they tended to “achieve harmony in moderation”. In this regard, Dasan stressed the importance of sincerity and proposed that people, as sincere actors, exert every effort for religious cultivation by serving the above-mentioned

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<sup>5</sup> However, we have to take into account several aspects, which cannot be treated in detail in the limited scope of this article. We must not forget, for instance, that the so-called Confucian morality was (or is) by no means a monolithic formation. Since Chinese philosophy follows the ontological model of immanent transcendence, moral postulates possessed innate qualities in the framework of traditional Chinese Confucianism. In other words, the Chinese Confucian morality was something that had to be actively incorporated into the individual moral Self (*daode xingti* 道德性體) through moral cultivation (*xiu shen* 修身). Hence, in classical Confucianism, this moral Self assumed the role of the ultimate spiritual substance (which was also endowed with morality). Since the notion of moral Self was obviously either overlooked or neglected by Dasan, it was only an external metaphysical force that could assume the function of an ultimate arbitrary substance governing over and judging individual behavior.

Sangje (Highest Lord). Hence, Dasan's theory on emotions offers a basis for empirically elaborating the fundamental problems regarding the problematic popularization of Confucian philosophical ethics, thus, it represents one of the rare contributions to the elaboration of a synthesis between the Neo-Confucian and the Christian thought. Besides, his notion of emotions has significance in shifting philosophical concerns from the metaphysical sphere to the everyday world.

### Political Thought and Practical Learning

In Korea, the importation of Neo-Confucian thought brought about profound changes in the religious, philosophical, and social climate of the Goryeo kingdom (918–1392). During the time of its decline, forming the foundation for the creation of a new sociopolitical and cultural order under the Joseon Dynasty (1392–1910, see Chung 2006, 253) was forced. Thus, it is not coincidental that besides his metaphysical and moral theories, Dasan's perhaps most important contribution to the development of pre-modern East Asian thought can be found in his political philosophy, which was based on elaborations of the Neo-Confucian ethics. According to Zhu Xi, individuals are transformed into moral beings through the cultivation of their character, and the increase of moral individuals therefore leads to the generation of a moral society. While acknowledging that moral success through such cultivation produces moral heroes, Dasan, or Jeong Yak-yong, argued that inner cultivation alone could not produce moral individuals and a moral society, because in reality, humans have a myriad of conflicting desires and fluctuating volitions. Without confining morality to the purification of inner mind, Dasan considered both inner reflection and external practice grounded on free will were necessary. Through both, he believed, individuals attain a personal sense of responsibility and preside over the entire process of morality. Although in reality there are personal differences, people can partake proactively in the construction of a moral society. In this regard, Dasan is credited with shifting the focus of Confucianism from the sage and his inner reflection to common people and practice. For him, Confucian politics should be understood as a horizontal relationship between the ruler and the people as captured in the idea of “accompanying people” (*yumin* 與民), rather than a hierarchical one as in the “bestowing of privilege to the people” (*weimin* 爲民) (Chang 2014, 10).

As explained in the previous section, Dasan placed a great emphasis on Sangje in the sense of the Supreme Being controlling and regulating human behavior and forcing men to act in accordance with moral virtues. He agreed, however, that

morality was defined in terms of human interactions, rather than interactions with supernatural beings (Baker 2010, 56).

In his exegesis of the term “perfect goodness” in the Great Learning, Tasan argued that “perfect goodness” referred to appropriate interactions between human beings. For Tasan, just as for the Confucians who preceded him, it was significant that a key term which we translate today as morality, *illyun*, is composed of two Sino-Korean characters which mean “people” and “relationships” respectively. Therefore he could not conceive of morality apart from human relationships. (Baker 2010, 56)

This communitarian aspect is connected to the fact that Dasan was one of the most prominent adherents and creators of the Korean Confucian School of practical learning (*silhak*, *shixue* 實學).

This term is usually applied in the sense of a new trend in thought that, stimulated by worsening contradictions in Korean society in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, focused on concrete social reality rather than abstract philosophical issues and sought to promote reform and therefore, it can be said to have a modern and a nationalistic orientation.

According to most scholars, Silhak was designed to counter the “uncritical” following of Confucian teachings and the strict adherence to “formalism” and “ritual” by neo-Confucians. Most of the Silhak scholars were from fractions excluded from power and other disaffected scholars calling for reform. They advocated an empirical Confucianism deeply concerned with human society at the practical level. Its proponents generally argued for reforming the rigid Confucian social structure, land reforms to relieve the plight of peasant farmers, promoting Korea's own national identity and culture, encouraging the study of science, and advocating technology exchange with foreign countries. Silhak scholars wanted to use realistic and experimental approaches to social problems with the consideration of the welfare of the people. Silhak scholars encouraged human equality and moved toward a more Korean view of Korean history. The Silhak School is thus—well deservedly—credited with helping to create a modern Korea.

Dasan is regarded as one of the most important representatives of the Korean Silhak school. As we have seen in the previous sections, he followed a very concrete, down-to-earth concept of ethics, which he shared with his fellow Confucians. However, he went on to apply his preference for the specific and concrete to some of the more abstract Confucian virtues.

Dasan rejected the notion that human beings should cultivate an abstract reverence for the unity of the cosmos, or some other hard-to-visualize concept. Nor did he agree with mainstream Neo-Confucians that reverence referred to a general state of mind of the sort we translate today as mindfulness. Instead, he insisted reverence was only true reverence if it was reverence for a specific object. (Baker 2010, 57)

It was precisely this insistence on a specific object of reverence that has led him to his above-mentioned belief in a supernatural personality who corresponds to the Western concept of God.

Scholars who write about Dasan as a *silhak* scholar, i.e. as a realistic and practical thinker, usually refer to his writings on government administration or on land redistribution. However, as Don Baker (2010, 61) points out, even if we take into account only his ethical philosophy, we have grounds for calling him a *Silhak* thinker. His realistic moral psychology, his concrete ethical prescriptions, and his pragmatic theology alone are enough to justify awarding him the proud label of such a scholar.

Therefore, Dasan's political thought which is not only rooted in Confucian philosophy, but also in the theories of Practical Learning, represents an important development of most egalitarian approaches that can be found in the classical Confucian philosophy. Hence, Dasan's thought is also of utmost significance as a theoretical basis for a possible future process of Confucian modernization and democratization.

## Conclusion

Notwithstanding his "Western" orientation, this eighteenth-century Korean Confucian scholar played an important role in the history of the making of East Asian Confucianisms. He created new intellectual trends that helped East Asian Confucians criticize, break through, and think beyond the scope of Zhu Xi's learning. Regarding classical Neo-Confucian doctrines, we can say that in some aspects, Dasan more or less followed their main positions. However, in other respects he certainly developed something innovative and new. Dasan was also well versed in the Confucian thought of the Japanese Classical School, which he also criticized while constructing his own system of thought. Thus, he was certainly an innovative philosopher who tried to compose syntheses from several different streams of thought. From a Sinological perspective, the most interesting aspect of his philosophy is certainly to be found in his methodological conception



of trinity composed from the two bipolar substances *i* and *gi* which are seen as forming the phenomenal world, but are simultaneously transcended by the ultimate source of all existence, the transcendental, monotheist Highest Lord (or Supreme Being), namely Sangje.

This metaphysical basis has also been reflected by and incorporated into his ethical and political thought. In these two scopes of his work, one can observe a great influence of the Silhak School (or the School of Practical Learning 實學).

Considering all these innovations and the progressive nature of his basic intellectual orientation, it becomes quite clear that Dasan creatively remolded the old to shape the new in the making of Korean and East Asian Confucianisms. Thus, his work is not only significant for a coherent and more comprehensive evaluation of traditional Korean philosophy, but also for developing and investigating new intercultural aspects of Neo-Confucian thought systems. ‘

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# 朝鮮의 國家 創業과 經營-朝鮮王朝實錄에 근거한 鄭道傳의 정치사상의 재평가

## Foundation and Management of the Joseon Dynasty: Revisiting Jeong Do-jeon's Political Philosophy Based on the Royal Record of Joseon Dynasty

劉權鍾 YOO Kwon Jong\*

### 요약문

정도전은 조선왕조 창업의 실질적 공헌자로 평가된다. 그러나 그의 공은 단지 개국한 것에만 머물지 않고 나아가 조선왕조가 이후 500년간 지속될 수 있는 터전을 제공한 데에 있다고 보는 것이 이 글의 논점이다. 기존의 한국 역사학계의 평가는 그를 왕조의 설계자로 간주하면서, 주로 경제, 정치, 법 제도의 제공에 한정된 내용을 논의하였다. 그러나 이에 동의한다고 하더라도 그의 실질적 공헌은 유교국가로서 조선왕조가 자신의 사회를 지속해서 성공적으로 재생산할 수 있는 기반을 제공한 데에 있다고 보고 그 증거로 볼 수 있는 내용, 즉 수도 공간과 건축의 유교적 배치와 명명, 불교적 의례를 폐지하고 유교적 의례를 대체한 사실, 불교이념의 배제와 유교이념의 시행 등의 의미를 논한 것이 이 글의 핵심이다.

**핵심어:** 정도전, 조선왕조 창업, 유교적 기반, 사회의 재생산, 도시공간의 유교적 배치와 명명, 유교의례, 유교이념

### Abstract

Jeong Do-jeon is the most substantial contributor to the establishment of the Joseon Dynasty. Most present Korean historians commonly regard him as Designer of the Dynasty and have discussed his contribution to establish the system of law, economy, and politics. However, his contribution is not limited in the establishment. This paper discusses his substantial contribution in supplying the basis of Confucian civilization for the Dynasty's duration for 500 years, abolishing Buddhist rituals and providing Confucian ones, organizing the capital city and naming buildings and districts of the city according to Confucian humanities, excluding Buddhism from people's routine lives as well as official or royal ceremonies, etc.

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**Keywords:** Jeong Do-jeon, Joseon Dynasty, Confucianism, reproduction of Confucian society, rituals, capital city

## 서론

實錄을 통해서 보는 鄭道傳(1342~1398), 과연 어떠한 면을 보아야 하는가. 우리의 선택이 중요할 수밖에 없는데, 여기서는 조선이라는 신왕조의 創業과 관련된 그의 업적과 그 의의에 시선을 보내고자 한다. 정도전의 업적에 대하여 이미 한국의 학계에는 많은 연구가 발표되었고, 그의 업적에 대해서 어느 정도 통일된 견해가 조성된 상태이다. 그 통일된 견해란 ‘왕조의 설계자’로서 정도전을 인정하는 것이다.

지금까지 학계에서 내린 정도전 업적에 대한 평가는 주로 그의 행적과 저술에 나타난 경제, 정치, 철학(종교)의 사상들에 관한 것이다. 역사학자들이 중심이 된 정도전 사상의 연구는 사료에 입각한 실증적 태도를 충실하게 취하고 있지만, 연구 항목 선정 자체가 주류 사회과학이 중시하는 영역들(정치 경제 사회 철학 등)에 집중되어 있다. 그러나 국가는 그것보다 더 포괄적인 인간의 삶을 다루거나 장악하는 기구이며, 때문에 국가의 창업과 경영에 관한 진단과 평가는 더 속깊은 부분까지 검토하지 않으면 적절한 결론을 얻기 어려운 것이다. 기존의 연구들은 그가 매우 현실적이면서도 종합적인 안목을 갖춘 유학사상가로서 이론 뿐 아니라 실천(經世)에도 뛰어난 인물임을 밝히고 있다. 그러나 반면에 그의 업적이 조선왕조의 500년 넘는 긴 세월에 걸친 경영과 지속에 어떠한 영향을 미쳤는가 혹은 어떠한 단서를 제공했는가 하는 점에 대해서는 논의가 드물다. 본 연구에서는 그런 미진한 부분에 대해 논의할 수 있는 단서를 마련하면서 동시에 정도전의 업적에 초점을 맞춘 공공철학의 논의를 개진하고자 한다. 서론에서는 정도전의 조선왕국의 창업과 경영에 관한 논의를 하기 위하여 전제해야 할 사안 두 가지를 언급하도록 한다. 첫째는 실록의 기사 읽기와 관련된 것이다. 1342년에 태어나서 1398년에 생을 마감한 鄭道傳의 행적은 『高麗史』와 『朝鮮王朝實錄』(이하 實錄이라고 칭함)을 통해서 확보하는 것이 가능하다. 實錄의 기사는 일단 1392년 태조 즉위년부터 그의 沒年인 1398년까지 그의 행적을 기록하고 있으나, 그 이후에도 그를 회상하는 기록은 각 王代에 자주 등장한다. 그런데 실록의

기사들은 鄭道傳의 功을 인정하는 데 인색하거나 일종의 最小의 기술로 나아갈 뿐 아니라 경우에 따라서 그를 간신이나 비굴한 인물로 묘사하는 경우도 종종 있다. 그러다가 正祖(在位 1776~1800)가 그의 문집 『三峰集』을 간행해주고, 高宗(재위 1863~1907)에 이르러 비로소 그에게 儒宗功宗이라는 평가를 다시 내린다. 이는 정도전에 대한 왕조(왕실)의 입장에 180도 전환이 있었음을 의미한다. 그 전의 기사들은 왕조의 입장에 의해서 사실 자체가 심각하게 왜곡되었을 가능성을 부인하지 못한다. 太宗(李芳遠, 1367~1422)의 정도전을 斷罪하는 시각이 實錄의 작성에 깊이 영향을 미쳤고, 그것이 역사적 사실로 굳어졌다가 英正祖代에 회복되었다고 보는 것이 일반적 견해이다. 여기서도 왕조말기의 평가를 정당한 것으로 보고 정도전의 업적에 관해 논의한다. 둘째는 鄭道傳의 사상과 실천에 관한 자료들을 근거로 公共哲學 하는 방법은 무엇일까 하는 물음이다. 공공철학이란 公과 私를 이어주고, 公共 共勵 開新을 지향하는 동시에 그 자체가 하나의 동사적 의미로 사용되는 것이다. 따라서 이는 일단 방법에 관한 질문이면서도 동시에 어떠한 태도로 정도전을 성찰해볼 것인가 하는 질문이다. 정도전의 행적과 그 업적을 자료로 삼아서 공공철학을 한다고 할 때에 중요하게 고려해야 하는 방법이나 태도는 무엇일까?

오늘 이 자리는 정도전의 업적에 대한 평가와 음미를 한국이 아닌 일본에서 한다는 점이 중요하다. 즉 정도전이라는 한국의 역사적 인물의 사상과 행적을 자료로 삼아서 한국인과 일본인이 함께 참여하는 공공철학은 무슨 논의를 어떻게 해야 바람직한 것일까? 발표자는 한국인으로서 정도전의 사상과 행적 그리고 그 업적과 의의 등에 대해서 이야기하면서, 여기 계신 일본의 학자나 전문가 혹은 시민들과 어떠한 공공철학의 맥락을 형성하여 가야 하는가? 따라서 여기에는 한국인만의 시각이나 관심사에 국한하지 않고 일본인 혹은 동아시아인의 공동의 시각과 관심사에 입각하여 정도전을 음미하고 논하는 것이 중요하다. 그것은 정도전의 업적에 담긴 의의와 가능성을 발굴하여 동아시아인의 공동의 행복, 현대 인류의 安全保障, 혹은 人間開發 과도 같은 현안들의 해법과 관련된 탐색을 해보는 것이라고 할 수 있다. 14세기 말의 한반도에서의 국가 창업과 21세기 지구촌 시대의 세계시민의 삶이 만날 수 있는 고리를 찾아보는 것이 이 글의 과제이다.

## 정도전의 행적과 조선의 창업

朝鮮王朝의 창업은 단지 李成桂(太祖, 1335~1408) 혼자만의 의지와 노력만으로 가능했던 것은 아니다. 고려 말에 元으로부터 수용한 性理學을 익힌 많은 신진 儒士들의 개혁 의지, 武將으로서 李成桂의 인품과 통솔력, 양자의 개혁과 권력에의 의욕과 그것의 실천, 개혁 반대세력들의 失機 등등, 수많은 因素들의 複雜系的 작용이 고려의 멸망과 조선의 개국이라는 결과를 낳았다. 고려 왕조를 폐하고 신왕조를 건립한다는 구상을 하고 그 과정의 설계와 이행을 담당했던 인물은 정도전이라는 데에 한국의 학계는 대체로 동의하고 있다. 그리고 정도전 본인도 開國할 즈음에 “漢高祖가 張子房을 쓴 것이 아니라, 장자방이 곧 한 고조를 쓴 것이다.”라고 왕왕 취증언급이 있었다고 한다.<sup>1</sup> 그는 태조의 위업에 도움이 될 만한 것은 謀議하지 않은 것이 없어서 결국은 上等의 공신이 되었다고 실록의 卒記는 평가하고 있다.<sup>2</sup> 그리고 태조는 경복궁의 낙성을 기념하는 연회에서 정도전에게 儒宗功宗이라고 大書特書하여 주었다. 이러한 기록들로만 미루어보더라도 고려 말부터 태조 7년에 이르는 기간에서 왕조의 교체와 새 왕조의 창업의 실질적 주역은 정도전이었음을 시사한다. 정도전이 국가 창업의 주역이 되기까지의 상황을 살펴보면 다음과 같다. 高麗 국내의 상황은 元나라의 속박이 느슨해진 상황에서 恭愍王代(在位, 1351~1374)에 추진했던 개혁들이 실패로 돌아간 점과 親元派의 재득세로 인한 정국의 혼란함, 紅巾賊과 倭寇의 빈번한 침탈로 인한 불안감과 위기감, 私田의 賜與 남발로 인한 국가 租稅의 감소와 (관리들의) 농민에 대한 가혹한 수탈, 自淨능력을 상실한 불교 승단과 사찰의 사회·경제·윤리의 폐해 등으로서 누구라도 개혁의 필요성을 절감하였을 것이다. 국제적 상황으로는 元의 멸망과 明의 건국(1368년)으로 인한 국제적 질서의 재편과정과 遼東征伐의 시도, 明에 대한 事大, 한반도에 수시로 나타나서 노략과 살상을 일삼는 倭寇의 방어의 필요성이 중요한 사안이다. 이러한 상황에서 혁명 전후의 그의 동향은 그의 立志를 잘 보여준다. 그것을 韓永愚 교수의 글로부터 요약하면 다음과 같다.<sup>3</sup> 그의 10세 때인 1351년 恭愍王이 즉위하여 反元親明의 개혁정치를 펴기 시작하였고 특히 成均館의 유교 교육기능을 대폭 강화하였는데, 이런

<sup>1</sup> 『朝鮮王朝實錄』 태조 014 07/08/26(기사) 鄭道傳 卒記.

<sup>2</sup> 上同.

<sup>3</sup> 한영우, 『왕조의 설계자 정도전』, 지식산업사, 1999.

분위기속에서 정도전은 1360년 成均試에 합격하고, 1362년 進士試에 합격하여 仕宦을 시작한다. 1366년 父母의 잇단 喪을 당하여 3년 居喪기간에 鄭夢周가 전해준 『孟子』를 정독하였다. 1370년 공민왕에 의하여 重營된 成均館에 모여든 李穡, 鄭夢周, 金九容, 朴尙衷, 李崇仁, 朴宜中 등과 더불어 정도전은 성리학적 신념과 경학적 소양을 넓혀간다. 1371년 太常博士에 특진되었고, 禮儀正郎으로서 成均博士와 太常博士를 겸임하게 된다. 1374년 공민왕이 시해되고 禡王이 즉위하면서 공민왕의 개혁정치가 중단되고 다시 권문세족의 권력농단과 土地兼併이 극심하여 농민의 생활은 난맥상을 보였고, 동시에 倭寇가 기승을 부려서 전국이 노략과 살상의 피해를 입었다. 1375년(우왕 원년) 北元의 사신 접대의 명을 받았으나 강경하게 거부한 까닭에 親元派 權臣들의 분노를 사서 全羅道 羅州로 귀양을 가게 되었다. 귀양살이 기간에 「心問天答」, 「消災洞記」, 「答田父」, 「錦南野人」 등을 저술한다. 「心問天答」은 유교의 天理에 대한 신념, 그 외의 글들은 儒者들의 허위와 농민들의 진정성에 대한 새로운 자각을 묘사한 것이다. 1383년과 1384년 두 차례에 걸쳐서 咸州 軍幕으로 가서 李成桂를 만난다. 유배가 풀린 뒤 벼슬을 다시 받은 정도전은 명나라에 사신을 다녀오고, 京畿道 南陽府使를 역임하고(1387년), 이성계의 후원으로 成均大司成에 오른다. 1388년 이성계의 威化島 回軍 뒤 실권을 장악하고 廢假立眞(가짜 혈통으로 왕위에 오른 왕을 폐위하고 진짜 혈통을 왕위에 세운다)의 명분으로 禡王과 昌王을 폐위하고, 計民授田의 원칙으로 전제개혁을 단행하여 科田法을 실시한다. (1391년 5월) 이성계 일파의 恭讓王 翁립 후 정도전은 개혁사업을 순차적으로 추진하는데, 添設職의 혁파, 인사정책의 혁신을 도모한다. 1391년에는 三軍都摠制府가 신설되자 이성계는 都摠制使가 되고 정도전은 右軍摠制使가 되어 고려의 兵權을 장악한다. 정도전은 恭讓王의 飯僧을 비판하고, 왕이 演福寺 塔殿을 짓기 위하여 경기도와 양광도의 백성들에게 나무 5천주를 바치게 하자 백성들에게 미치는 해독을 맹렬하게 비판하였다. 그러나 1391년 9월에 구세력으로부터 정도전은 탄핵을 받고 관직을 모두 빼앗기고 봉화로 귀양을 간다. 1392년 이성계가 海州에서 사냥중 낙마하여 부상을 당하는 사고가 생기자 鄭夢周는 정도전 등 이성계의 핵심세력을 제거하려고 노력하지만 李芳遠이 鄭夢周를 살해함으로써 국면은 전환되었고, 7월 17일 鄭道傳, 趙浚, 南閔 등이 주동이 되어 이성계를 왕으로 추대함으로써 易姓革命이 시작된



것이다. 정도전은 태조 즉위 직후 便民事目 17 조를 담은 王의 敎書를 작성한다. 그는 태조 3년(1394년) 일원적인 統帥체계를 갖춘 公兵을 만들기 위하여 병제개혁안을 上疏하고, 『朝鮮經國典』을 진찬하고, 新都宮闕造成 都監이 설치되자(9월) 王命으로 신도건설사업을 정도전이 주관하였다. 漢陽의 종묘, 사직, 궁궐, 관아, 市廛, 도로의 터를 정함으로써 바로 遷都(10월)를 가능하게 하였다. 1395년에는 『高麗史』, 『經濟文鑑』을 편찬하고, 『詩經』, 『書經』 등의 문구를 취하여 宮闕 殿閣들의 이름을 지었다. 이듬해 1월부터 도성의 축조사업을 하게 되고, 都城門의 이름을 붙인다. 이 명칭은 五行과 五德을 상징하는 것이다. 1396년에는 한성부의 행정구획을 정리하면서 전체 5部 52坊의 이름을 짓는다. 이 명칭 역시 유교의 덕목을 坊名으로 고정시키고자 한 것이다. 요동정벌과 관련하여 군사훈련을 강화하였고, 1398년에는 「新都歌」와 『佛氏雜辨』을 짓는다. 그리고 李芳遠에 의하여 살해된다. 정도전이 李芳遠에게 피살되면서부터 정도전에 대한 역사기록은 그에게 부정적인 쪽으로 기록되는 흐름을 타게 된다. 그러나 조선왕조 후기에 들어와 그는 명예회복을 하게 된다. 한영우 교수에 의하면 이성계를 왕으로 추대한 뒤 정도전이 장악한 직책은 그가 왕조의 기초를 다지는 실질적 주역이었음을 시사한다. 1품에 해당하는 崇祿大夫로서 門下侍郎 贊成事 (최고행정관청의 2인자), 同判都評議使 司事 (최고정책결정기구의 수장), 判戶曹事 (국가경제총괄), 判尙瑞司事 (인사행정총괄), 寶文閣大學士(文翰의 책임자), 知經筵藝文春秋館事(왕의 교육과 역사편찬 책임), 義興親軍衛節制使 (이성계의 친군위의 두 번째 책임자), 奉化伯이라는 작위 등이다. 이러한 직책과 작위는 정책결정, 관료인사, 국가재정, 군사지휘권, 왕의 교육과 왕의 敎書 작성, 역사편찬 등 국가경영에 필요한 핵심적인 자리를 그가 두루 관여하였음을 의미한다.<sup>4</sup> 이러한 사실로 볼 때 다음의 판단을 내릴 수 있다. 그는 조선왕조 창업의 실질적 주역이었으나 李芳遠(후일 太宗)의 증오를 받아 살해되면서 간신과 역신으로 지위와 명예가 하락했으며 그러한 상태가 조선시대 내내 지속되다가 고종대에 이르러 명예회복을 한 것이다. 그의 명예상실로부터 회복에 이르는 시간은 거의 500년이 되는 셈인데, 역사는 그를 외면하지 않았고 결국 그의 진실은 밝혀진 셈이라고 할 수 있다. 여기서 주목하고자 하는 것은 바로 儒宗功宗을 하사한 이유와 그 의미이다.

<sup>4</sup> 위의 책, 52쪽.

## 鄭道傳과 儒宗功宗

태조가 鄭道傳에게 하사한 儒宗功宗이라는 평가는 과연 그의 어떠한 면을 인정한다는 것일까? 그는 조선의 왕궁인 景福宮을 작명하였고, 그 궁이 낙성되어서 태조와 공신들이 연회를 할 때에 태조로부터 이를 받았다. 그 뒤 500년 가까운 세월이 지나서 景福宮을 重建하여 낙성한 뒤에 高宗(在位, 1863~1907)은 정도전에게 致祭하도록 명하였는데(1872) 그 치제문에 儒宗功宗의 평가를 다시 올리고 있다. 왕조의 중간에 그에 대한 혐오와 불신 내지 비난이 있었다고 할지라도 조선왕조는 결국 그의 공을 인정하고 명예를 재차 부여한 셈이다. 儒士로도 으뜸이고 功도 으뜸이라는 의미의 儒宗功宗이란 유교국가에서는 최상의 평가에 속하는 것이다. 또한 高宗은 그에게 文憲이라는 시호를 부여했다. (1871년) 그렇다면 그의 생전 업적들은 조선왕조의 지속과 어떠한 관련이 있으며, 또 조선 왕조는 그것을 어떠한 의미로 수용한 것일까? 그리고 그의 업적은 현재의 우리에게 어떠한 의의가 있는 것일까? 한국에서 정도전 연구로 가장 권위가 있는 학자인 한영우 교수는 사회 정치사상, 경제사상, 철학 윤리사상으로 나누어서 분석하고 또 그의 사상사적 위상을 평가하고 있다.<sup>5</sup> 한교수가 주목한 영역은 정도전 개인의 형식적 지식(explicit knowledge)에 관한 것 혹은 합리성의 영역에 속하는 것이다. 그러나 과연 하나의 국가가 창업 이후 지속성을 갖는 이유를 형식적 지식이나 합리성 영역의 일만으로 설명할 수 있을까? 본 연구는 정도전이 조선왕조의 지속에 공헌했던 실질적인 내용에 주목하고자 한다. 이 경우 高宗이 정도전에게 부여한 儒宗功宗의 존호와 文憲이라는 시호는 중요한 단서가 될 수 있다. 이 두 가지는 조선 왕조 창업에 관련된 정도전의 실질적 공헌에 대한 시사를 함축한다. 정도전의 실질적 공헌은 어떠한 것인가? 특히 조선 말기에 정도전에 관한 그러한 재평가가 가능했던 이유는 무엇일까? 그 이유를 밝혀볼 수 있는 단서가 許傳(1797~1886)이 高宗의 어명을 받아 지은 致祭文에 잘 드러나 있다.<sup>6</sup> 이 치제문과 실록의 기사를 종합하여 보면 정도전의 功을 다음과 같이 요약할 수 있다. 첫째는 국가의 제도 뿐 아니라 文化의 틀을 갖춘 것이다. 치제문에서는 정도전이 국가 운영에 가장 기본으로 갖추어야 하는 禮樂과 政教, 典章과 法度의 經紀를 갖추었으며

<sup>5</sup> 韓永愚 著, 『鄭道傳思想의 研究』, 서울대출판부, 1983년 개정판.

<sup>6</sup> 許傳, 『性齋先生文集續編』 卷之五. 이 치제문은 景福宮重建 뒤 高宗이 宮으로 移御하면서 특명을 내려서 짓게 된 것이다.

거기에 그의 커다란 지혜가 담긴 것으로 숭앙하고 있다. 여기서 언급되는 禮樂과 政教, 典章과 法度の 經紀가 곧 전체적으로는 문화의 틀이다. 그런 문화의 틀로 인해서 조선 왕조가 오랜 세월을 지속할 수 있었음을 칭송하는 것이다. 『朝鮮經國典』, 『經濟文鑑』, 『經濟文鑑別集』 등의 進撰, 전라도 관찰사로 부임하는 李茂를 위하여 써준 『監司要約』, 이성계의 공로를 찬양하는 「文德曲」, 「夢金尺」, 「受寶錄」, 「納氏曲」, 「整東方曲」, 「窮獸奔曲」, 그리고 한양 건설을 찬양하는 「新都歌」 등의 樂詞 제작 등은 모두 禮樂의 틀을 갖추는 작업에 해당한다. 정도전은 왜 이런 예제(법제)와 樂詞를 제정하였는가? 그것은 조선의 창업에 어떠한 효과를 가져다주는 것인가? 둘째는 정도전이 도성과 궁궐에 ‘意味의 空間’을 구성한 사실이다. 정도전은 新都宮闕造成都監이 설치되자 漢陽에 내려가 궁궐, 관아, 종묘, 사직, 시전, 도로의 터 등 한양의 도시설계도를 만들어 바쳤고(태조 3년) 그 도성의 팔대문과 궁궐의 건물 각각에 명명을 하였으며, 한성부의 행정구역을 5部 52坊으로 나누고 거기에 각각의 명칭을 제정하였다.(태조 5년) 그는 판삼사사로서 인왕산 백악산 등을 직접답사하고 도성의 성터를 정하였다. 이러한 일련의 작업은 漢陽都城을 治國의 중심무대로 재구성하고자 유교의 象徴的 記號로써 ‘意味의 空間’을 구성하고 연출한 것이다. 許傳은 이를 군왕의 정치가 진정한 효과를 얻을 수 있도록 해주는 작업으로 간주하였는데, 이것이 왜 중요한 것인가를 우리가 논의해야 할 부분이다. 셋째는 유교의 道에 입각한 교화가 가능하도록 해주는 사상적 장치를 제대로 갖추어 준 점이다. 정도전은 知貢擧가 되어서 과거의 제도에 初場에 講經하는 법을 실시함으로써 유교 교육을 강화하는 결과를 가져왔다. 그리고 『佛氏雜辨』, 『心氣理篇』과 같은 排佛書의 저술, 성균관 제조로서 유생들을 위한 經史 강론, 그밖에도 유교를 정치와 교화에 시행하도록 노력한 점이 그의 업적이다. 이상의 내용은 조선왕조의 입장에서 보는 정도전의 훌륭한 업적인데 무엇보다도 유교를 근본 원리로 해서 禮樂의 문화와 法制를 갖추고 공간적 의미를 구성하고 또 백성을 유교로 교화하는 것이 그의 기여로 인하여 가능하게 되었고 또 오랜 기간 동안 그것이 지속되었음을 인정하는 것이다. 이러한 내용을 통해서 본다면, 치제문은 조선 왕조의 개창초부터 말기까지 儒教的 理念과 原理에 따른 통치가 가능하게 된 것이 그의 가장 큰 공로라 인정하는 것이다. 정도전에 대해 고종 시대에도 ‘儒宗功宗’이라는 평가가 가능했던 것은 적어도 이 세

가지 면에서의 업적이 융합됨으로써 실질적으로는 유교국가로서의 지속성이 유지되었음을 뜻한다. 현대의 역사가가 내리는 ‘(조선)왕조의 설계자’라는 평가는 그의 업적에서 유교에 관한 내용의 중요성을 크게 인정하지 않는 쪽이라면 조선 왕조에서는 그것을 가장 큰 것으로 평가한다는 차이가 있다. 이를 좀 더 확대해서 말하면, 현대의 역사가들은 정도전의 업적이나 사상으로부터 합리적이라고 판단되는 것 혹은 현대 학문의 형식에 적합한 요소만을 추출해서 그의 사상을 재구성하고 유교적 요소 혹은 유학을 신봉하는 당사자들이 중시했을 요소들에 대해서는 간과하거나 최소 내용만을 기술하는 데 그치고 있다. 바로 이점이 그의 사상이나 업적을 세밀하게 분석하였다고 하더라도 정작 중요한 실질을 빠트리고 있다는 느낌, 뭔가 허전한 느낌을 주는 것이다. 그렇지만 조선의 유학자나 조정에서의 평가는 그의 업적을 특히 유학의 공로로 평가하고 있다. 그렇다면 과연 그 의미를 어떻게 해석하여야 하는가?

### 정도전의 업적의 특성

정도전의 창업과 국가 경영의 방법에는 어떠한 특징적 내용이 있는 것일까? 정도전이 관여한 시기는 조선 초기 7년간에 불과하지만, 500년 넘게 이어진 왕조의 경영에 그가 공헌이 있다고 할 수 있는 근거는 어디에 있을까? 儒宗功宗 이라는 칭호는 단지 명예만이 아니라면 그것이 가리키는 실질을 무엇이라고 보아야 할 것인가? 이미 선행 연구들이 정도전의 사상이나 행적에 대해서는 살살이 밝혀놓았기 때문에 더 추가할 새로운 사실이 별로 없다. 그러나 그의 실질적 기여와 그 공적은 새로운 사실이 발견됨으로써 추가되는 것이 아니고, 기존의 자료들에 대한 재해석을 통해서 드러나게 되는 것이다. 정도전의 업적에 대해서 기존의 이해를 넘어서서 모험적인 해석을 시도해보자면 다음 세 가지로 말할 수 있다.

첫째 舊脈絡(前王朝)의 斷絶과 新脈絡의 定礎이다. 歷史의 전개과정은 사실 하나의 거대한 맥락을 형성해가는 것이다. 이 맥락의 형성은 한 국가면 국가, 사회면 사회 전체가 자기의 體系를 지속적으로 재생산함으로써 가능한 것이다. 즉 역사는 국가(혹은 사회)의 체계가 自己生産(Autopoiesis)을 반복해가는 것이다. 이러한 체계의 재생산 과정이 원활하지 못할 때에 거기에 간섭하여 새롭고 건전한 맥락을 형성하도록 길을 터주는 것은 그 자체가 위대한 일이다. 정도전의 위대한 업적은 무엇보다도

고려왕조의 폐습을 과감하게 단절하면서 한반도에서의 國家 운영과 전국민의 생활 자체를 쇠신한 점에 있다. 특히 『佛氏雜辨』과 『心氣理篇』은 『朝鮮經國典』, 『經濟文鑑』, 그리고 유교적 공간의 구성 등과 상호 상승효과를 일으켜서 새로운 유교 국가 체계의 형성과 정착에 커다란 효과를 낳은 것으로 보인다. 그는 불교와 도교 그리고 유교가 함께 治國의 理念이자 政治術로 공존하던 고려의 정치적 문화적 맥락을 유교가 절대적 중심을 차지하는 맥락으로 환골탈태하는 기반을 제공하였다. 그로 인하여 조선은 유교국가로서 자체적인 맥락을 새롭게 구성하면서 그 체계를 재생산하면서 20세기 초까지 지속되어왔던 것이다. 정도전은 중국 宋代에 발전하여 元을 거쳐 고려말에 들어온 性理學의 신봉자이며, 성리학을 “옛사람의 덕을 밝히고 백성을 쇠신하는 참된 학문”(古人明德新 民之實學)이라고 간주했다. 새로운 맥락이란 위로는 군주로부터 아래로는 모든 백성에 이르기까지 기존의 삶의 방식들을 새로운 방식으로 대체하도록 하였음을 의미한다.

둘째 儀禮的 裝置와 儀禮的 實踐을 儒教에 입각하여 체계화하였다. 儀禮的 裝置와 儀禮的 實踐은 서로 결합이 되어서 한 국가나 사회의 구성원들의 삶 자체를 일정한 유형으로 반복하도록 해주는 것이다.<sup>7</sup> 그것은 구성원들의 안정된 사회생활을 가져다줄 뿐 아니라 사회의 재생산이 가능하게 되는 기반이다. 의례적 장치와 의례적 실천이 안정된 사회생활과 사회의 재생산의 기초가 되는 이유는 그것이 바로 구성원들의 새로운 形式知(explicit knowledge)뿐 아니라 暗黙知(tacit knowledge)까지도 형성하기 때문이다. 그리고 그것은 인간의 자연적 신체를 사회적 신체로 전환하는 장치이기도 하다.<sup>8</sup> 한 국가의 의례적 장치와 의례적 실천은 매우 복잡한 구성요소를 지닌다. 이와 관련된 정도전의 주요 업적은 다음과 같다. 우선 혁명을 통해서 등극한 태조의 卽位敎書(便民事目 17條)를 통해서 과거 정치와 행정의 폐단을 시정한다는 선정의 약속을 행하였고, 곧 이어 태조의 덕을 칭송하는 樂詞를 제작하여서 神聖王의 이미지를 만들었다. 이것은 왕조마다 행했던 통상적인 것이라고 볼 수 있겠지만, 이것을 하지 않을 수 없는 이유는 그것이 바로 신왕조에 대한 구성원들의 충성을 이끌어내는 데에 불가결한 것이기

<sup>7</sup> 今村仁司+今村眞介 著, 『儀禮のオントロキ-: 人間社會を再生産するもの』, 講談社, 2007年., 제1장 참조.

<sup>8</sup> 위의 책, 52쪽.

때문이다. 그 외에 크고 작은 일들이 의례적 장치의 구성과 관련된 것으로 볼 수 있는데, 가장 중대한 것으로 보이는 것은 그가 漢陽의 都城과 宮闕에 意味의 空間을 구성한 일이다. 미셸 푸코의 말대로 “공간은 모든 공동체적 삶에 근본적인 것이며, 모든 권력 행사에도 근본적인 것”이다.<sup>9</sup> 고려의 도성인 개경에는 도성의 바깥에 두었던 宗廟와 社稷을 한양의 도성 안쪽 왕궁의 좌우에 배치한 것, 궁궐의 이름을 景福이라 짓고 康寧殿, 延生殿, 慶成殿, 思政殿, 勤政殿, 勤政門, 隆文樓, 隆武樓, 正門(후에 光化門) 등의 殿 門樓를 명명한 것, 都城의 四大門(北: 炤智門-肅靖門, 南: 崇禮門, 東: 興仁之門, 西: 敦義門, 中: 普信閣)과 四小門(西北: 彰義門, 東北: 惠化門, 東南: 光熙門, 西南: 昭義門)의 명명, 宮闕門(北: 神武門, 南: 光化門, 東: 建春文, 西: 迎秋門)의 명명을 상호 조응하게 하고 유교의 세계관을 담은 五行(水 火 木 金 土)과 五德(仁 義 禮 智 信)에 상응하는 공간구조를 취한 것이 매우 중요하다. 漢城府의 5 部 52 坊의 명칭을 지은 것도 그것과 상호 관련되어서 중요성을 지닌다.(동부 12 방: 燕喜, 崇教, 泉達, 彰善, 建德, 德成, 瑞雲, 蓮花, 崇信, 仁昌, 觀德, 興盛, 남부 11 방: 廣通, 好賢, 明禮, 大平, 熏陶, 誠明, 樂善, 貞心, 明哲, 誠身, 禮成, 서부 11 방: 永堅, 仁達, 積善, 餘慶, 仁智, 皇華, 聚賢, 養生, 神化, 盤石, 盤松, 북부 10 방: 廣化, 陽德, 嘉會, 安國, 觀光, 鎮定, 順化, 明通, 俊秀, 義通, 중부 8 방: 貞善, 慶幸, 寬仁, 壽進, 澄清, 長通, 瑞麟, 堅平) 이와 더불어 중요성을 갖는 것은 『朝鮮經國典』과 같은 法典의 제정인데, 이는 국가의 통치와 행정 뿐 아니라 국민의 생활 방식의 大綱을 새롭게 규정하고 그 방식을 일상생활에 부과함으로써 모든 국가구성원들의 사고와 행위의 유형을 쇄신하여 정착시키는 작용을 하는 것이다. 그중 禮典과 같은 것에는 冠婚喪祭의 禮를 유교식으로 정착시키고자 하는 규정이 있을 뿐 아니라 喪制에 관해서는 불교식 喪葬禮의 폐단을 불식하고 유교식 喪葬禮로 변화하여야 함을 강조하고 있다.

셋째 人本主義에 입각한 統治性 (governmentality)의 확립이다. 통치성이란 미셸 푸코의 개념 으로부터 차용한 것인데, 이 경우 개인으로 하여금 자신의 사회나 국가의 구성원으로 인식하게 하여서 그들을 거기에 통합하는 기술을 의미한다. 정도전을 비롯한 혁명세력들이 정초한 국가의 성격에 대해서는 아직 논의가 미진하다. 그렇지만 조선이 유교만의 단일한

<sup>9</sup> 허경, 「미셸 푸코의 ‘헤테로피아’-초기 공간 개념에 대한 비판적 검토」, 『도시인문학연구』 제 3 권 2 호, 240 쪽.

이념에 의존하는 통치 구조를 지닌다는 점은 前朝와 대비되는 특성을 보여준다. 그러한 점에서 정도전이 창업한 조선은 국가가 지니는 통치성의 근본을 인본주의적 합리성에 입각하여 분명하게 정의한 것이 특징이다. 그 점을 高麗와 비교하여 보도록 한다.

高麗의 통치 이념의 立地는 太祖의 訓要十條에 보이듯이 불교와 도교를 유교와 함께 설정했다. 훈요십조에서는 道誥大師의 裨補說에 입각한 사탑의 건축을 엄격하게 요구함으로써 ‘地德’이라는 요소에 국가의 흥망의 조건이 걸려있는 것으로 보고 있거나, 한반도의 車峴以南 公州江以南의 지형은 本主에 背逆하는 형세이므로 그 지역의 인심도 그러할 것이라는 風水의 논리로서 그 지역 인물을 등용하지 말라고 훈시한다. 그리고 부처와 天, 名山, 大川, 龍神 등의 加護를 구하는 燃燈과 八關 등의 제사의식을 신성시함으로써 天地山川의 신비한 힘에 기대는 주술적 요소를 국가권력의 유지에 필수요소로 간주하고 있다. 그리고 거기에 유교적 爲民 정치의 중요성을 자각하라는 취지에서 왕은 『書經』의 「無逸」편을 읽어야 한다는 교훈을 더하였다. 이러한 고려초기의 정치권력은 그들의 의례적 장치에 地德과 神佛의 힘을 긴요한 요소로 끌어들이므로써 주술적 신앙에 의존하여 국토를 통치하려는 경향이 강하였다.

그러나 조선의 창업을 주도한 정도전의 경우에는 그것에 비하여 매우 혁신적인 국가의 통치성을 정착시키고자 노력하였다. 그것은 儒敎의 合理性에 입각하여 철저하게 사람의 도덕성에 입각하여 통치를 하는 것이 온당하다는 사고와 그것의 구현의 틀이 되는 법제를 제정했을 뿐 아니라, 왕으로부터 관인과 백성에 이르기까지 공동의 儒敎의 禮制를 준수하는 것을 원칙으로 삼았다. 그가 저술한 『佛氏雜辨』과 『心氣理篇』 등의 排佛書들은 불교에 의존했던 일체의 사고와 실천을 청산하는 것이 마땅하다는 것을 유교의 논리로서 명확하게 보여주는 것이었다. 그것이 끼친 영향은 당시의 유교식 예제의 법제화와 가례의 보급과 연결되어서 전체 구성원들의 의례적 실천의 유형을 근본적으로 변화시키는 데에 커다란 영향을 주었을 것으로 판단된다. 그리고 『朝鮮經國典』上 「敎書」편에서 『書經』의 精一執中の 說을 영원한 聖學의 연원이라고 보고, 그것에 입각하여 왕의 마음도 一貫性을 지니고 백성에게 敎書를 내려야 저절로 그 효과가 크게 된다는 것을 강조하였다. 그리고 「正寶位」편에서는 임금이 자신의 지위를

지키는 것은 仁으로써 하여야 한다고 하고, 임금은 ‘天地가 사물을 낳는 마음(天地生物之心)으로써 자신의 마음을 삼고 不忍人之政을 행하여야 한다’는 점을 강조했다. 이는 정도전 이후 조선의 유학자들이 지속적으로 강조했던 정치적 사안이다. 이는 주술과 신비한 힘에 기대어 국가적 주권을 수호할 것을 강조했던 고려 태조의 사고에 비해서 본다면 인간의 능력을 통해서 통치권을 유지하는 것의 중요함을 강조한 정도전의 정치적 입장이 진일보한 것임을 보여준다. 이러한 정도전의 구상은 국가의 새로운 운영방향을 시사하는 면이 있다. 그것은 국가는 구성원에 대한 禮教的 道德的 管理를 그 통치의 본질로 삼는다는 점, 특히 통치의 주체인 왕은 더욱 修己에 노력해야 함을 강조한 것이 특징이다.

### 公共哲學的 論議

이상에서 살핀 내용은 정도전에 대한 현대의 우리들의 평가를 염두에 두고서 그의 업적과 그 의의를 나름대로 헤아려 본 것이다. 정도전의 당시에는 아직 국민국가의 개념이 형성되기 이전이며, 그에게는 왕국의 개념 속에서 인본주의에 입각한 통치성을 확립하는 것이 하나의 주된 과제였다고 판단된다. 그런데 지금은 이미 국민국가 단위의 삶의 방식과 地球村 상황에서 세계시민이라는 현실도 중첩되는 상황이다. 또 全地球的으로 위협이 되는 각종 문제들은 이제는 국민국가의 차원에서는 해결하기 어려운 상황이 되고 있다. 따라서 오늘 우리들의 삶의 상황과 정도전 당시의 국가 창업의 상황과는 사실상 隔世感도 크고 오늘의 우리의 삶의 맥락과 부합하지 않는 면도 크다고 할 것이다. 그렇다고 하더라도 정도전의 업적을 근거로 한국인과 일본인 그리고 동아시아인이 공공철학의 주제로 삼을 만한 것은 다음과 같이 고려할 수 있다. 첫째 共存의 倫理, 둘째 문명화의 과정, 셋째 유교의 가능성 여부라고 할 수 있다.

첫째 공존의 윤리에 관해서 다음과 같이 생각하는 것이 가능하다. 2000년대 초반부터 한국이 추진하는 동아시아 공동체의 구상을 실현하는 일에 있어서 상호 이해와 협력이 중요한 점을 감안하면 한국의 지나온 맥락을 이해하는 일이 무의미한 일은 더더욱 아니다. 지금 비록 유럽 연합(EU)이 매우 위태로운 지경에 이르렀기 때문에 국민국가의 경계를 넘어선 지역 공동체의 추진에 회의적일 수는 있을지라도, 아시아의 근대사의 경험으로 본다면 이제는 국민국가 단위의 경쟁이나 대립을 지양할



필요성이 있으며, 한국이나 일본이 각각 주도하려고 하고 있는 동아시아 공동체의 구상에도 좀 더 많은 아시아의 전문가들이나 정치인들이 지혜를 모아서 공동으로 논의할 것이 많다. 지역 공동체 구성이란 상호 이질적인 문화적 사상적 맥락들이 만나서 이제 더 큰 공동의 맥락을 구성하는 것을 의미한다. 그것의 가장 중요한 기반은 共存의 倫理를 확립하는 일이다. 공존의 윤리란 差異를 인정하고 수용하고 이해하는 태도에서 비롯된다. 우리는 정도전의 혁명과 실천이 현대 한국인들에게 暗黙知 형태로 자리잡고 있는 의례적 실천 방식의 원점일지도 모른다는 생각을 할 수 있고, 만일 그렇게 생각한다면 한국인이 한국인을 이해하고 또 일본인이 한국인을 이해하는 일에 일단 정도전의 업적을 접하는 것이 무의미한 것은 아니라고 할 수 있다.

둘째, 문명화의 과정의 지속성이 필요하다. 문명화란 인간의 집단 생활에 필수적인 것이다. 그렇다면 인간의 공동 생활에서 필요한 규범과 질서의 준수와 이행이 중요하다. 그것이 바로 공존의 윤리를 함께 실천해가는 것이다. 노르베르트 엘리아스(Norbert Elias)에 의하면 문명화의 과정이란 시빌리테(civilité, 禮節)가 구성원의 의식 내지 무의식의 영역에 일정한 사유와 행위를 만들어내는 패턴(pattern)으로 자리잡도록 하는 것이다. 정도전은 단지 예절만 제시한 것이 아니라 종합적으로 유교의 이념으로부터 경전 그리고 법제와 예절을 함께 제시함으로써 더욱 포괄적이고 전체적인 규모의 유교를 향하는 문명화의 기초를 마련한 것이다. 이러한 문명화의 과정이 현대 한국인의 心身에 많은 흔적을 남기고 있는 것이 사실이다.

그런데 문제는 한국인의 경우 전반적인 서구화 혹은 현대화의 과정에서 역문명화하는 현상도 늘어났다는 점이다. 일본 식민지, 좌우대립과 격돌, 6·25 事變, 산업화 과정, 등 현대사의 과정은 전통의 美風良俗을 상실해가는 과정인 듯하며, 그로 인하여 탐욕과 무절제가 경쟁과 불화를 부채질하면서 사회는 불신과 대립의 나락으로 추락하는 듯하다. 그러한 점에서 오늘날 정도전의 창업과 미래세계에 대한 도전, 특히 인본주의의 합리성에 입각한 의례적 장치와 실천의 계몽과 유도는 더욱 가치가 크게 느낀다. 일본에서의 상황은 어떤지 궁금하다.

셋째 유교의 가능성 여부에 관한 토론이 필요하다. 지난해(2011년) 3월 11일 일본 후쿠시마 지역을 강타한 쓰나미와 원전파괴로 인해 일본인이

겪은 극심한 고통은 전인류의 고통으로 감지되었음을 상기할 필요가 있다. 이제 인류가 자연재해와 문명재해로부터 인류의 지속가능성을 낮추지 않기 위해서 人間의 安全保障의 문제에 함께 관심을 갖고 대처하지 않으면 안된다는 사실을 뺏속 깊이 자각하기에 이르렀다. 인간의 안전보장이라는 과제에 대처하는 방법들의 한 축이 바로 人間開發이라고 한다.<sup>10</sup> 인간개발의 과제도 여러 가지 다양한 접근법과 실천법을 생각할 수 있는 것이지만, 거기서도 빠질 수 없는 것은 바로 인간의 공존을 위한 윤리와 도덕의 문제일 것이다. 만약 공존을 무시한다면 언젠가는 共滅로 가게 될 수 있기 때문이다. 그렇다면 우리는 공존의 윤리에 바탕을 둔 인간개발을 어떻게 해나갈 것인가? 이게 바로 우리의 앞에 놓인 중요한 과제가 아닐까? 그리고 정도전의 방식은 어떠한 지혜와 교훈을 시사하는가? 특히 오늘날에 정도전이 또 다른 개혁을 추구한다고 할 때에 여전히 유교(성리학)를 근본 이념으로 선택할 것인가? 유교를 오늘날에도 가치 있는 사상이나 문명으로 수용할 수 있다면 유교의 어떤 점이 그러한 것일까? 유교에는 불교에 대한 배척만 있고, 異端사상에 대한 포용과 공존의 논리는 없는 것인가? 이것이 오늘날 함께 토론해보아야 할 점이라고 생각된다.

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<sup>10</sup> 高橋哲哉/山影進 編, 『人間の安全保障』, 東京大學出版會, 2008., 16 쪽 도표 참조.

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## Povzetek

Jeong Do-jeon (1342–1398) je eden izmed najbolj pomembnih oseb pri vzpostavitvi dinastije Joseon. Rodil se je v dinastiji Goryeo, kjer je živel do starosti 50 let, a se je skupaj z Yi Seong-gyejem, ki je bile eden izmed najvišjih admiralov v kraljestvu Goryeo, uprl proti kraljestvu in uspešno ustanovil novo dinastijo Joseon leta 1392. Čeprav štejejo Yi Seng-gye, ki je postal prvi kralj dinastije Joseon, za uradnega ustanovitelja te dinastije, pa številni sodobni zgodovinarji Jeong Do-jeona štejejo kot oblikovalca nove dinastije. Ta ocena prikazuje, da so številni korejski zgodovinarji razvili skupno idejo, da brez njegovega načrtovanja in izvajanja, dinastija Joseon ne bi bila ustanovljena in tudi ne bi trajala 500 let. Med ključne točke, s katerimi sodobni zgodovinarji ocenjujejo njegove dosežke, niso samo realizacija revolucije, ampak tudi njegovi prispevki, ki so bili nepogrešljivi za ohranjenje in razvoj dinastije.

Sodobni zgodovinarji se osredotočajo na njegovo sistematično oblikovanje institucij zakonov, ekonomije in politike, ki so tudi glavne teme sodobnih družboslovnih znanosti. Vendar pa ni dovolj, da bi samo ocenjevali njegov pomemben prispevek za ohranjanje dinastije skoraj 500 let. Ta članek posveča tudi pozornost vlogi nacije, ki disciplinira svoje ljudi, kot pravi Michel Foucault. Ideološka in institucionalna oprema dinastije Joseon ustreza discipline, s tem na primer, da je ukinitel budistične ritualne in jih nadomestil s konfucianskimi, organiziral je glavno mesto in poimenoval stavbe in ulice po konfucianskih klasikih, izključil je budizem iz življenj ljudi in uradnikov ter iz kraljevih obredov itd., nas vsi njegovi prispevki opozarjajo na njegovo pomembno vlogo pri ohranjanju dinastije, in sicer za neprekinjeno reprodukcijo konfucijske družbe od 14. do 20. stoletja.

Ta prispevek se osredotoča na uporabo njegovih pomembnih prispevkov za diskusijo v filozofiji za javnost, še posebej z japonskimi filozofi.

## Summary

Jeong Do-jeon (1342–1398) is regarded as the most substantial figure of the foundation of the Joseon Dynasty. He was born in the Goryeo Dynasty and had spent his life in the Dynasty until 50 years old, but he, with Yi Seong-gye who used to be one of the highest admirals in the Goryeo Dynasty, revolted against the Dynasty and finally succeeded in foundation a new dynasty, Joseon, in the year of 1392. Even though Yi Seong-gye who became the First King of the Joseon Dynasty has officially been regarded as the founder of the Joseon Dynasty, Jeong Do-jeon is regarded as a designer of the new Dynasty by most present Korean historians. This estimation shows that many Korean historians have developed the common idea that without his planning and practice the Joseon Dynasty could not be established and, admitting that it was, continued for 500 hundred years. The key-points that present historians highly estimated his achievement are not only his realization of revolution but also after then his contributions which were indispensable for maintenance and development of the Dynasty.

The present historians' estimation focused on his systemic design of institutions of law, economy, politics, and so on, which are the topics of mainstream social sciences. However, such estimation it is not enough to evaluate his substantial contribution for maintenance of the Dynasty for almost 500 years. In this paper a nation's function to discipline its people as Michel Foucault said is paid attention to. Ideological and institutional equipment of Joseon Kingdom fits the discipline, for example, abolishing Buddhist rituals and providing Confucian ones, organizing the capital city and naming buildings and districts of the city according to Confucian humanities, excluding Buddhism from people's routine lives and official or royal ceremonies, etc., all of his contributions direct our attention to his substantial contribution to the maintenance of the Dynasty, that is, the continuous reproduction of the Confucian society from the 14<sup>th</sup> through the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

This paper focuses on application of his substantial contribution for discussion of public philosophy especially with Japanese scholars.



## The Taiwanese Perspective in Investigating Korean Confucianism: Lee Ming-huei's Interpretation of Han Wonjin (1682–1750)

Martina GREIF and Jana S. ROŠKER\*

### Abstract

Numerous representatives of the contemporary Confucian revival from Taiwan are increasingly demonstrating the fact that the development of Confucian philosophy has to be viewed in a broader cultural context, especially in the context of different East Asian regions. While the development of the Japanese Confucian studies has been elaborated to a great extent during the last decades, studies in Korean Confucianism are still rare. Hence, the present article aims to offer a report on a pioneer contribution in this regard. It introduces Lee Ming-huei's investigation into the work of one of the most influential Korean Confucians of the Joseon period; on the basis of Huang Chun-chieh's methodology which exposes the contextualization paradigm, the article explains the main hypotheses and offers a theoretical reflection of the main issues discussed in this research work.

**Keywords:** Han Wonjin 韓元震, Lee Ming-huei 李明輝, East Asian Confucianism, Korean Confucianism

### Izvešček

Številni predstavniki sodobnega konfucijanskega preporoda na Tajvanu izpostavljajo dejstvo, da je razvoj konfucijanske filozofije potrebno obravnavati iz širšega kulturnega konteksta, zlasti ko govorimo o različnih regijah Vzhodne Azije. Medtem ko je bil razvoj japonskih konfucijanskih študij v veliki meri izdelan v zadnjih desetletjih, so študije korejskega konfucianizma še vedno maloštevilne. Zato je cilj tega članka predstaviti pionirsko raziskavo iz tega področja. Članek predstavi raziskavo profesorja Lee Ming-hueija s področja del enega izmed najbolj vplivnih korejskih konfucijancev obdobja Joseon. Na podlagi Huang Chun-chieh-jeve metodologije, ki izpostavi kontekstualno paradigmo,

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razloži poglavitne hipoteze in ponudi kritičen razmislek o poglavitnih vprašanjih obravnavanih v tem raziskovalnem delu.

**Gljučne besede:** Han Wonjin, Lee Ming-huei, konfucianizem vzhodne Azije, korejski konfucianizem

## The Importance of Investigating Korean Confucianism

As Huang Chun-chieh writes in his work *East Asian Confucianism, Texts in Contexts*, over the long span of history, Confucian texts travelled across every country and region in East Asia. Their vitality and openness inspired the curiosity of readers in many East Asian areas and invited those readers to engage in creative dialogue with them.

Through the continuing intellectual and spiritual conversation among Confucian scholars, a Confucian community was created. This volume tells the story of the importance of the Confucian traditions and why and how Confucian texts were reinterpreted within the different ambiances and contexts of East Asia. Therefore, we will discover that “East Asian Confucianisms” is an intellectual community that is transnational and multi-lingual. It evolved in interaction between Confucian “universal values” and the local conditions present in each East Asian country (Huang 2014, 3).

This by no means implies that the contemporary Confucian scholars should repeat the cliché that Confucianism is the *sine qua non* of East Asian civilization. In his numerous works, Huang Chun-chieh rather seems to suggest that the paradigm of “East Asian Confucianisms” can open up a brand new vista for the study of Confucian traditions in general. He argues that Chinese Confucian scholars are finally to leave the ghetto of their “national learning,” with its practice of holding state-centrism as the basis of Confucianism (Huang 2014, 5). Hence, we must reconsider the development of Confucianism in a broader East Asian perspective. According to Huang, by contextualizing Confucianism in East Asian cultures and societies, we find ourselves in a better position to appreciate the diversity and variety of East Asian Confucian traditions.

In this context, the Korean Confucianism is no exception:

During the Tokugawa period (1603–1868), the Japanese school of Confucianism based on the work of Zhu Xi (朱熹, Huian 晦庵, 1130–1200) began to take shape. This was largely due to the great influence of Zhu Xi studies in Joseon (1391–1910) Korea, especially in the writings of the Korean scholar Yi Hwang 李滉 (or Yi Toegy 李退溪, 1501–1570), most of whose works were also published in Japan. A later Ming (1368–1644) scholar Luo

Qinshun (羅欽順, 1466–1547) revised Zhu Xi's philosophy in his *Kunzhiji* (困知記 *Knowledge Acquired through Adversity*). This book had a profound impact on the Tokugawa world of thought. Luo's book was printed in Japan on the basis of the Korean version (Huang 2014, 7).

Thus, the Chinese—and especially Taiwanese Confucian scholars are increasingly paying attention to the Korean intellectual history and to the role of Confucian studies within Korean history.

### Lee Ming-huei's Investigation

Lee Ming-huei from the Academia Sinica in Taipei belongs to the community of contemporary Confucian scholars who have been, due to the above mentioned reasons, investigating Korean Confucianism for several years.

In his long-term studies on Korean Confucianism, he firmly believes that a competent researcher has to move deliberately into the tension between contextualization and de-contextualization (Huang 2014, 90) in order to uncover the multiple dimensions of his research object. Hence, he especially lays stress upon the contexts of canonical texts. In contrast to historical and social contexts, the contexts of canonical texts have their own relative independence, which is the research object of conceptual history. In addition, in studies either on historical and social contexts or on conceptual history, de-contextualization can not be avoided, since all of them concern a comparative perspective. Comparison is namely tightly linked to abstraction, in turn means de-contextualization. Even the very formation of any concept originates from abstraction and hence from de-contextualization. Hence, all research approaches include aspects of both contextualization and de-contextualization at the same time, but with different focusses.

In his article “Korean Confucian Han Wonjin's 韓元震 Critique of Wang Yangming's 王陽明 Thought” (Lee 2013), Lee Ming-huei discusses the marginal position of Wang Yangming's teaching in Korean Confucianism. The article analyzes Korean Confucian Han Wonjin's critique of Wang Yanming's three main concepts: “extension of original knowing” (*zhiliangzhi* 致良知), “mind is principle” (*xinjili* 心即理) and “unity of knowledge and action” (*zhixingheyi* 知行合一), and at the same time reveals the complex relationship between Korean successors of Zhu Xi's teaching and Wang Yangming's thought in Korea.



Although Lee's investigation is focused upon Han Wonjin's interpretation, we have—as a random, but relevant background—to consider the fact that this Korean scholar was by no means the only Korean representative of critical reflections on Chinese Neo-Confucian synthesis between Confucian, Daoist and Buddhist thought. In other words, we have to take into consideration slightly earlier developments in early Qing Period. Already before Han Wonjin's interpretation, we can witness certain critical tendencies among scholars belonging to the Han Learning scholarship, who also highlighted and strongly rejected the Buddhist-Confucian syncretism in Wang Yangming's thought. In fact, Korean scholars such as Han Wonjin (who was loyal to Zhu Xi's thought) did not go nearly as far as 17<sup>th</sup> century Chinese Confucian scholars did in identifying, and rejecting, the Buddhist-Confucian syncretism in Neo-Confucian thought as a whole.

The present article introduces Lee Ming-huei's main hypotheses and offers a critical reflection of the main issues discussed in them.

The essays mainly investigate five central questions, connected to the Korean Confucianism, beginning with a short introduction of its historical background and then proceeding to the analyses of various critiques directed against The Chinese School of the Heart-Mind (*xin xue* 心學) that were written by one of the most influential Korean Confucianists, Han Wonjin, focusing, among others, especially upon his critiques of the following concepts and hypotheses respectively, that were developed by Wang Yangming:

1. The extension of original knowledge
2. The heart-mind is the structural principle
3. The unity of knowledge and action

Here, one cannot avoid the question, why the so-called School of the Heart-Mind, which was established by the prominent Chinese neo-Confucian philosopher Wang Yangming (1472–1529), was so severely criticized and actually more or less completely neglected in Korean Confucian ideologies. Lee's article offers a very reasonable explanation, which will be discussed below, but is, however, still open to debates and invites East Asian scholars to carry out further research on the issue.

## A Short Historical and Philosophical Background

Lee Ming-huei opens his investigation with a short, but nevertheless detailed discussion of the historical and ideological background of the Confucian history of thought in Korea. He focusses especially upon the question of why Korean Confucian scholars did not generally accept Wang Yangming's teaching. In this framework, Lee also offers an explanation to which Korean stream of thought Han Wonjin actually belonged.

The political situation in the Joseon dynasty Korea was conditioned by the struggle between different schools of thought, which started in the middle of 16<sup>th</sup> century. There were two main Confucian schools of thought, one represented by Yi Hwang (Master Toegye, 1501–1570) and the other by Yi Yulgok (1536–1584).

These two schools were disputing with each other concerning several main issues belonging to the Neo-Confucian philosophy. The most famous among them was the debate about the “four virtues and seven emotions” (*siduan qiqing* 四端七情). Each of the two schools persisted on different viewpoints concerning the relation among the four virtues (that were, according to Mencian interpretations, mostly innate), and the seven emotions, (which were mostly seen as rooted in specific actual circumstances in which individuals were living).

In general, Yi Yulgok closely guarded the rules and measures of Zhu Xi's teachings, and persisted that the structure of the Neo-Confucian doctrines had to be based on two concepts:

1. on the duality of the structural principle and creative vitality (*li qi erfen* 理氣二分) and
2. on the trinity of the heart-mind, nature and feelings (*xin xing qing sanfen* 心性情三分).

Yi Huang, on the other hand, acknowledged his loyalty to Zhu Xi's thought, but made through his own ire-interpretations some important modifications in his doctrines.

Different political fractions intertwined with the debates between these two schools of thought. At that time, two political factions were formed, namely the Western and the Eastern fraction. As for the connection of the political factions to schools of thought, the Eastern faction belonged to disciples of Yi Toegye and Jo Nammyeong (Yo Sik, 1501–1570) and the Western faction belonged to the system of Seong Ugye 成牛溪 and Yi Yulgok. In 1592, short before the Imjin War, the

Eastern faction again split into two further political factions: the Northern and the Southern faction. After the middle of 17<sup>th</sup> century the Northern faction's power declined, and the political struggle continued only between the Southern and the Western faction. As for the teaching system, the Western faction in general carried on Yi Yulgok's school of thought while the Southern faction, in general carried on Yi Hwang's philosophy. In the Western faction later appeared two additional groups named *Noron* and *Soron*. The central figure of *Noron* group was Song Siyeol (1607–1689). He viewed Ki Sagye (1548–1631) as his teacher, while Kim was Yi Yulgok's official disciple. Song Siyeol's official disciple was Gwon Suam (1641–1721), while Han Wonjin (1682–1751) was the official disciple of Gwon Suam. Therefore, Han Wonjin succeeded Yi Yulgok's school of thought which remained loyal to the rules and measures of Zhu Xi's teachings, and insisted that the structure of Doctrine of meaning and principle be based on the two aforementioned paradigms, namely on the “duality of the structural principle and vital creativity” (*li qi erfen* 理氣二分) and on the “trinity of heart, nature and emotions” (*xin xing qing sanfen* 心性情三分).

## The Relation between the Heart-Mind and the Structural Principle

In this regard, it is important to consider the fact that, according to Han Wonjin, Wang Yangming's supposition that the “innate knowledge was identical with the structure of nature” (*liangzhi ji tianli* 良知即天理) had to be equated with the Buddhist concept of the “true heart-mind” (*zhenxin* 真心). In this way, he tried to show that Wang Yangming's thought was, in its essence, thoroughly influenced by the Buddhist philosophy.

As Lee Ming-huei exposes, it is also important to understand the background of Han Wonjin's critique of the “extension of original knowledge” (*zhiliangzhi* 致良知). Through his analysis of Han Wonjin's commentaries from *The Collected Works of Wang Yangming*, it became obvious that Han Wonjin's critique of Wang Yangming's “extension of innate knowledge” is rooted in their different viewpoints on the origin of moral values. According to Wang Yangming, the origin of moral values is “innate knowledge” (*liangzhi* 良知), whereas Han Wonjin claims that the origin of moral values is “the object of knowledge” (*zhishi duixiang* 知識對象). Lee Ming-huei names the first perspective “moral subjectivism” (*daode zhuti zhuyi* 道德主體主義) and the second “moral realism”

(*daode shizailun* 道德實在論). At the same time he emphasizes, that in fact, Wang Yangming did not deny the importance of “the object of knowledge” as far as it consists moral coherency.

Regarding Han Wonjin’s critique of the supposition, according to which “the heart-mind is identical (or compatible) with the structural principle” (*xin ji li* 心即理), it also becomes obvious that Han Wonjin’s critique is overly simplified. Through a detailed analysis of Han Wonjin’s comments on *The Collected Works of Wang Yangming*, Lee comes to the conclusion that Han Wonjin reduced Wang Yangming’s paradigm “heart-mind is structural principle” solely to the concept of the “heart-mind”. Ultimately, this means that, according to Han, we do not need to search for structural principles in exploring external objects, but merely to abide to the heart-mind. Lee points out that Wang Yangming never claimed that the heart-mind was actually identical to the structural principle. What he meant by saying that “the heart-mind is (compatible with the) structural principle” should be understood from the metaphysical point of view, meaning that the heart-mind drafts the cosmic structural principle.

Since Han Wonjin inherited Zhu Xi’s way of thinking, which claims that the heart-mind (*xin* 心) belongs to the physical world, while the structural principle (*li* 理) belongs to the metaphysical world, and the connection between the two is of cognitive nature, therefore his way of thinking is incompatible with Wang Yangming’s. Ultimately, this has logically lead to a misinterpretation of Wang Yangming’ thought.

### **Han Wonjin’s Understanding of the “Unity of Knowledge and Action” and Some Other Critiques of Wang Yangming’s Philosophy**

This significant set of problems has been elaborated through Lee Ming-huei’s analyses of Han Wonjin’s commentaries on the relation between knowledge and action, which belongs to the crucial contributions of Wang Yangming’s philosophy to the Neo-Confucian discourses.

According to Lee, Han Wonjin made an interpretative mistake at the very beginning by exaggeratedly stressing the importance of food and journey analogy<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> As Lee also points out, Wang Yangming in this analogy unfortunately uses the diction of what happens before and after while obtaining the knowledge of the good or bad taste of the food or of the

which Wang Yangming applied to illustrate the concept of “unity of knowledge and action”. The analogy itself is not as important as the message it tries to convey, namely the unity of knowledge and action. But Han Wonjin misses the point and occupies himself with the formal order within the relation between knowledge and action and focuses far too extensively upon the (actually insignificant) question of what comes first, or what has to be treated primarily, knowledge or action. In his analysis, Lee Ming-huei namely shows that Wang Yanming merely used this analogy to refute Zhu Xi’s saying “first knowledge, then action” (*zhixian xinghou* 知先行後), which complies with common knowledge (*changshi* 常識). However, Wang Yangming’s understanding of the concept of knowledge cannot be understood as common knowledge, but rather as knowledge derived from human “innate knowledge”. In addition, according to Wang Yangming, action can not be understood in the narrow sense of acting or practising, but also contains the intention (*yi* 意).

Han Wonjin’s second commentary on Wang Yangming’s concept of “unity of knowledge and action” is based on Yi Hwang’s commentary on this concept. As Lee has previously discussed in his article by noting Yi Hwang and Wang Yangming, the former made a distinction between two levels of knowledge and action: first is the organic level of *gi* 氣 and the second the moral level of *yili* 義理, where he claims that the concept “unity of knowledge and action” can be only achieved on the organic level of *gi*, whereas on the moral level of *yili* the unity of knowledge and action cannot be established.

Here, Han Wonjin made two objections. First, he objected Yi Hwang that the concept of “unity of knowledge and action” can not be achieved neither on the organic, nor on the moral level. Furthermore, he opposes Yi Hwang’s distinction between the two levels of knowledge and action citing Mengzi 孟子, and claiming that on the moral level of *yili* it is also possible “to know yourself without studying and to be capable without making effort”. Lee Ming-huei shows that this presumption was based on insufficient understanding of Wang Yangming’s philosophy. He claims that Han Wonjin could come to understand and acknowledge the meaning of Wang’s “unity of knowledge and action” if he would have deepened and upgraded his studies on Mengzi.

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dangers of the journey, which to a non-expert of Wang Yanming’s thought gives the impression that first comes practice and second comes knowledge, instead of the unity of knowledge and practice.

In the conclusion of his essay, Lee points out some other, more random misinterpretations of Wang Yangming's work that become visible through analyzing Han Wonjin's commentaries. Most of them are also linked to Han's insistence on Zhu Xi's duality of the heart-mind and the structural principle. Thus, they mostly lead to a differentiation between the organic and the moral, or the physical and metaphysical level of onto-epistemological discourses. Besides, Han Wonjin also criticizes Wang Yangming's personal intentions and his "bad moral character" which can not serve as a matter of academic discussion. Hence, these kinds of direct ideological attacks on Wang Yangming's philosophy also illustrate how Korean Confucianism has always been intertwined with political struggle.

## Conclusion

In addition, Lee Ming-huei's analysis also clarifies an additional significant question concerning the Korean Confucianism. This question is linked to the reason for the fact that Korean Confucian scholars did not generally accept Wang Yangming's teaching, although many Chinese Modern Confucian scholars (e.g. Mou Zongsan 1975, 123) and Western sinologists (e.g. Bunnin 2002, 27) have pointed out that Wang's Confucianism can be regarded as a case of successful reinterpretations of Zhu Xi's Confucianism.

This question is quite interesting and important for most Chinese and Taiwanese scholars dealing with the relation between original Neo-Confucian philosophy on the one side, and its Korean modifications on the other. The question itself is, of course, quite complex and connected with several factors, including political struggles, differences in both languages and traditions, as well as with local historical developments of both geo-political areas.

In his essay, Lee Ming-huei added an important clarification to the scope of the respective debates. According to him, this is because throughout history of Korea Zhu Xi's teaching held the dominant and absolutely leading position. Two main figures that contributed to spreading of Zhu Xi's teachings and on the other hand the suppression of Wang Yangming's teaching in Korea were: a scholar of Zhu Xi's teaching from Ming dynasty, Luo Qinchun 羅欽順 (1465–1547), and the leading figure of Korean Confucianism, Yi Hwang (1501–1571). Luo Qinchun's work *Kunzhiji* (困知記) spread throughout Korea before Wang Yanming's works were introduced to the area. Since Luo Qinchun criticizes Wang Yanming's thought, this influenced other Korean Confucian scholars and led to their

prejudices towards Wang Yangming. In addition, Yi Hwang's critiques of Wang Yangming's thought and his moral character were equally influential in Korea. In this context, Lee clearly shows that Yi Hwang's critique of Wang Yanming's thought was based on severe misunderstandings of his work. He also shows that Yi was not familiar enough with all of Wang Yangming's works<sup>2</sup>; therefore, he failed to fully grasp Wang Yangming's thought.

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<sup>2</sup> Lee exposes that Yi Hwang only studied Volume One of Wang's *Chuanxilu* 傳習錄, without taking into consideration its second volume. Hence, most of his critiques were based on secondary sources, such as Zhu Xi's *Zhuzi wannian dinglun* 朱子晚年定論.

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*Asian Studies in Slovenia*

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# Fang Dongmeijeva filozofija ustvarjalnega kozmosa<sup>1</sup>

Jana S. ROŠKER

## Izvleček

Fang Dongmei (1899–1977) je eden osrednjih predstavnikov druge generacije modernega konfucijanstva, četudi se sam nikoli ni izrecno izrekel samo za konfucijanca, temveč je vselej poudarjal, da je po duši poleg tega tudi daoist in budist. Vsekakor je teoretski doprinos tega, na zahodu še vedno precej neznanega modernega filozofa k moderni kitajski filozofiji vreden podrobnejše obravnave. Pričujoči članek se osredotoča predvsem na analizo in interpretacijo ontoloških in epistemoloških vidikov njegove filozofije, pri čemer so v ospredju njegovi koncepti celostne harmonije, konfucijanskega moralnega sebstva, ustvarjalne ustvarjalnosti, enotnosti dejstev in vrednot, ter razuma in intuicije.

**Ključne besede:** Fang Dongmei, moderno konfucijanstvo, kitajska filozofija, ustvarjalnost, celostna harmonija

## Abstract

Fang Dongmei (1899–1977) is one of the main representatives of the second generation of Modern Confucianism, though he never explicitly claimed to be only a Confucian, but stressed being—in his soul—also a Daoist and Buddhist. The theoretical contribution of this philosopher (who is still rather neglected in the West) to the development of modern Chinese philosophy is doubtlessly worth detailed research. The present article mainly deals with the analysis and interpretation of the ontological and epistemological aspects of his philosophy. It focuses upon the introduction of the following concepts, central to his philosophy: comprehensive harmony, Confucian moral self, creative creativity, unity of facts and values, as well as reason and intuition.

**Keywords:** Fang Dongmei, Modern Confucianism, Chinese philosophy, creativity, comprehensive harmony

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<sup>1</sup> Avtorica se zahvaljuje tajvanski akademski fundaciji Chiang Ching-kuo za podporo v okviru raziskovalnega projekta *Taiwanese Modern Confucianists and their Contribution to Asian Modernization Theories*, katerega del je pričujoča študija.

## Ali je Fang Dongmei moderni konfucijanec?

Fang Dongmei (1899–1977) je večinoma predstavljen kot filozof druge generacije modernega konfucijanstva. Njegovo delo je v kontekstu moderne in sodobne konfucijanske filozofije vsekakor potrebno omeniti, četudi se on sam nikoli ni izrecno opredelil za pripadnika modernega konfucijanstva, saj je vseskozi poudarjal, da je po duši tako kot konfucijanec tudi daoist in budist (Bresciani 2001, 23). Zato nas ne preseneti dejstvo, da ta filozof ni bil zgolj učitelj osrednjih predstavnikov tretje generacije modernega konfucijanstva, temveč tudi učitelj enega najbolj znanih sodobnih raziskovalcev daoizma, Chen Guyinga (Chen 1998, 96).

Vendar velja pri tem vsekakor opozoriti na dejstvo, da izraz konfucianizem (*ru xue*) pogosto na splošno označuje tradicionalno kitajsko miselnost; četudi so se neo-konfucijanci dinastij Song in Ming (torej tisti filozofi, ki so ustvarili miselnost, katera tvori osnovo modernega konfucijanstva) od budizma, daoizma in sorodnih, bolj mističnih in manj racionalnih tradicij navzven vselej odločno distancirali (in jih pogosto definirali celo kot svoje idejne sovražnike), pa je eden največjih teoretskih premikov oziroma preobratov neo-konfucijanskih diskurzov prav v tem, da so pripadniki te struje uspeli v ogrodje klasičnega konfucijanstva integrirati vrsto pomembnih konceptov in metod iz budističnih in daoističnih filozofij<sup>2</sup>. Pravzaprav je bila prav ta integracija idej, ki so bile iz vidika klasične, ortodoksne konfucijanske doktrine videti »heretične«, nevarne in ne-pravilne (*fei zheng*), tista, ki je merodajno opredelila reformo takrat že zelo okostenele in formalizirane konfucijanske klasike. Prav budistični in daoistični impulzi so bili torej tisti, ki so v obdobju od 10. do 14. stoletja rešili konfucianizem pred propadom, in ki so iz klasične državotvorne doktrine (ponovno) naredili miselnost, ki si zasluži ime filozofija<sup>3</sup>. Poleg tega so se tudi mnogi drugi filozofi iz struje modernega

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<sup>2</sup> Na primer koncepta subjekta in objekta spoznanja (*neng-suo*), ki izvirata iz budistične epistemologije in katera so uporabljali tudi predstavniki najbolj racionalističnih filozofij znotraj Šole strukture (*li xue*). Celo Zhu Xi, osrednji predstavnik te šole, je v svojo filozofijo vključil vrsto daoističnih idej in postopkov (na primer idejo skrajnega pola ali *taijija*, koncept *wuweiya* ali nedelovanja ipd.), medtem ko so teorije predstavnikov idealistične struje neokonfucijanske filozofije (Šola srčne zavesti, *Xin xue*) tako rekoč temeljile na budističnih in daoističnih onto-epistemologijah.

<sup>3</sup> Težko je reči, do kakšne mere je pri tem šlo za zavestni proces, vendar je integracija (in s tem »razelektritev«) budizma in daoizma neokonfucijanskim filozofom zagotovo predstavljala izziv; formalizirana klasično konfucijanska doktrina je bila v 10. stoletju izpraznjena vsakršnih resničnih vsebin in izobraženci so jo morali obvladovati za to, da so uspešno opravljali državne izpite, ki so njim samim in njihovim klanom odpirali vrata do politične oblasti. Seveda takšna doktrina izobražencem ni mogla nuditi nikakršne duhovne in intelektualne zadovoljitve. V ta namen so se raje ukvarjali s študijem in raziskovanjem daoizma in budizma. To je bilo za konfucianizem in s tem

konfucijanstva v svojih poskusih sintetiziranja evro-ameriških in kitajskih miselnosti ter v postopkih aktualizacije kitajske filozofske tradicije precej izdatno ukvarjali z mnogimi tradicionalnimi diskurzi, ki ne sodijo v okvir konfucijanstva v ožjem pomenu besede<sup>4</sup>. In končno, tudi pri tem velja upoštevati razlike med izvornimi kitajskimi pojmi in njihovimi konotacijami, ki izvirajo iz prevodov teh pojmov v indoevropske jezike. Izraz »*ru xue*«, ki se v indoevropske jezike prevaja kot »konfucijanstvo« (vključno s pojmom »modernega konfucijanstva«) seveda avtomatsko vključuje konotacijo Konfucija (Kong fuzi, Kongzi) in izrecno napeljuje na misel, da gre pri tem za (bodisi izvorni, bodisi reformirani ali modernizirani) Konfucijev nauk. V bistvu pa izraz »*ru xue* (儒學)« v kitajščini pomeni »nauk izobražencev«, kar pomeni da v nominalnem smislu apriorno ne izključuje nobenih elementov, ki so merodajno oblikovali zgodovino kitajske miselnosti. To, kar imajo torej skupnega tako konfucijanska, kot tudi daoistična filozofija ter sinizirani budizem, je torej tisto, kar v resnici opredeljuje tradicionalno kitajsko filozofijo in njene »nauke izobražencev«<sup>5</sup>.

Četudi se torej Fang Dongmei sam nikoli ni izrecno uvrščal med filozofe Modernega konfucijanstva, temveč v prvi vrsti tudi kot naslednika tradicionalnih budističnih in daoističnih filozofij, ga lahko – kot trdi njegov pomemben interpret Li Chengyang, vsekakor štejemo kot predstavnika konfucijanske filozofije v širšem, bolj splošnem smislu:

Although he has been regarded as contemporary New-Confucian along with Mou Zongsan, Tang Junyi, and Liang Shuming, Fang's work stands beyond the Confucian tradition. Unlike Mou Zongsan, Fang did not regard Confucianism as the only legitimate philosophy and all others as heresies; he argued that Laozi's Daoism was the leading and most legitimate philosophical

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pravzaprav za celotni ideološki sistem, na katerem so slonele tradicionalne državne inštitucije, precej ogrožujoče. V tem smislu je bila neokonfucijanska reforma nujno potrebna za ohranitev konfucijanstva kot osrednje socialne, etične in filozofske miselnosti Kitajske.

<sup>4</sup> Moderni konfucijanci se sicer zelo redko opirajo na daoizem, kar je po svoje razumljivo, saj ta struja v bistvu ni nastala samo zato, da ohrani kulturno identiteto, temveč tudi z namenom aktualizacije in »rešitve« inštitucionalnega ustroja kitajske družbe; anarhistični klasiki daoizma pa za takšne državotvorne namene seveda niso preveč primerni. Vendar se je vrsta pomembnih modernokonfucijanskih filozofov izdatno ukvarjala s študijem in integracijo budistične miselnosti v svoje teorije. Naj v tem kontekstu omenimo samo dva najbolj znana moderna konfucijanca, namreč Xiong Shilija in Mou Zongsana.

<sup>5</sup> Pri specifičnih značilnostih tradicionalne kitajske filozofije, ki so torej značilne za vse struje antične in klasične kitajske miselnosti, moramo omeniti predvsem koncept transcendentne imanence (oziroma imanentne transcendence), binarno strukturirani holizem, ki deluje preko binarnih kategorij (npr. *yin-yang*, *you-wu*, *ti-yong*, *ming-shi*, itd), ter načelo komplementarnosti, ki predstavlja metodo interakcij med obema protipoloma znotraj le-teh.

school during ancient times. Fang saw Confucianism, Daoism, Mohism and Buddhism as mutually interacting and integrating components of a holistic cultural process, rather than as several distinct schools of thought<sup>6</sup>. (Li 2002, 269)

Vendar so bile osrednje vsebinske, konceptualne in metodološke predpostavke le-te, kot smo videli, v veliki meri integrirane v ogrodje neokonfucijanskih teorij, ki pa večinoma zopet predstavljajo idejno osnovo, iz katere je na prelomu 2. in 3. tisočletja vzniknilo moderno konfucijanstvo. Vendar prav v tem kontekstu naletimo v povezavi s Fang Dongmeijevo klasifikacijo še na nadaljnji problem, kajti prav hitro lahko ugotovimo, da se ta moderni filozof ni distanciral zgolj od modernih konfucijancev, temveč tudi od njihove idejne osnove, torej od neokonfucijancev dinastij Song in Ming. Njegova kritika neokonfucianizma je temeljila na stališču, da so ti filozofi (zlasti seveda pripadniki Zhu Xijeve Šole strukture, *Li xue* 理學) kljub svojim načelnim zaslugam za ohranjanje klasične konfucijanske tradicije ter njenega holističnega svetovnega nazora pretirano poudarjali pomen mehanistične racionalnosti, kakršen prihaja do izraza v strukturni logiki koncepta *li* (理) (struktura, strukturni vzorec). S tem naj bi deformirali holistično tradicijo filozofije, v kateri sta pola racionalnosti (*li* 理) in občutenja (*qing* 情) med seboj usklajena, kar pomeni, da se lahko ohranja harmonična enotnost dejstev, vrednot in sfere estetskega doživljanja. Zato – za razliko od večine ostalih filozofov modernega konfucijanstva – nanje ni gledal kot na pripadnike »resničnega« oziroma »pravilnega« konfucijanstva<sup>7</sup>.

Under Confucianism Fang includes Confucius, Mencius and Xunzi, while the Han Confucians he thinks were “lowly and unworthy of mention” and the Song Neo-Confucians were not authentic followers of Confucianism. (Bresciani 2001, 275)

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<sup>6</sup> Fang je na vprašanja o tem, s katero filozofsko strujo se identificira, odgovarjal, da je po svoji družinski tradiciji konfucianec, po značaju daoist, po verski inspiraciji budist in po izobrazbi zahodnjak (Li 2002, 264).

<sup>7</sup> Tudi mnogi drugi teoretiki so dejansko mnenja, da so neokonfucijanski filozofi z Zhu Xijem na čelu predstavljali preobrat v kitajski tradiciji, ki se je izrazil skozi zometke dualizma kartezijskega tipa (gl. npr. Forke 1934, 173). Tudi Feng Yaoming govori o novi paradigmi, ki naj bi jo vzpostavili neokonfucijanci v primerjavi s klasičnimi teoretiki te struje; v svojem članku »Zhongguo ru xuede dianfan zhuanyi (Paradigmatski preobrat v kitajskem konfucijanstvu)« Feng dokazuje, da se je referenčni okvir, v katerem so teoretizirali neokonfucijanski filozofi, v tolikšni meri razlikoval od referenčnih okvirov klasičnega konfucijanstva, da pri njih ne moremo več govoriti niti zgolj o teoretskem, temveč o paradigmatem preobratu, kar pomeni, da je šlo pri neokonfucijanski filozofiji za popolnoma druge in nove teorije konfucijanstva, ki po svojem bistvu s starejšimi niso več primerljive.

Po drugi strani pa sodi Fang med pomembne in vplivne teoretike in filozofe, katerih delo predstavlja precejšen doprinos na področju teoretske refleksije procesov kitajske modernizacije in poskusov ustvarjalnega razreševanja izzivov zahodne filozofije, s katerimi je bil v obdobju realizacije teh procesov soočen tako on sam, kot tudi njegova domovina. Kljub vsemu je bil Fang Dongmei tudi eden tistih novodobnih kitajskih filozofov, ki so odgovore na najbolj pereča idejna vprašanja svoje dobe iskali v revitalizaciji lastne tradicije, pri čemer sicer – za razliko od večine modernih konfucijancev – ni izhajal iz elaboracij neokonfucijanskih diskurzov, temveč predvsem neposredno iz zapuščine klasičnega konfucijanstva, oplemenitenega z estetskimi in metafizičnimi idejami klasičnega daoizma in siniziranega budizma. Pri tem moram vsekakor poudariti, da izhajam iz širšega razumevanja izvirnega kitajskega izraza *ru xue* (konfucijanstvo, dobesedno: nauk izobražencev), ki zame ne pomeni zgolj Konfucijevega nauka, ampak pridobiva v svoji konotaciji kulturno dominantnega diskurza kitajske (in širše vzhodnoazijske) tradicije tudi pomen široke palete prevladujočih filozofskih teorij, ki so v krogotoku tisočletij skupaj oblikovale kitajsko idejno zgodovino. Poleg tega je Fang tudi daoistično filozofijo, v kateri je vsekakor najti tudi precej kritičnih, individualističnih in svobodnjaških elementov, vselej interpretiral v okviru svoje neo-konservativne ideologije, ki predstavlja eno bistvenih, tako rekoč paradigmatičnih značilnosti modernega konfucijanstva.

Iz vseh teh razlogov menim, da lahko Fang Dongmeija prištevamo k struji modernega konfucijanstva, saj je tej idejni struji s svojimi doprinosi zapustil tudi neizbrisen pečat.

Poleg tega pa Fanga nekateri teoretiki raje umeščajo v prvo generacijo tega idejnega gibanja, saj je starejši od He Lina in je med drugim poučeval tudi Tang Junyija (Liu 2001, ii), medtem ko ga drugi (npr. Bresciani 2001) raje prištevajo k drugi. Ker je bil Fang Dongmei hkrati tudi sam učitelj dveh najvplivnejših še živečih predstavnikov tretje generacije<sup>8</sup>, in predvsem zato, ker je merodajno sooblikoval trende sodobne tajvanske filozofije, ki predstavlja enega osrednjih predmetov pričujoče raziskave, ga bom v kontekstu pričujoče razprave – ne glede na njegov pionirski doprinos k modernim vzhodnoazijskim filozofijam – tudi sama uvrstila v Brescianijevo kategorizacijo in ga štela med pripadnike 2. generacije modernega konfucijanstva.

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<sup>8</sup> Cheng Zhongyinga in Liu Shuxiana

## Življenje in delo

Kategorizacija tega filozofa kot modernega konfucijanca je nekoliko problematična tudi zato, ker se tudi sam večinoma ni prišteval k tej struji. Podrobnejšo razlago o tem, zakaj ga sama uvrščam med filozofe tega gibanja, in tudi o tem, zakaj ga uvrščam v drugo, in ne v prvo generacijo (kamor bi po svojih letih, poziciji in doprinosu prav tako lahko sodil), sem navedla v svoji knjigi o modernem konfucijanstvu, *Subjektova nova oblačila* (2013).

To, kar ga loči od ostalih predstavnikov druge generacije, je namreč tudi dejstvo, da so bili vsi študentje Xiong Shilija, katerega mnogi označujejo kot največjega pionirja moderne konfucijanske prenove (prim. Yu 2001, 127). Kljub svoji vseskozi izraženi pripadnosti svojemu profesorju in velikemu pionirju modernega konfucijanstva pa se njihova dela od Xiongovih precej razlikujejo; četudi so svojemu učitelju ostali zvesti glede njegove osnovne usmeritve in temeljne metodologije, katero so od njega prejeli, pa so vsi trije Xionгови študentje, njegov nauk vendarle bistveno modificirali in nadgradili – seveda vsak na svoj specifični način (Feng 1993, 227). Četudi Fang Dongmei nikoli ni bil neposredni učenec Xiong Shilija, pa lahko pri obeh teoretikih naletimo na kar nekaj podobnosti: tako sta, denimo, oba poudarjala pomen tradicionalne kitajske binarne kategorije substance (*ti* 體) in funkcije (*yong* 用) za opredelitev razmerja med sferama *noumena* in pojavnosti in oba sta se izdatno ukvarjala s poskusi razjasnitve razmerja med filozofijo in znanostjo.

Nasploh lahko trdimo, da si je Fang v največji meri prizadeval za revitalizacijo svoje kulturne identitete v smislu »presaditve starih korenin<sup>9</sup>« lastne tradicije, kajti v primerjavi z izzivi zahodnih kultur je samo v tem še videl možnost preživetja kulturne tradicije, iz katere je izhajal. Ta prenova »korenin« pa naj ne bi služila zgolj preživetju, temveč bi naj, v kolikor bi bila izpeljana dovolj vestno in natančno, zagotovila tudi aktivno in inovativno vlogo modernega konfucijanstva oziroma posodobljene kitajske miselnosti v mednarodnem dialogu modernih družb (Feng 1993, 227).

Fang, ki je v angleškem jeziku znan tudi pod imenom Thomé H. Fang, je bil rojen v družini znanih izobražencev osrednje kitajske province Anhui. Zato je bilo samoumevno, da se je od mladih nog podrobno seznanjal s kitajskimi klasiki. Po končani srednji šoli se je vpisal na Univerzo Jinling v Nanjingu, kjer je bil zelo

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<sup>9</sup> “重整舊學的根基” (Feng 1993, 227).

aktiven v študentskem gibanju. Leta 1919 se je v Nanjingu udeležil tudi študentskih demonstracij, ki so bile organizirane v sklopu četrtomajske kulturne preнове. V letu 1920 je na isti univerzi spoznal ameriškega filozofa Deweya<sup>10</sup>, ki je v sklopu serije gostujočih predavanj na Kitajskem nastopil tudi v Nanjingu. Ta je v njem vzbudil veliko zanimanje za zahodno filozofijo, tako da je po diplomii odšel v ZDA, kjer je na Univerzi Wisconsin v enem letu magistriral, v naslednjih dveh letih pa dosegel doktorat na Državni univerzi v Ohio.

Po vrnitvi na Kitajsko je poučeval filozofijo na več univerzah, med drugim na Univerzi Wuchang (Wuchang daxue 武昌大學), na Jugovzhodni Univerzi v Nanjingu (Nanjing Dongnan daxue 南京東南大學) na Politični univerzi (Zhengzhi daxue 政治大學) in nekaj časa tudi na Pekinški univerzi (Beijing daxue 北京大學). V času, ko je poučeval v Nanjingu, so morali univerzo zaradi japonske invazije preseliti v Chongqing v jugozahodni provinci Sečuan (Bresciani 2001, 272). Zaradi težavnosti vojnih razmer in iz želje po tem, da bi v teh kriznih, negotovih časih našel vsaj varno notranje domovanje v tradicionalni kitajski kulturi, se je v tem obdobju pričel ponovno ukvarjati s klasično kitajsko filozofijo (Bresciani 2001, 272). Že v letu 1948 se je odselil na Tajvan, saj so ga tega leta povabili v službo na Državni Tajvanski univerzi (Guoli Taiwan daxue 國立台灣大學), na kateri je vse do svoje upokojitve predaval filozofijo.

Večina njegovih najpomembnejših filozofskih razprav v kitajščini je objavljena v 12 zvezkih z naslovom *Zbrana dela Fang Dongmeija* (*Fang Dongmei quan ji*), ki so izšli leta 2004. Med najpomembnejša med njimi štejejo *Znanost, filozofija in človeško življenje* (*Kexue, zhaxue yu rensheng*, 1936), *Pregled filozofije življenja antičnih kitajskih filozofov* (*Zhongguo xian zhe rensheng zhaxue gaiyao*, 1937), *Tri vrste filozofske modrosti* (*Zhexue san hui*) in *Ideal življenja in kulturni tipi* (*Shenghuo lixiang yu wenhua leixing*). Pod imenom Thomé H. Fang je napisal tudi vrsto knjig v angleščini, denimo *The Chinese View of Life: the Philosophy of Comprehensive Harmony, Creativity in Man and Nature, Chinese Philosophy: Its Spirit and its Development*, itd.

Fang je v svojem teoretskem delu združeval obsežna znanja s področij antične, srednjeveške in sodobne zahodne filozofije na eni, in širokega spektra tradicionalne, zlasti konfucijanske, daoistične in budistične kitajske filozofije na

<sup>10</sup> Pragmatična filozofija John Deweya (1859–1952) je imela v tistem času izjemno velik vpliv na mlade kitajske izobražence. Med drugim sta pri njem na kolumbijski univerzi doktorirala tudi Hu Shi (1891–1962) in Feng Youlan (1895–1990).



drugi strani. Poleg tega je v njegovih delih opazen tudi vpliv indijske filozofije. Od modernih zahodnih filozofov ga je najbolj navduševal Nietzsche, ki naj bi po mnenju nekaterih interpretov tudi močno vplival na Fangov lastni teoretski razvoj (Bunnin 1996, 224). V vrsti svojih del se je primerjave z indijsko in evropsko filozofijo posluževal zato, ker je preko takšnih primerjav lažje definiral posebnosti tradicionalne kitajske filozofije<sup>11</sup>. Ena takšnih je zanj tudi temeljno izhodišče kitajske klasike, ki naj bi videla in razlagala svet ter bivanje izhajajoč iz epistemoloških temeljev, ki v prvi vrsti niso bili osnovani na matematičnih in proto-znanstvenih, temveč prej na estetskih paradigmah (Fang 1957, 195–235). Kljub temu je njegovo videnje ontologije tesno povezano z racionalno strukturo kozmosa, kakršna izhaja iz temeljnega starokitajskega klasika *Knjiga premen* (*Yi jing* 易經). Tudi Fang je namreč opisal proces kozmične premene (nenehne ustvarjalne ustvarjalnosti bivanja) kot izraz racionalnosti, ki temelji na in hkrati zaobjema do potankosti razčlenjeni sistem »logike stvarstva« (Fang 1981, 83–118).

### Koncepta ustvarjalne ustvarjalnosti ter celostne harmonije

V središču Fangove filozofije je koncept življenja oziroma živega, živečega (*sheng*). Po Fangovem mnenju so vse struje tradicionalne kitajske miselnosti izhajale iz kozmologije, ki jo opredeljuje vse-prevevajoči gon po življenju, po preživetju, vitalni impulz, ki nenehno ustvarja in poustvarja vse, kar obstaja (Fang 1957, 73). Koncept *shengsheng*, ki se pogosto pojavlja v kozmologiji *Knjige premen*, interpretira kot koncept ustvarjalne ustvarjalnosti, ki naj bi simbolizirala tovrstno vitalnost življenja.

The universe is a living entity that cannot be reduced to mere inertial physical stuff. This living universe is full of energy, and everything in it is somehow connected to the living process that penetrates the entire realm. This view may be called a life-ontology.” For Fang, it is more than a “Gaia hypothesis”; it is reality. In his regard, the influence on Fang of Western philosophers such as Hegel, Bergson, and Whitehead is evident. (Li 2002, 265)

Drugi osrednji koncept Fangove filozofije je ideja celostne harmonije, ki naj bi bila značilna za tradicionalno kitajsko dojetje sveta. V njem vesoljstvo kot tako vselej teži k ravnovesju in usklajenosti vseh posamičnih delcev in entitet svojega

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<sup>11</sup> V svoji knjigi *Tri vrste filozofske modrosti* (*Zhexue san hui*) je izhajal iz kontrastivne primerjave med starogrško, moderno evropsko in tradicionalno kitajsko filozofijo.

sistema. Le-ta je v materialnem pogledu prazen<sup>12</sup> in se izraža zgolj skozi bogastvo in pronicljivost svojega duha.

In Fang's reading of the history of Chinese philosophy, he saw more the harmonious interplay of various schools of thought than conflict. It may be argued that Fang was too idealistic and romantic in his reading of the harmonious interplay of these philosophies, but for him, if harmony was not a reality, it was at least the ideal for the Chinese. (Li 2002, 266)

Ta vera v harmonijo in v usklajeno delovanje sveta se seveda odraža tudi v njegovem pojmovanju morale oziroma moralne filozofije. Ker je kozmična tendenca k vzpostavljanju in ohranjanju ravnovesja skozi koncept *shengsheng* (ustvarjalne ustvarjalnosti) vseobsežna in neomejena, nima zgolj ontoloških, temveč hkrati tudi epistemološke razsežnosti. To pomeni, da v Fangovi filozofiji ni prostora za ločevanje med dejstvi in vrednotami. Kozmos je oplemeniten z dobroto, ki ne izhaja zgolj iz pragmatičnih postulatov skupnega medčloveškega bivanja, temveč je apriorni del njegove esencialne strukture, ki se odraža tudi v sferi čiste estetike (Li 2002, 19). Zanj je moralnost esenca življenja in hkrati konkretno utelešenje najglobljih človeških vrednot.

Vsako človeško bitje zato samo po sebi ne teži zgolj po preživetju, temveč v enaki meri po osmišljanju svojega bivanja. Ta estetska plat kulture in umetnosti je izraz človeške ustvarjalnosti, ki je vselej usmerjena k izpopolnjevanju pomanjkljivosti sveta, v katerega smo vrženi; *dao* pri tem predstavlja pot, ki vodi k popolnosti in hkrati pot, na kateri se dejstva in vrednote združujejo v organsko strukturirani harmoniji.

Therefore, in Fang's view, truth, goodness, and beauty are a unity; *qing* (the emotive) and *li* (the rational) are connected. Indeed, Fang's moral philosophy is established on his "life-ontology"... This philosophy is also called "value-centered-ontology".

His "life-ontology" and "value-centered-ontology" are directly connected because, for him, life is value and both life and value are rooted in the *dao*. The *dao*, as the all-encompassing and all-pervading unity, is the ultimate source of life, value, and harmony. (Li 2002, 268)

<sup>12</sup> Praznina, ki je v tukaj uporabljenem smislu odstopnost substance, je koncept, ki je znan predvsem iz budizma in daoističnih klasikov; a četudi se je klasični konfucianizem v glavnem osredotočal na pragmatiko tukaj-in-zdajšnjega trenutka, na politično filozofijo in na pragmatično etiko, pa je koncept praznine v tem kontekstu že kmalu po koncu dinastije Han – predvsem preko vpliva zgodnjega budizma – prodril tudi v konfucijanske diskurze. Kasneje je predstavljal enega osrednjih konceptov idealistične struje neo-konfucijanstva.

V svojem prej omenjenem delu *Zhexue san hui*, 哲學三慧 (*Tri vrste filozofske modrosti*) je filozofijo definiral kot sintezo med racionalno strukturo mišljenja (*li*) in čustvi (*qing*), 理 – 情. Po *Knjigi premen* naj bi oboje izhajalo iz skrajnega pola (*tai ji* 太極), ki je onto-epistemološki, neopisljivi in neizrekljivi prazvor vsakršnega bivanja. Zato *qing* in *li* nista zgolj osnova vsakršnega filozofiranja, temveč tudi temelj bivanja kot takega. Feng oba elementa vidi kot binarno kategorijo, saj je njun vzajemni odnos korelativen in komplementaren. Njuna vzajemna interakcija je proces, ki preveva tako dejstva, kot tudi možnosti, in iz katerega filozofija črpa svoj izvor, svoje resnice in svojo skrivnostnost (Li 2002, 264).

### Apriorna dobrota človeka ter enotnost dejstev in vrednot

V svojih interpretacijah tradicionalne kitajske filozofije je izhajal iz holističnega vidika, po katerem tvori človek enoto s prostorom in časom. V ospredju njegovih interpretacij je tudi tradicionalna enotnost vrednot, ki skozi nenehno ustvarjanje vključuje tako delovanja narave oziroma neba (*tian* 天), kot tudi človeka. Skozi to enotnost vrednot je Fang poskušal vzpostaviti tudi sistem enote ontologije in antropologije (Bresciani 2001). Kljub svojemu deklarativno širokemu izhodišču, ki je vključeval večino vplivnih diskurzov starokitajske in klasične kitajske filozofije, je prav v tej osrednji točki dokazal, da kljub vsemu izhaja iz klasičnega mencijanskega stališča o štirih prirojenih zametkih (*si duan* 四端) človeške dobrote, s čimer je kljub svoji (prav tako jasno izraženi) distanci do neokonfucianizma dinastij Song in Ming dokazal, da sledi točno tisti tradiciji, ki je oblikovala temelje te predmoderne konfucijanske preнове<sup>13</sup>.

The universe is a place to live in, and not a place to escape from, because it is a realm of value. Similarly, human nature is something to rely upon, and not something to dispense with, because it has been proved to be not sinful but innocent. (Fang 1980b, 99)

Vendar se od te linije razmeji s tem, da vselej znova poudarja, da je prirojena dobrota človeka ena skupnih značilnost vseh tradicionalnih kitajskih filozofov (Fang 1980b, 87–115) in poskuša prepričati bralce, da je bil celo Xunzi, ki se je

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<sup>13</sup> Pri tem gre za tradicijo linije Konfucija in Mencija (Kong-Meng), torej za tradicijo, ki je kot resničnega naslednika izvirnega konfucijanstva kanonizirala Mencija (za razliko od prve preнове tega nauka v sklopu Dong Zhongshujevih reform za časadinastije Han, v katerih je to mesto zavzel Xunzi).

ravno glede tega vprašanja v zgodovino zapisal kot osrednji Mencijev nasprotnik, v bistvu istega mnenja, samo da je pri tem zamenjal vloži narave in čustev:

We can find no valid reasons for the theory of evil nature. Even Hsüntze<sup>14</sup> held the belief that “human nature is a natural achievement” or “human nature attains itself after the pattern of constant nature...” The reason why Hsüntze considered human nature to be evil is that he confused it with emotion which, logically speaking, is of a lower type than original nature. The evilness of human nature is here inferred, a posteriori, from the evilness of emotion. Here Hsüntze commits a fallacy of the confusion of logical types. (Fang 1980b, 109)

V svojem primerjalnem vidiku in v prizadevanju za harmonično sintezo njegovega lastnega dela, se je Fang precej ukvarjal tudi s skupnimi točkami vseh treh osrednjih struj klasične kitajske filozofije. Ugotovil je, da jih povezuje koncept *dao*, ki ga sicer vsaka od njih obravnava iz nekoliko drugačnega vidika in na nekoliko drugačen način, in vendar gre pri vseh teh vidikih za opisovanje koncepta holistične uravnovešenosti in težnje k popolnosti. Ker je *dao* možen samo v kontekstih holističnega nazora, lahko odraža tako metodo imanentne transcendence, kot tudi enotnost dejstev in vrednot, absolutnosti in relativnosti.

### **Znanost in demokracija, zahodni subjekt in konfucijansko sebstvo**

Fang Dongmei je zagovarjal načelo strpnosti, ki je zanj pomembna predpostavka demokratične družbe; v tem kontekstu je kritiziral tudi Mencija, ker naj bi ta preostro napadal moistično šolo, ki je kitajski idejni tradiciji nudila mnogo dragocenih doprinosov, med katere sodijo tudi njeni zametki znanosti (Fang 1992, 437). Princip ustvarjalne ustvarjalnosti, ki je v ospredju Fangovih teorij (Fang 1980a, 36), predstavlja zanj tudi jedro možnega razvoja znanosti in demokracije:

Furthermore, man’s mission of cultural creations in different realms of art, literature, science, religion, and social institutions is being carried on so as to bring any imperfections that there may be in Nature and Man into ideal perfection (Fang 1980b, 11).

Tako kot ostali predstavniki modernega konfucijanstva, tudi Fang priznava, da kitajska idejna tradicija ni izpostavila dovolj osnov za razvoj znanosti, kateri načelno ne nasprotuje: »Science has not gained its predominant position in Chinese culture as it should have done« (Fang 1980b, 19).

<sup>14</sup> T.j. Xunzi, Fang je v svojih angleških delih uporabljal transkripcijo Wade-Giles.

To dejstvo opravičuje v luči holistične narave kitajske idejne tradicije:

The reason for it is not far to seek. The Chinese can easily realize its importance as a form of knowledge. But in the West, several meanings have been attached to it. The Greeks took it to be a rational explanation of the inherent order of things in the universe to which human beings are harmoniously related. We have science in China, if science means just this.... But even here there is a difficulty. The Greek thinkers conceived things under the form of the specious present as eternity. The passage of Nature was explained only quantitatively as a mechanical process of combination and separation. We Chinese have seen things differently. Nature is permeated with life. Nature is charged with value. Any process of change in Nature must be qualitative and gives rise to novelties; Nature and Man are congenial with each other. In the achievement of culture, nature is a help, not an encumbrance (Fang 1980b, 19).

Tako konec koncev pride do zaključka, da znanost v trenutno obstoječih oblikah ne predstavlja nečesa, za kar bi si bilo potrebno posebej prizadevati. Ker namreč ta tip znanosti, ki korenini v tradiciji kartezijskih dualizmov, človeka obravnava zgolj kot mehanističen element družbe, ki je ločena od narave, je narava (prevladujočega zahodnega tipa) znanosti zanj v bistvu dogmatična in kot taka torej ne more predstavljati predpogoja resnične demokracije, temveč kvečjemu oviro na poti k njej:

Modern Europeans have thought of science as a systematic study of Nature, organic as well as inorganic, apart from man... The very distinction between primary and secondary qualities tends to rule man out of *real* Nature. Science seeks pure objectivity and Man, as explained by modern psychology and epistemology up to the middle of the nineteenth century, is essentially subjectivity. In this realm of pure objectivity, science tries by all means to analyze what is abstract, to grasp what is mainly quantitative, and to ascertain what is exact, with a view of reducing all things it investigates into formulas of identity. And it is scarcely possible to treat man in such a way (Fang 1980b, 19).

Za Fang Dongmeija torej kitajska tradicija ni vsebovala zgolj zametkov, ki bi lahko privedli do kakršnega koli modernega demokratičnega sistema, temveč predpostavke, ki naj bi omogočali razvoj človeške družbe k resnični demokraciji, katera je (vsled svojega upoštevanja človekove organske povezanosti z naravo) veliko bolj razumna in utemeljena, kot vse obstoječe demokracije zahodnega tipa. To Fangovo stališče je povezano z njegovim splošnim prepričanjem o tem, da lahko kitajska filozofija svetu nudi izhod iz idejne krize, v kateri so se zaradi svoje

dualistične, racionalistične in scientistične naravnosti znašle (trenutno dominantne) zahodne filozofije in empirične znanosti.

To se je odrazilo tudi v njegovem razumevanju individualizma. Fang Dongmei v svojih idealiziranih interpretacijah kitajske kulture izhaja iz holističnega nazora, v katerem je *noumenon* enak *phenomenon*, v katerem oba v enaki meri preveva sfera vrednot, in v katerem zato ni prostora za kakršne koli delitve znotraj sebstva. Fang ne priznava koncepta subjekta in zato ne vidi ločnice med njegovimi transcendentnimi in empiričnimi dejavniki, ampak ostaja zvest svojemu metafizičnemu pragmatizmu:

The universe is a place to live in, and not a place to escape from, because it is a realm of value. Similarly, human nature is something to rely upon, and not something to dispense with, because it has been proved to be not sinful but innocent. The entire universe is, as we have said, a coalescence of matter and spirit, namely, a transformed realm wherein matter and spirit tend to take a higher form of perfection which may be called exalted life. Universal life permeates the universe, penetrating itself into everything. As it goes on in continuous creation, it increases the values of that which is already valuable to that which is quite indifferent. Our aim of life consists in the realization of supreme Good which, however, is not to be attached merely to the other world. So from the very beginning we have to learn what is most precious in life through the very living of it in this actual world (Fang 1957, 60–61).

Vendar je lahko pojem individuuma neločljivo povezan tudi s pojmom enkratnosti in neponovljivosti, ki ne vsebujeta nikakršnih konotacij članstva v kakršnem koli razredu, niti pripadnosti kateri koli vrsti. Enakost se tukaj vzpostavlja na osnovi principa paritete. Prav ta pomen »enkratne individualnosti« je tisti, ki nam lahko pomaga dojeti tradicionalni konfucijanski koncept sebstva. Tudi moderni konfucijanci poudarjajo, da je enkratnost, katera tvori njegovo osnovo, že sama po sebi vrednota:

Dao je vse-prevevajoč in v sebi združuje vse v enoto. Zato pravimo, da je véliki dao brezmejen. A znotraj njega so tudi posamičnosti, ki so specifične. Enkratnost teh posamičnih enot moramo sprejeti kot resnično. Vsaka posamičnost, ki se udejani, nosi v sebi tendenco vrednosti. Zato njenega pomena nikakor ne moremo zanikati<sup>15</sup>. (Fang 2004, 259)

<sup>15</sup>道通為一，是謂大道無線，其中各體化之有限分殊觀點，就其獨特性而論，必須接受之，視為真實。蓋任何個體實現，皆各表價值方向，故於其重要性不容否認。

To je sestvo, katerega enkratna individualnost se konstituira skozi kakovost njegovih raznovrstnih odnosov z zunanjim svetom.

A person becomes recognized, distinguished, or renowned by virtue of communal deference to the quality of one's character. Much of the effort in understanding the traditional Confucian conception of self has to do with clarifying this distinction... While the definition of self as irreducibly social certainly precludes autonomous individuality<sup>16</sup>, it does not rule out the second, less familiar notion of uniqueness expressed in terms of my roles and my relationships (Fang 2004, 259).

Kadar torej raziskujemo stališča modernih konfucijancev glede razmerja med transcendentnim in empiričnim sestvom, ne smemo pozabiti, da je to razmerje (za razliko od dualističnega modela) v kitajski tradiciji, iz katere izhajajo, vselej apriorno umeščeno v tovrstni kontekst različnih struktur socialnega omrežja, ki je opredeljevalo identiteto posameznika.

Za Fang Dongmeija je ideja subjekta nekaj, kar človeka v bistvu oddaljuje od njegove človeškosti; to idejo vidi kot tesno povezano z razvojem moderne evropske znanosti v smislu sistematičnega raziskovanja (organske in anorganske) »narave« kot nečesa, kar je popolnoma ločeno od človeka.

From the very beginning there has been the tendency to emphasize deanthropomorphism. The very distinction between primary and secondary qualities tend to rule man out of real nature. Science seeks after pure objectivity and man, as explained by modern psychology and epistemology up to the middle of the nineteenth century, is essentially subjectivity (Fang 1957, 31)

Subjektivnost je torej videna kot nekaj, kar je v diametralnem nasprotju in protislovju s čisto objektivnostjo, znotraj katere naj bi znanost poskušala analizirati abstraktnost, evidentirati bivajoče v skladu s kvantitativnimi kriteriji in raznovrstnost pojavnosti reducirati na formule različnih identitet (Fang 1957, 32). Po svojem bistvu je zanj ta metoda enaka zanikanju človeka kot naravnega bitja, umeščene v vzajemno prepletene organske strukture, ki sestavljajo vesoljstvo, čas in prostor.

In kar se tiče neskončnega števila človeških individualnih posebnosti, si vse te prirojene različnosti prizadevajo za to, da bi našle pot do harmonične

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<sup>16</sup> Gl. prejšnjo opombo. Za razliko od Halla in Amesa bi tukaj namesto dihotomije »avtonomnega« vs. »enkratnega individuuma predlagala razlikovanje med »izoliranim« in »relacijskim« posameznikom.

združitve v celoto neskončnega bogastva mnogoterosti znotraj vélikega *daota*, zakaj ko so znotraj njega, se ne morejo izgubiti v neskončnem prostoru praznine, niti v banalni samoti oddvojenosti, ne v nekakšni navidezni enakopravnosti<sup>17</sup> (Fang 2004, 261).

Fang ne govori o subjektu, temveč kvečjemu o »subjektnem duhu« (*zhuti jingshen* 主體精神) (prim. Fang in Li 1985, 892), ki predstavlja neločljivi del ontologizacije »življenja«. V njegovi filozofiji se »objektivni svet« (*keguan shijie* 客觀世界) nujno združuje s »subjektnim duhom človeštva« (*zhutide renlei jingshen*) in to, kar oboje povezuje, je »nenehna organska ustvarjalnost jasnega duha<sup>18</sup>« (*shengming shenshenbuxide chuanzaoli*) (Fang in Li 1995, III/904).

Po Fangovem mnenju se subjektni duh v tej sferi življenja najprej – preko objektivizacije – transformira v objektni duh, nato pa se ta ontologizira v transcendentnega duha<sup>19</sup> (Fang in Li 1995, III/892–93). Po Fangovem mnenju je samo-uresničevanje posameznika edina metoda, ki mu omogoča ohranitev njegove organske povezanosti z vsem, kar obstaja in njegovo vključitev v zgoraj omenjeni proces nenehne organske ustvarjalnosti, ki je osnova življenja:

Thus, between the two paths of self-abnegation and self-approbation, the Chinese traditions emphasize a third way, that is, self-development and self-realization (Fang 1981, 23–28).

Ta proces samo-razvoja in samo-uresničitve je seveda tesno povezan z notranjo duhovno kultivacijo posameznika.

We think of the human individual in terms of observed actualities and idealized possibilities. From actuality to possibility, there is an elaborate process of self-development, an arduous task of self-(cultivation) as well as a full range of self-realization. (Fang 1981, 27)

Zavest poenotenja posameznika z vsem bivajočim, ki je rezultat tega procesa samo-uresničitve, pa ni metafizična v smislu abstraktne oddvojitve od praktične dejanskosti. Konkretno vrednote človeškega življenja ne sodijo v sfero idealizirane domišljije, ne v domeno transcendentnega nebeškega raja. V tem primeru namreč

<sup>17</sup>乃在於為人類萬般個性之，天生差別某致其調和之道，而合之亦大道之無顯豐富性，並非化除於漫無的準，意義貧泛之單一性，或表面上的評等性也。

<sup>18</sup>顯然，上述的「哲學建築」企求的是「客觀世界」與「主體的人類精神」貫通，而作為兩者貫通的連續點或曰相關點即「生命生生不息的創造力」。

<sup>19</sup>方東美走完了將「生命」本體化的思想歷程：先將「生命」由主體精神對象化為客體精神，然後將客體精神本體化為超越精神。



ne bi imele nikakršne realne vrednosti, saj jih človek v dejanskem svetu ne bi mogel uresničiti. Po drugi strani pa tudi ne morejo ostati zaklenjene v narcisoidno notranjost posameznika, kajti v tem primeru gre za subjektivni egocentrizem, ki ni v nikakršno korist človeški skupnosti. Edina realna sfera, v kateri lahko človek uresniči in izpopolni te vrednote ter preseže ozko omejenost osebnih interesov, je država, katera Fangu predstavlja edino možno obliko razširjene eksistence, ki zagotavlja največjo možno srečo za največje možno število ljudi.

To obtain this objective in view, inasmuch as we are actual beings in this actual world chained to its limitations and imperfections, we have to overcome many difficulties that stand in our way through effort, courage, perseverance, and sagacity; to set ourselves free from self-bondage, for one thing, and from social constraint and enslavement, for another; and, in short, to transcend any imperfection that weighs us down either from within or from without. When all this has been done, we can escape above from the fatality below and behold the light of day in perfect freedom and happiness (Li 2002, 278).

## Razum in intuicija

Za Fang Dongmeija je bil razum osnovan v racionalni strukturi (*li*) vesoljstva, ki pa je hkrati s to racionalnostjo opredeljena tudi z delovanjem občutenja (*qing*). Fang je izhajal iz predpostavke, po kateri gre pri obeh elementih za korelativno in komplementarno binarno kategorijo, katera izvira iz skrajnega pola (*taiji*) in tvori (znotraj onto-epistemološke celovitosti, ki je značilna za klasično kitajsko idejno tradicijo) tako osnovo filozofskega mišljenja, kot tudi temelj bivanja kot takega (Li 2002, 264). Medtem ko je »*li*« absolutni in najvišji izraz objektivnih pojavnosti, je »*qing*« zanj fundamentalna lastnost subjektivnosti. In ker Fang Dongmeijev koncept »življenja« v sebi združuje oba pojma, je popolnoma jasno, da nosi v sebi tudi pomen preseganja ločnice med subjektom in objektom<sup>20</sup> (Fang in Li 1985, III/894). V svojem delu *Tri vrste filozofske modrosti* (*Zhexue san hui*) združi pojma »*li*« in »*qing*« tudi v enoten epistemološki koncept »občutenega razuma (*qingli* 情理)«, ki predstavlja v svoji združitvi občutja in racionalnosti fundamentalno in najprvobitnejšo srž oziroma osnovo spoznanja in predstavlja »seme modrosti« (*zhahui chongzi* 智慧種子) (Fang in Li 1985, III/894).

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<sup>20</sup> 因為 »理« 屬於客體世界的終極意象, »情« 屬於主體世界的終極意象, 即然 »生命« 兼容 »情理«, 則它當然具有超越主客體世界的意義。

Koncepta *qing* in *li* zato zanj predstavljata komplementarno celoto, v katerem sta oba dejavnika v soodvisnem in korelativnem razmerju:

*Qingli* sodi med prvobitne simbolne podobe znotraj sistema filozofske terminologije. *Qing* nastane v povezavi z *lijem* in *lijev* obstoj je zopet odvisen od *qinga*. V svojem čudotvornem delovanju krožita eden krog drugega in sta eden drugemu izvorni razlog. Območje njunega skupnega obstoja lahko prepoznamo s pomočjo intuicije, a vendar ga je težko izraziti oziroma obrazložiti.<sup>21</sup> (Fang 2007, 2)

Četudi vključuje *qingli* tako razum kot tudi občutja, ga je torej možno spoznati samo intuitivno, in ne z racionalno ali analitično metodo. Ta njegova epistemološka razsežnost se zato ne odraža zgolj v območju zaznavanja, temveč tudi v območju posredovanja, saj gre za koncept neizrazljivosti, ki presega pomenske distinkcije, kakršne opredeljujejo konkretni svet človeškega življenja:

Sfera *qinglija* je hkrati oddaljena in bližnja, globoka in površinska, odkrita in zakrita. Zunaj nje ni moč ničesar uzreti, in ustroj njene notranjosti lahko opredelimo s pomočjo sluha, vida in nege osebnosti.<sup>22</sup> (Fang 2007, 2)

In vendar človek za svoj konkretni obstoj in za svoje konkretno življenje potrebuje oboje, tako *qing*, kot tudi *li*: »Človeško življenje je pogojeno s *qingom* in človeška eksistenca z *lijem*<sup>23</sup>« (Fang 2007, 2).

Razum sam po sebi (torej ločeno od občutja) zanj predstavlja tretjo raven razvoja osebnosti (od skupaj šestih); to je raven, ki ustreza človeškemu obvladovanju naravnega zunanjega sveta in se manifestira v kulturi znanosti. Fang sicer priznava, da je ta vidik človeškega razvoja pomemben, vendar hkrati opozarja na dejstvo, da mora človeštvo stremeti k še višjim sferam umetnosti (lepote), morale (dobrote) in popolnosti (harmonije), torej k sferam, do katerih človek brez intuitivnega (moralnega) znanja nima dostopa (Fang in Li 1995, III/904–6).

<sup>21</sup>情理為哲學名言系統中之原始意象。情緣理有，理依情生，妙如運環，彼是相因，其界繫統會可以直觀，難以詮表。

<sup>22</sup>情理境界有遠近，有深淺，有精麤，有顯密，出乎其外者未有窺測，入乎其內者依聞，思，修的程度而定其等差。

<sup>23</sup>人類含情而得生，契理乃得存。

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## Summary

Fang Dongmei (1899–1977) is an important and influential theoretician and philosopher, whose work represents a great contribution to the theoretical reflection on the Chinese modernization processes and an attempt to creatively solve the challenges of Western philosophy, faced by him and his homeland during the period when these processes were taking place. However, Fang Dongmei was one of those modern Chinese philosophers who sought answers to the most pressing philosophical questions in the revitalization of his tradition, at which he—in contrast to most modern Confucians—did not proceed from Neo-Confucian discourses, but predominantly from classical Confucianism, enriched by the aesthetic and metaphysical ideas of classical Daoism and sinicized Buddhism. Regarding this issue, the present article proceeds from a broader understanding of the original Chinese expression *ru xue* (Confucianism, literary: the teachings of the educated). This concept is not considered merely as the teachings of Confucius as a person, but rather seen in the sense as understood in the dominant cultural discourse of Chinese (and broader eastern Asian) tradition—namely, as teachings that include a broader palette of prevailing philosophical theories which have co-formed Chinese philosophical history over the millennia. Fang always interpreted Daoism, which includes a lot of critical, individualistic and freethinking elements, within the frame of his neoconservative ideology that represents an essential, almost paradigmatic characteristic of modern Confucianism. In this framework, the article focuses upon the analysis and interpretation of some crucial elements which are typical for Fang Dongmei's work.



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*Book Reviews*

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## ***The Teaching and Study of Islam in Western Universities***

Edited by Paul Morris, William Shepard, Paul Trebilco, Toni Tidswell.  
London and New York: Routledge, 2014, pp. 196

Reviewed by Nevad KAHTERAN\*

*The Teaching and Study of Islam in Western Universities*, Routledge publication, should be applauded in this cacophony in the post-9/11 world with the rise of interest in Islam and Islamic matters across the globe, necessitating an explanation of the authentic teaching of this religion anew in light of the challenges of the present-day situation not only in New Zealand, Australia and Pacific region, including the Canadian context there as well, but world-wide. Among many other efforts taken in the meantime, something similar was done in the European context as early as the Brill's edition of *Muslims in the Enlarged Europe: Religion and Society*, edited by Brigitte Maréchal, Stefano Allievi, Felice Dassetto and Jørgen Nielsen (Brill, Leiden-Boston, 2003) with its special stress on After September 11: Islam in General and European Muslims. Also, we may add an interesting report *Islam on Campus: teaching Islamic Studies at Higher Education Institutions in the UK* (Report of a conference held at the University of Edinburgh, 4 December 2006 in: *Journal of Beliefs & Values*, Volume 28, Issue 3, 2007, pages 309–29), *The Islam in the West Program* (currently housed at the Prince Alwaleed Islamic Studies Program), among many other undertakings in this regard as good examples of similar efforts.

As it is clearly expressed in the introductory chapter of this book, essays were gathered from a colloquium held in New Zealand on “The Role of Study of Islam in the Western University”. It was a part of the wider activity of establishing the New Zealand Centre for the Study of Islam and Muslim cultures (CSIMCNZ) co-hosted by the University of Otago and Victoria University of Wellington, taking into account the fact that this country is becoming much more religiously and culturally diverse with its Muslim migrant communities from South Asia, Southeast Asia and the Middle East, and refugee communities from Somalia, Afghanistan and Iraq. Accordingly, this book relies upon the two central questions

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that arise through the teaching of Islam: a) what relation exists between the study of the religion of Islam and the study of those cultures that have been shaped by that religion?, and b) what is the appropriate public role of a scholar of Islam? Discussions about the academic teaching of Islam, appropriate shapes of such programs, and assumptions that ought to underlie such study organized by this centre are focused on these four areas:

1. It will offer high-quality undergraduate and postgraduate programs in Islamic studies;
2. The centre will foster postgraduate and staff research in topics relating to the study of Islam and of the Muslim world;
3. The centre will take a role in public debates on Islam and issues concerning Muslims in New Zealand, and
4. The centre will develop links and relationships with other such centres in Australia, and across the globe with exchange of scholars and other resources.

*The Teaching and Study of Islam in Western Universities* is divided into three parts and consists of twelve chapters. The introductory chapter sets the scene and lays a great stress on the fact that the topic of how Islam is to be studied and taught is now generally a concern in the West, especially in Europe. This was an additional reason to draw a parallel with the afore mentioned Brill's edition as well, and there is no doubts that this present volume will be of great interest to a wide variety of readers dealing with Islam, and particularly general Islamic studies. The editors with their own contributions joined their hands with Gregory W. Dawes, Anthony H. (Tony) John, Eric Kolig, Christopher van der Kroght, Andrew Rippin and Katherina Völker from one side, and Mohammad Hashim Kamali and Zarina Nalla, both from Malaysia, and Abdullah Saeed from the University of Melbourne, from the other side. And as a result, in the first three chapters (part 1), we have a wide-ranging analysis of this topic, setting out some of the major conceptual issues (Islam in particular within the contemporary research university). Part 2 discusses different perspectives on the academic study of Islam as a course option in the Western university, while part 3 addresses some specific issues and challenges in the teaching of Islam in the modern university centres.

This book represents a collaborative effort toward achieving the goal of knowing Islam. Needless to say, based on the extensive bibliographic research, field studies and contributions of mentioned editors and included scholars in this

project, this book provides a rare and useful overall-updated review of the state of the Islamic matters in Western academia and international higher-education landscape.

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