THE MUDANG:
GENDERED DISCOURSES ON SHAMANISM IN COLONIAL KOREA

by

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A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements
for the degree of Doctorate of Philosophy

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Abstract

This dissertation examines the discursive production of mudang, also known as shamans, during the late Chosŏn Dynasty (eighteenth to nineteenth-centuries) and during the Japanese colonial period in Korea (1910-1945). The many discursive sites on mudang articulated various types of difference, often based on gender and urban/rural divides. This dissertation explores four bodies of work: eighteenth to nineteenth-century neo-Confucian reformist essays, late nineteenth-century western surveys of Korea, early twentieth-century newspapers and journals, and early ethnographic studies. The mudang was used throughout this period to reinforce gendered distinctions, prescribe spatial hierarchies, and promote capitalist modernity. In particular, institutional developments in shamanism studies under colonial rule, coupled with an expanded print media critique against mudang, signalled the needs and desires to pronounce a distinct indigenous identity under foreign rule.

Chapter one traces three pre-colonial discursive developments, Russian research on Siberian shamanism under Catherine the Great, neo-Confucian writings on "mudang," and Claude Charles Dallet’s late nineteenth-century survey of Korean indigenous practices. Chapter Two examines the last decade of the nineteenth-century, studying the simultaneous emergence of Isabella Bird Bishop’s expanded discussion on Korean shamanism alongside early Korean newspapers’ social criticisms of mudang. Chapter Three looks at Korean newspapers and journals as the source and product of an urban discourse from 1920-1940. Chapter Four examines the same print media to consider why mudang were contrasted from women as ethical household consumers and scientific homemakers. Chapter Five looks at Ch’oe Nam-sŏn and Yi Nŭng-hwa’s 1927 treatises on Korean shamanism as a celebration of ethnic identity which became a form of intervention in an environment where Korean shamanism was used to justify colonial rule.
This project could not have been realized without the generous support I received from several institutions and their affiliates. I am grateful for the materials and resources I was able to access with the assistance of these institutions in the deliberation of my research. The Korea Foundation and Yonsei University’s Institute for Korean Studies have funded me for my Ph.D. field research.

Special thanks must go to my writing partners Jan Purnis and Steven Trott who have given me constant motivation to produce. In addition to countless hours of being beside me while I transferred thoughts to words, they have provided me ample feedback on papers and endless encouragement. My work was made readable through the generous and meticulous help of Professor Janice Kim and Dr. J. Barbara Rose.

The following people have also given me so much emotional and professional support by sending me materials, supplying me with references, reviewing materials with me and by talking to me through my stumbling blocks: Dr. Adam Bohnet, Sanghun Cho, Chŏng Sŭng-hwa, Dr. Charles Kim, Sungjo Kim, Sunho Kim, Kim Un-jŏng, Eleanor Levine, Professor Leslie Sanders, and the JCC Morning Ladies, Cholong Lim, Ruthann Lee, Erik Spigel, Michelle Szabo, Sunyoung Yang, and librarians, Hana Kim, and Seon-Woo Shin. I wish to thank Norma Escobar, Paul Chin, and Celia Sevilla for their helpful guidance in all administrative matters and Stanley Chu for his technological genius.

I am most appreciative to my dissertation supervisor, Professor Andre Schmid, for his rigorous training and guidance. Thanks also to Professors Jesook Song and Janet Poole for helping me with their careful readings and compelling insight. Professors Ritu Birla, Dong-no Kim, Laurel Kendall, Seong-Nae Kim, Seung-kyung Kim, Kenneth Wells and T. Jun Yoo have shared their expert opinions with me and have profoundly impacted the way I think about Korea, colonialism, women, shamans, and life in the academy.

I wish to thank the Botelho and Hwang families for their unlimited care, and friendship. Lastly, I thank Bryan for bringing me joy each and every day.
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INTRODUCTION

Coloniality of Korean Shamanism

In 1951, Mircea Eliade published *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy*, setting the contemporary stage for the field of phenomenology of religion.¹ His boldest and most enduring argument about shamanism was that this spiritual practice was a universal phenomenon shared among primitive societies. Today, shamanism is practiced in the most modern and cosmopolitan cities around the world. “Urban shamans,” “neo-pagans,” and “modern primitives” amass large followings and influence sub-cultures and fashion trends around the world.² If one was to browse the Official Seoul City Tourism Website in 2009, one may find the following declaration: that shamanism is “the indigenous belief system of Korea.”³ What sets Korean shamanism apart from similar practices in other countries is that it is not considered something that has ever disappeared, been revived or made anew. Korean shamanism is promoted as a practice that has continued from the very moment Korea came into existence.

Shamanism has been widely circulated with the goal of conjuring mystery and intrigue. For the interests of South Korea’s Tourism Board, shamanism is used to create a vaguely understood, differentiating, and distinguishing characteristic of the country in order to entice

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¹ Mircea Eliade did not base his writings on observed practices from the field and relied instead on second-hand data from previously published ethnographies from around the world to present universal elements of shamanism such as the “cosmic tree,” “sacred drum,” and “ecstatic” trance. He is the most widely considered historian of religion and his models, taxonomies, and definitions of shamanism continue to dominate ethnographic studies. Mircea Eliade, *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy*, translated by Willard R. Trask, 1951, reprint Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004.
² Browsing the New York City official city website, people can find a number of stories and events on “urban shamans.”NYC.gov (17 July, 2009), http://search1.nyc.gov/search?output=xml_no_dtd&site=default_collection&proxystylesheet=default_frontend&client=default_frontend&q=Shaman. The Google search engine gives over 15 million hits for “modern primitives.”
travellers to spend their holidays in a foreign and exotic place. Korean shamanism has not only succeeded in appealing to tourists; it has also appealed to ethnographers and anthropologists, who have published a large body of scholarly work on the subject.

Questioning the a-historicity and universality of shamanism, as promoted by Eliade, this dissertation sets out to demonstrate that the concept of “shamanism” was a relatively recent import into Korea and that, although the South Korean Tourism Board has claimed it as indigenous, Korea has a long history of efforts to eliminate those practices that today have come to represent shamanism. Given the importance of shamanism in defining Korean indigeneity, the first question this dissertation asks is how and why did shamanism come to define Korea and Koreans?\(^4\) I argue that what is known as shamanism today emerged in Korea as a part of imperializing discourses to determine knowledge over indigenous subjects. In tracing this history, I assert that figures that had previously been known in Korean as *mudang* were rendered to be synonymous to shamans.\(^5\) Shamans and shamanism were unrecognizable terms and categories to the very spiritual practitioners these terms purported to represent, as these analytical terms were created by and for the interest of late nineteenth and early twentieth-century writers.

Without any certainty of how the people referred to as *mudang* or shamans were addressed by their communities, or how they self-identified, it is only possible to pursue a project on Korean shamanism by conjecturing who these people actually were and what they

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\(^4\) Although much speculation exists on the existence of shamanistic practices in North Korea, without research or publication resources from North Korea made available to North American or South Korean researchers, this remains only a speculation. For this reason, my comments on contemporary practices and notions of shamanism are limited to those I observe in South Korea while my historical discussion refers to the pre-division era of a unified Korea.

\(^5\) All *hangul* (Korean script) words are romanized under the McCune-Reischshauer system and are indicated in italics with the English translation. Exceptions to this are cases where words have been popularly romanized in other ways, words that appear in the Oxford English Dictionary (such as *hangul* and *Pyongyang*). Common English spellings have been replicated. The spellings of authors as they appear in their first English publication are replicated with given name first, followed by surname.
did. *Mudang* or shamans may not have been differentiated from the work of local doctors, healers, nurses, midwives, herbalists, teachers, matchmakers and caregivers. Judging from the historical discussions about them, *mudang* and shamans were invented categories for everyday practices but these terms have come to be recognized in Korea as women who mediate or channel spirits of the deceased in the interest of spirits or the living. Korean shamans have been recognized by recent anthropologists under titles such as *mansin* and have been defined as women who claimed “the power to see the gods and ancestors in visions” and “call them down to speak through [their] lips.” The spirits that “shamans” venerated were commonly known as the ancestors of the living who were “dangerous simply because they [were] dead and [did] not mingle well with the living.” In practice, Korean shamans may have had more mundane roles of rice farmers, tobacco dryers, vegetable peddlers, net weavers, may simply have been referred to by these occupations, their given or pet names. Extensive research has been done to define and characterize Korean shamans in contemporary practice and yet what has not been explained is how a foreign concept such as shamanism came to be embraced as an integral part of Korean indigeneity.

Korean shamanism has been typically classified into four categories: *tan’gol*, *simbang*, *myŏngdu*, and *mudang*. *Tan’gol*, known for mastering artistic performances and rituals, have been most commonly identified in the southern, Chŏlla and Kyŏngsang, provinces. *Simbang* are hereditary specialists, known to originate from the southern part of Cheju Island. *Myŏngdu* are also from Cheju Island; they have close affinities to the spirits of dead children from their families and are similar to *mudang* in that they are both “ecstatic” or “charismatic”

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8 Laurel Kendall similarly refers to the “shamans” of her study as Grandmother Chŏn, Okkyŏng’s Mother, and Yongsu’s Mother. Laurel Kendall, 1985.
“Ecstatic” practitioners do not inherit their spiritual qualities, but rather, are chosen by their spirits, fall into spiritual illness, and must be initiated into spiritual service in order to overcome their illness.\textsuperscript{10} Mudang, the focus of this dissertation, are identified as originating out of northern and central South Korea but have also come to represent Korean shamanism as a whole. The term mudang has a pejorative connotation, and are often referred to by the honorary term, mansin, in current South Korean practice.

Highlighting the long history of discussions surrounding mudang may provide a better understanding of contemporary celebrations of Korean indigeneity, specifically in the form of Korean shamanistic rituals. Until very recently, mudang did not publish writings on their lives and vocations; they did not present documented rebuttals to the history of verbal assaults and discursive violence imposed upon them. Mudang were not speaking subjects in these discourses, or rather, mudang did not write about being mudang. My understanding of mudang practices is largely restricted to the textual nature of the historical materials I employ. The absence of mudang authorship limits my discussion to historical sources which only reflect the range of ways writers’ scrutinized and made subjects of those people they called shamans and mudang.\textsuperscript{11}

\textsuperscript{9} Mircea Eliade has established a theoretical template on shamanistic initiation in which he described spiritual illness as “ecstasy.” This concept is widely used in world shamanism studies, including Korean shamanism. Mircea Eliade, \textit{Rites and Symbols of Initiation: The Mysteries of Birth and Rebirth}, Woodstock: Second Spring Publications, 1995.

\textsuperscript{10} Tae-gon Kim may have been the first scholar to highlight the regional variations of shamans in Korea. His theories on regionalism continue to be reproduced in current studies of Korean shamanism. In his list are several other types of shamans including paksu, sŏn mudang, posal, ch isŏng, halmŏm, and pŏpsa. Tae-gon Kim, “Regional Characteristics of Korean Shamanism,” in \textit{Shamanism: The Spirit World of Korea}, translated by Yi Yu-jin, edited by Chai-shin Yu and R. Guisso, Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press, 1988: 119-30. Kim’s list is not exhaustive. In this dissertation, I discuss other types of spiritual and ritual specialists, including p’ansu (male practitioners sometimes described as blind exorcists or mudang assistants), chŏmjaengi (fortunetellers) and several mu variations.

\textsuperscript{11} Although historical materials of self-authorship do not exist, it may be assumed that that the people who were identified as mudang had undocumented expressions of self-representation. Whether or not they identified as mudang, I am unaware of any records where mudang wrote about being or acting as mudang.
I propose that involvement with non-physical realms could not be named, defined, translated, or even understood by those outside of those practices and attempts to name or know the foreign have enabled injustices and justified oppressive imperialistic practices over marginalized communities. Keeping these limits in mind, historical commentaries on mudang are valuable materials to examine writers’ binary logic of difference – “that by exposing the backwardness or delusions of shamanism,” writers “also revealed their existence.” Missionaries and journalists in Korea used shamans and mudang to depict “superstition” and to juxtapose “science.” These subjects were also described in terms of deception and lies, while their existence and work were conceived of as being “based on natural truth.” Mudang corporeal and spiritual value was described as having no effect while their social presence was evaluated as having a negative effect.

It remains that what can and should be known about the historical representations of mudang is limited to existing materials; these writings revealed more about the authors and their writings than of their subjects. My research shows that mudang were discursively silent figures, centered in haranguing monologues about their potential actions and their possible effects. What drove writings on mudang had less to do with what mudang did, and more to do with what mudang could have done. As Slavoj Žižek explains, the fear of their potential action induced a fantasy of “filling... the gap between the abstract intention to do something

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12 My use of the discursive concept the “foreign” not only implies non-Korean impressions of Koreans; the concept includes how Koreans “othered” people within Korean society by depicting mudang as female, poor, rural, and ancient “others.”


14 Peter Pels studies how the theorist on animism and shamanism, Edward B. Tylor (who was instrumental to the development of shamanism studies in Korea), supported the “science” behind “modern spirituality” in his early writings. Peter Pels, 2003: 241-71. It may also be useful to consider Slavoj Žižek’s exploration of Lacan’s psychoanalytic model of the “imaginary,” “symbolic” and the “real” to find that the symbolic dimension of language is that of the signifier in which elements have no positive existence but are constituted by virtue of their mutual differences. Slavoj Žižek, For They Know Not What They Do: Enjoyment as a Political Factor, London: Verso, 2008: 7-31. In this sense, mudang were negatively identified by what they were not.
and its actualization.”¹⁵ The social criticism of mudang pronounced the writers’ dread of the “interspace” – the hesitation over what might happen if something was done or not done. In this sense, mudang actions were not what haunted writers as much as their potential to act, to induce action or non-action.

Nevertheless, I continue to use the two terms mudang and shamans in this dissertation, with the acknowledgement that they stem from the confluence of discourses as methods of using elitist language. These words derive from the very imperialist and intellectual discussions that created them. My use of historical documents reveals echoing moments when mudang were discussed for social and political purposes. For instance, I examine late seventeenth to nineteenth-century essays of neo-Confucian state reformers and late nineteenth to early twentieth century print media’s use of the term, to analyze the history of rational reform and enlightenment discourses. The terms “shamans” and “shamanism” expose my dependence on late nineteenth and early twentieth century western missionary discourse together with Korean intellectual inheritance of understanding natives through the category of shamanism. While I use these terms interchangeably for the purposes of this study, I struggle to understand the oppressive nature of these discourses, to question why certain women were portrayed in unappealing ways, and who benefited from such negative representations. Historically situating these discourses with such questions may help to de-mystify the historical images that surrounded mudang, consider the imperial and colonial legacies of shamanism discourses, and provide a better understanding of the celebration of shamanism in South Korea today.

This dissertation speaks to the critical nexus forged between the disciplines of history and anthropology. Rather than centering these ethnographical subjects in history, I wish to

¹⁵ Slavoj Žižek, 2008: xl.
understand the production of the discourse in which these subjects were situated. The discursive sites explored in this dissertation reveal a stubbornly persistent negation of mudang, creating a historical narrative without distinctive beginnings or clear endings. However, I have found historical meaning in these discourses by exploring them as a part of colonial ideology. I focus on the colonial period of 1910 to 1945 within the context of what existed before. In so doing, I also contextualize the colonial discussion with an examination of discourses on mudang from the seventeenth to nineteenth-centuries.

Throughout this dissertation I will consider three broad and interrelated themes of gender, modernity, and space in order to understand the centrality of shamanism in surveys and social critiques of Korea. Mudang have been recognized as mostly women, serving as a means to regulate gendered behaviour across the social spectrum. By focusing on mudang as the primary subject of discussion, I attempt to use gender as an angle to analyze modern Korean history.16 I assert that gender is an indispensible factor in studying Korean shamanism, focusing on the discursive construction of men and women as relational concepts and the exercise of patriarchal power while being mindful of the potential pitfalls of gender history to reinforce a male-centric historical narrative.17 Even as I examine the efforts by colonial era historians to promote a masculine shamanism tradition, the misogynistic impulses of nationalism are also considered in these historians’ dismissal of mudang,

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16 Although there is no consensus on the periodization of modern Korea, the focus of my dissertation examines the late nineteenth to mid twentieth centuries. As will be discussed below, if enlightenment thought and empiricism are among the defining characterizations of a modern era, this period may arguably be extended back to the late seventeenth-century.

17 Feminist anthropologists like Michelle Rosaldo, Louis Lampher, Sherry Ortner, and others have established the study of gender asymmetry and have argued that gender is a socially constructed category. More recently, focus has shifted towards more particularistic and historically grounded studies that place gender at the center of analysis. Joan Scott’s use of this analytical approach was instrumental in establishing gender as a framework for understanding history. See Joan Scott, “Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis” American Historical Review 91, no. 5 (December 1986): 1053-1075. See also, Joanne Meyerowitz, “A History of ‘Gender’” American Historical Association 113, no. 5 (December 2008): 1346-1356.
shedding light on how male-female power differentials were reinforced in discourses on Korean shamanism. My attempt then is not to substitute women’s history with gender history, but rather to ask questions that enlarge our perspective to understand experiences of and attitudes towards gender.

This dissertation attempts to question the concept of “gender” as dualistic social and political constructions of masculinities and femininities. Gender exists within a historical context in which the meanings of sexual difference are articulated and institutionalized. I am particularly influenced by Judith Butler’s work on the performativity of gender as culturally constructed. Butler questions the seeming coherence between sexuality and gender by asserting that the natural appearance of gender is established through the repetition of physical acts. Regulative discourses, such as those which discussed mudang, defined the social permissibility of acts and coerced readers accordingly to determine the possibilities of sex, sexuality, and gender. The fixed supposition of gendered identities is questioned by examining writings on mudang behaving outside of the realm of feminine possibilities, masculine shaman figures representing the ancient nation, and shaman figures transgressing gender roles. Butler’s concept of imagined performativity helps me to consider the act and actions of discourse.

My project also attempts to understand the ways in which mudang were discussed in relation to ideologies of modernity. I define modernity in two ways: as an era of reform and as a part of the global processes of capitalism. First, modernity may be broadly defined through discursive expressions of empirical and theoretical reform. Late Chosŏn era (late seventeenth to nineteenth-centuries) neo-Confucian writings on mudang may be considered

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as the prose of practicality which fit into writers’ conceptions of a modern world.\footnote{Reform-minded scholars have been studied against the assertion that they belonged to a “Practical Learning” school of thought. The writers I discuss from the seventeenth to nineteenth-centuries also wrote prolifically on Confucian principles of human nature and the foundations of morality. For an example of one such scholar, see Mark Setton, \textit{Chong Yagyong: Korea’s Challenge to Orthodox Neo-Confucianism}, Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997.} Reform essays held the belief that there was a natural order to the universe and that people were meant to think and behave through logic and objectivity. These neo-Confucian writers emphasized the practical development of society, government, and technology. They conceived the world through an emphasis on practicality and reason. Their wide-ranging essays included observations of “common” practices such as those involving \textit{mudang} to dissuade elites from engaging in metaphysical rituals and to convince the state to more effectively monitor tax-payers. These neo-Confucian essays may be argued then, to have the makings of a modernity discourse.

Recognizing that modernity is a constant process of becoming modern also helps me make sense of the longevity of discourses on \textit{mudang} (from the late seventeenth-century onward). The power behind Korean narratives of \textit{mudang} and shamans resided in these subjects’ polarized relationship to rationality. I am inspired by Peter Pels’ proposition that “magic \textit{belongs} to modernity” where notions such as shamanism designated a conceptual field “that was predominantly made to define an antithesis of modernity: a production of illusion and delusion that was thought to recede and disappear as rationalization and secularization spread throughout society.”\footnote{Peter Pels, 2003: 3-4.} Following this assertion, one objective of this dissertation is to show how \textit{mudang} and shamans, through their discursively antithetical positions, functioned to continually define the evolving characteristics and parameters of modernity.
Second, tracing the historical effects of capitalism in late nineteenth and early twentieth century Korea provides a method of interpreting the impact that shamanism as a new discourse had on discussions of mudang. My study may be thought of as an investigation into the numerous intellectual and material crossings, the various political, economic, and cultural conditions that solicit our view of a capitalist modernity in particular and strained ways, which hopes to show how the development of social regulatory discourses informed modern identities. I consider capitalist modernity to be the global impulse of rising large-scale markets and the division of labour in which all nations are compelled, “on pain of extinction, to adopt the bourgeois mode of production; it compels them to introduce what it calls civilization into their midst, i.e., to become bourgeois themselves.”21 Especially focused on how social stratification was ideologically developed in early twentieth century Korean history, this dissertation examines the numerous ways in which articulations of national subjectivity depended intimately on the gendered and sexualized female, the legitimacy of the division of labour (expressly, the exploitation of unpaid labour), and the struggle to promote a capitalist modernity. Mudang discourses were a conditional manifestation of modernity, expressing the “economic anatomy of the classes.”22 My analytical approach to capitalist modernity considers the transnational effects of modern


22 Marx expressed that the highly complex social connections created by capitalism were among the most vital resources of modernity. An infrastructure for capitalist development was formed through expanded trade, diversified markets, and increased labour divisions. In a critique of early nineteenth-century England, Marx witnessed the development of large-scale industry that was revolutionizing production through a mechanized automatic system. Karl Marx, “Class Struggle and Mode of Production,” in The Marx-Engles Reader, second edition, edited by Robert Tucker, New York: WW Norton & Co., 1978: 220.
industry in which social relations of production and consumption were welcomed by capitalist promises of progress and development.

This dissertation traces the relationship between the material development (urbanization, population expansion, and institutionalized indigenous practices) and the imperial ideologies (gendered wage work, scientific motherhood, and patriarchal ethnic nationalism) of colonial capitalism, traced historically through Korea’s print media discussions on mudang between the years 1895 to 1940. Although various discursive sites on shamanism are investigated through this dissertation, my greatest interest lies in the new print media developments of a mudang-based social critique in Korea. Walter Benjamin defined the modern experience as one that was informed by a matrix of a mechanical reproduction of visual forms in which “quantity has been transmuted into quality.”

In late nineteenth-century Korea, new technological forms enabled a media that spoke to the particularity of modernity. Through conceptions of a linear time progression, people’s imaginations were altered into a sense of their place in an unequal world, shaped by their pasts and their presents. The presses urged Koreans to accelerate their social transformations and to revolutionize thinking in modern ways that would further distance them from their past and propel them out of their politically subjugated present. Following Benjamin’s estimate of media space as a capitalistic structure of life, I assert that individual readers of these presses were schooled in the habits, thoughts, and practices that would make them modern desiring consumer-subjects and the expanding scale of print production and consumption were definitive markers of capitalist modernity. The information industry of Korean newspapers and journals brought about fundamental changes in discursive practice, intellectual activity, and the formation of a new social

consciousness.

Anti-*mudang* print media discourses became a manifestation of colonial subjectivity and an expression of everyday life under a capitalist modernity. As Andre Schmid points out, the ultimate source of colonial power derived from both colonialists and nationalists sharing the “same ideologies of capitalist modernity.”

The anti-*mudang* discussion that shaped Korean nationalist thought was similar to Japan’s colonial ideology to civilize Koreans by eliminating *mudang*-based practices. These thematic similarities “appealed to the higher authority of ‘civilization,’ for different political ends.”

The Korean print media engaged in an anti-*mudang* discussion as a part of the agenda for social reform. Discursive themes of reform such as the *mudang* discussion were meant to ensure that Koreans were able to participate in the universal episteme of global development. Capitalist modernity assumed an abstract world time of linear history. The print media’s discussion on *mudang* as a nationalist expression in the colonial context revealed a plurality of indigenous and global time, variously disseminating Koreans along a hierarchy that legitimated capitalist modernity’s geopolitical pre-eminence.

Space is another conceptual theme that shapes my discussion on *mudang* and shamans. Space is a useful analytical tool for the purposes of interpreting late Chosŏn era discourses as mutually reinforcing the “representation of space” (the Korean peninsula’s geographical barrier from China and defences from the sea) and “representational space” (Asia’s neo-Confucian kingdom, bastion of proper government and society).

Henri Lefebvre reveals the importance of examining the concept of space over the concept of things in space in order

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to uncover the social relationships embedded in it. He instructs that space is open, contingent, and is the outcome of (instead of just the container for) complex social processes. Discourses on mudang were a means of reinforcing ethical gendered spatial relations. On one level, my interest in space is a departure from how women’s sense of their position within traditional spatial practices are seen as being derived from and determined by the “inner room.” Conventional interpretations of Korean history have depicted women under the confinement of the innermost parts of their homes, removed from social and political life. Yet Chosŏn era writings on mudang show how people did not abide by neo-Confucian principles of gendered spheres.

My examination of mudang discourses from the late nineteenth and early twentieth century looks at how gendered spatial relations were also understood through discursive differentiations in time. Print media discourses addressed the politics of representation and the changes that occurred in and around expanding cities as urban residents negotiated the idea of being modern. Late nineteenth and early twentieth century newspapers and journals represent the spatial shrinkage of intellectual discourses as they were limited and streamlined to printing houses in cities. These writings were preoccupied with the changing nature of cities as public spaces, the demise of certain forms of urban sociality and the waning of metropolitan civility. In contrast to their notions of the city, the print media used mudang to illustrate their conceptions of “rural women” as people outside of time or in a pre-modern, ancient time. Furthermore, my examination of journalistic writings shows the crafting of a nationalist identity which was central to the colonial Korean spatial imagination. Print media

27 Henri Lefebvre, 1991: 89.
28 Gender historians have worked to upset the spatial gendered dichotomy between the inner and outer spheres in Korea through the symbolic and physical layout of the “inner room” (anbang) as a female space in traditional Korean homes. See Laurel Kendall and Mark Peterson, eds., Korean Women: View from the Inner Room, New Haven, CT.: East Rock Press, 1983.
writers desired to make the city a representation of the nation by using new infrastructure (public works projects), institutions (reform schools, westernized hospitals), and certain residents (the print media’s like-minded individuals) as a template for a modern Korean nation. Writers idealized the degree of distance and separation between themselves as modern, urban gatekeepers and others by animating the conflicting responses of urban residents like mudang to the de rigueur of city life.

This dissertation may be temporally divided into two sections, the pre-colonial and the colonial period. Chapter One introduces the Chosŏn Dynasty (1392-1910); Chapter Two focuses on the immediate pre-colonial period (1895-1910); Chapters Three through Five expand on various facets of the colonial print media era (1920-1940); and Chapter Five examines a colonial shamanism publication (1927). The purpose of Chapter One is to show how western missionaries and neo-Confucian scholars used mudang in their rational critiques, but for different aims. This dissertation’s point of departure begins with the question: “From where did Korean shamanism come?” The concept is traced back to Siberia in the 1700s, under Catherine the Great’s initiative for eastern expansion. Before shamanism studies emerged in imperial frontiers around the world, Koreans were writing about mudang. If not an expression of imperialism, Korean mudang discourses shared imperialistic characteristics in that they represented an elitist discourse of social control. However, the fundamental difference rested in the Korean intent to use mudang to highlight domestic social problems and to suggest internal reform.

This chapter attempts to understand Korean history outside of typical frameworks of Korean modern history being motivated and initiated by the west by showing Korean neo-

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Confucian writings to suppress mudang activity. Scholars and officials attempted to reaffirm the validity of Confucianized state practices and “proper ritual” (chŏngsa, 正祀), by relegating all other rituals, including mu rituals (kut), as “improper ritual” (ŭmsa, 淫祀).

During the latter half of the Chosŏn dynasty (from the seventeenth-century on), statecraft reform scholars such as Yi Ik (李瀷, 1681-1763), Pak Chi-wŏn (朴趾源, 1737-1805) and Pak Che-ga (朴齊家, 1750-1815), discussed mudang in their essays on “common” practices and customs. Politically and socially disenfranchised neo-Confucian scholars, like Yi Ik, explored heterodox practices such as mudang rituals in their effort to question commoner and elite social practices. While writers questioned certain principles and policies of Confucian statecraft, their criticisms of mu people reinforced Confucian ruling ideology.

Through Chapter One, I wish to emphasize Korean initiatives for state reform and domestic strengthening in an attempt to provide a reading of Korean history which is not driven and determined by western imperial aggression and invasion. Neo-Confucian writers explored topics such as international relations, economic reform, new agricultural technologies, taxation laws and models for social restructuring that would today qualify as expressions of an imagined community before the advent of “print capitalism.” Their discursive constructions of mudang helped to establish and secure elite virtues before modern

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30 Mu (people variously called mudang, 巫堂, munyŏ, 巫女, and mugyŏk, 巫覡) were scrutinized as heterodox practices under the Chosŏn state doctrine of neo-Confucianism.

31 Benedict Anderson argues that nations replaced religious culture through print capitalism which allowed for the development of new collective ideas and new understandings of the forms that nations should take. This argument is difficult to apply to Chosŏn history when such ideas were in circulation alongside numerous arguments opposing state “ritual.” Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, first published in 1983, reprint, London: Verso, 1991.
references to shamanism influenced the discussion; their social critiques of mudang may arguably be recognized as neo-Confucian elite desires to initiate social and political reform and to promote technological innovation.

I believe that neo-Confucian investigations on “common” Korean practices had a profound impact on western missionary writings on Korea, illustrated in French Catholic missionary, Claude Charles Dallet’s treatise, History of the Korean Church, on the history of persecutions of the French Catholic Church.32 Korean scholarly writing on local customs helped to articulate Korea’s “foreignness” for westerners. Early western discourses on shamanism “produced an image of Westerners for themselves.”33 While this is an important assessment to consider, it is also imperative to see how the “foreign” was informed by “natives.” Dallet’s survey on Korea exemplifies how earlier writings in Korea informed Dallet’s own expertise over a country he had never visited.

Continuing the discussion from Chapter One, Chapter Two looks at the application of western science through the discursive construction of Korean shamanism. This chapter attempts to show how late nineteenth-century western and Korean discourses appropriated foreign and local knowledge forms while they simultaneously erased and wrote over their appropriations to engage in imperialist discourses. However, a criticism that can be made of the argument that our knowledge of Asia stemmed from western will and imagination is that this implies that colonial discourses were self-generating. In order to de-center these self-enclosed narratives, I look at how early Korean print media discourses intersected and

diverged from shared understandings of mudang. It is necessary to see how these “othered” subjects did not wholly derive from westerners’ own creation; that westerners did not simply give birth to the indigene, but rather, that foreign and native writers were involved in a complex network of knowledge.

Reading Chapters One and Two in tandem helps to problematize the homogenization of western discourses by situating the tensions between Catholic and Protestant movements in Korea through a temporal lens which looks at globally shifting geo-political powers and Korea’s transforming foreign policies. These two chapters attempt to bring together the unarticulated relationships between neo-Confucian scholars, Korean newspaper journalists, western missionaries, and travel writers as they all discursively produced and reproduced mudang subjects. These chapters are meant to illustrate how the places where imperial aggression occurred were documented through narratives of foreign encounters, introducing foreign communities to western audiences through a new scientific rubric of shamanism.

The simultaneous emergence of early Korean newspaper media and the first writings on Korean shamanism at the end of the nineteenth-century is the focus of Chapter Two. Early Korean newspapers claimed to promote globally circulating notions of modernity among their own society, expressed in a universal language of “civilization and enlightenment” (munmyŏng kaehwa). These papers reported on licentious mudang activities and perceived mudang negative effects as a hindrance to national economic development in order to express their globally shared values in progress and enlightenment. While western writers wrote in

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34 David Roberts and Peter Murphy claim that nineteenth and twentieth centuries’ modernity “oscillated around three key utopias. One was architectonic, one progressive and one romantic. These were the utopias of civilization, enlightenment and romanticism.” David Roberts and Peter Murphy, Dialectic of Romanticism: A Critique of Modernism (Continuum Studies in Philosophy), London: Continuum, 2004: 148. Bishop referred to this as “material progress and enlightenment.” Bishop, 1970: ix.

35 In the early twentieth century, the word “economy [kyŏngje]” had close associations to more classical notions of economy as household management of resources, property, frugality and thrift. The term kyŏngje was
favour of imperial expansion via entry into Asia, Korean writers espoused universal values of progress to promote domestic self-strengthening, to secure national sovereignty, and to protect from imperial aggression.

In the year leading up to the 1905 Japanese protectorate, the first Japanese newspaper censorship orders were issued in Korea. Additional censorship laws were implemented in the years leading up to the official annexation of Korea in 1910 at which point all Korean-owned newspapers were shut down by the new Government General. The Japanese colonial period in Korea has been typically demarcated into three periods, military rule (1910-1919), cultural rule (1920-1936), and mass war mobilization (1937-1945). In the spring of 1919, a massive uprising erupted throughout the country calling for Korean independence from Japanese rule. In response to this, a new Governor General implemented a slogan of “cultural rule” (bunka seiji), and reconsidered some of its harshest colonial policies; among them, the new administration lifted the most repressive censorship laws and permitted Korean newspapers to publish again.

Chapters Three and Four may be read together to examine the continuation of colonial era print media from late nineteenth-century newspaper discussions about mudang. These two chapters examine Korean newspapers and journals between 1920 and 1939, a period of media proliferation. Starting in the 1920s, the print media expanded to include a wide array of newspapers and niche magazines to meet the demands of an increasingly sophisticated reading population. Mudang appeared as a vehicle to discuss an array of “modern” topics such as national history, science, technology, race, women, and the economy. These print

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frequently used to analyze the social detriments of mudang-associated activities. Although the usage of the word kyŏngje was directly present in some discussions about mudang, the indirect causal relationship made between mudang, chŏlyak (thrift) and the waste of familial resources were the most significant. Writings on kyŏngje were narratively cohered to mudang, representing frivolous excess, waste, and loss.
media subjects metonymically represented the cause and symptom of a subjected nation as expressions of colonized identities. *Mudang* discussions depended intimately on the sexualized, gendered female to articulate writers’ colonized subjectivity under the prevailing forces of capitalist modernity.

Chapter Three is my attempt to understand why the Korean print media was invested in regularly discussing *mudang*. This chapter maps out how media topics were promoted by and for the urban elite. Journalists’ preoccupation with *mudang* was an exercise in discrimination. The print media’s steady condemnation of *mudang* was a way to define the boundaries of modernity, which Chungmoo Choi describes as a “colonial double discourse,” created to produce “an illusion of living in the same social and cultural sphere as that of the metropolis, while ruthlessly exercis[ing] a discriminatory politics of hierarchy.”

I wish to examine the print media’s production of spatial difference as based on expressions of urban desires in an age of “mechanized” discourse.

*Mudang* were made into new subjects in an urban-centric discourse. Amorphous concepts of urban and rural life were anchored in a material world of technological change, industrial development and population increase. Colonial era newspapers and journals suggested that *mudang* were symbols of rural life; that they should reside outside of cities, in the outskirts, the edges of the country, the farming villages, rural communities, agricultural districts, and regions removed from city centres. Writers reinforced a spatial hierarchy

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37 “Mechanized” here refers to Walter Benjamin’s reference to the process of mechanical reproduction applied in this case towards the new print media. Walter Benjamin’s rich illustration of the complex dynamics of media space in the nineteenth-century largely avoided the reductive shortcomings and oversimplification embedded in the analysis of the bourgeois public sphere. He analyzed newspapers as a media space with reference to privatization of urban space, industrialization of public communication, and the making of public space. Walter Benjamin, 1968: 217-51.
38 *Tonga ilbo* 24 June 1933.
where *mudang* emblematized the ancient and the rural, highlighted urban displacement, and symbolized the manifestations of human migration under the forces of rapid industrialization. Urban writers anxiously observed the influx of low wage workers relocating to cities in search for jobs. The print media’s growing fear that their cities were becoming “feminized” was manifest in their perception that *mudang* and their followers were on the rise. The print media exaggerated the urban “influx” of rural women alongside *mudang*. Images of feminized work and migration intersected on various levels with images of *mudang* and rural women disturbing urban life.

Chapter Four continues to explain the print media’s preoccupation with *mudang* by focusing on how *mudang* were used to examine women as healthcare practitioners under principles of social homogenization and global healthcare standards. A regime of ethical healthcare and child-rearing was promoted to secure the empire’s need to institutionalize medical practices and to increase the population. Anti-*mudang* discourses served the print media’s purpose to steer women’s household duties as caregivers towards new forms of universal medical practice. Women were encouraged to make educated decisions about homemaking which would lead them to break old habits such as acts based on “superstitions,” “women’s circles,” *mudang*, and instead turn to newly instituted hospitals and pharmacies to signify women as modern homemakers. The Korean presses also stepped up its legal language of social regulations, criminalizing “wrongful” gendered behaviour such as *mudang*-based “superstitions” while women were transformed into “scientific homemakers” in an attempt to align women’s household duties towards wartime hostilities.

This chapter attempts to highlight how the print media became a pedagogical tool for women to use in their exercise of household management. While few Korean women read,
every major Korean press staffed at least one female journalist to cover female interest stories. With the emergence of women’s niche journals and women’s interest columns, the print media gained interest in feminine consumption patterns. Women were taught ways to become modern homemakers and educated about inefficient housekeeping by illustrating examples of wrongful acts such as instances of frivolous spending on mudang. Motherhood was rendered into a learned science, differentiating and opposing instinctual, informal, communal, and kin-based knowledge systems as endemic, uneducated practices.

Finally, Chapter Five is intended to recall the first two chapters in order to continue the discussion on movements to establish shamanism studies in Korea. Adding to the genealogy of Siberian shamanism and western writings on Korea, Chapter Five is an examination of a nationalist intervention to unshackle shamanism studies (musokhak) from the rubric of imperial and colonial ideologies. Studies of mudang were expanded and diversified from the 1920s onward. It is well known in the current field of Korean shamanism studies, that shamanism was endorsed by the colonial government in the hopes of establishing a common denominator between Korean musok and Japanese Shinto where Korean practices would reveal that they were the primitive cousins to the Japanese. It has been argued that to this end, the Japanese Government General commissioned a number of scholars, including Ch’oe Nam-sŏn (1890-1957) and Yi Nŭng-hwa (1869-1945), to research ancient Korean history.

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39 The tokenization of female press writers had an effect on media personnel; these journalists were replaced on the average of every year with new female staff. Pak Yong-kyu, “Ilcheha yŏgija ŭi chikop ŭisik kwa ŏllon hwaltong e kwanhan yŏn’gu” (Research on female journalists’ professional consciousness and press activities under Japanese imperialism) Han’guk ŏllon hakpo 41 (July 1997): 9-11.

40 Imamura Tomoe, charged to lead the Korean colonial police, wrote the most prolifically on Korean “customs” during the colonial period. For more on the colonial government’s commission, see Chu Yŏng-ha, et. al, Cheguk Ilbon i kŭrin Chosŏn minsok (Imperial Japanese depictions of Chosŏn folklore), Sŏngnam: Han’gukhak chungang yŏn’guwŏn, 2006.

41 Ch’oe, Sŏk-yŏng, Ilche ŭi tonghwasa ideollogi ŭi ch’angch’ul (Invention of Japanese imperial assimilation ideology). Seoul: Sŏgyŏng munhwasa, 1997; Ilcheha musongnon kwa singminji kwŏllyŏk (Theory of shamanism under Japanese colonial rule and power), Seoul: Sŏgyŏng munhwasa, 1999; Ch’oe Sŏk-yŏng, “Ilche
What has been less understood about these projects is that from a shamanism treatise that Ch’oe and Yi produced in 1927, a form of nationalistic history was produced to challenge the theory of Japanese-Korean shared origins. Through colonial projects about indigenous subjects like the above history project, folklore studies (minsokhak) emerged in Korea, under which Ch’oe and Yi presented an ethnocentric cosmogony centered on a shamanistic primogeniture that rendered their contemporary mudang as innocuous replicas of an ancient past.

For Ch’oe Nam-sŏn and Yi Nŭng-hwa, musok was meant to bolster a non-Japanese, androcentric, anti-colonial history. On the other hand, for the colonial government, Korean shamanism was used to prove that Koreans engaged in less progressive practices, similar to primitive Shinto, in order to reason that Japanese colonial oppression was kin-based leadership. In the same way as the print media discussions before them, Ch’oe and Yi’s anti-colonial project had inherent problems in that the subjects they used to combat colonialism (mudang in this case) were the same subjects used to bolster colonialist ideologies. Even through Ch’oe’s proposal of a polygenetic cultural “survival” model was meant to challenge the colonizing claim of Asian monogenetics, these nationalist projects were unable to remove themselves from a linear progressive model of relativism.

I am inspired by Francesco Orlando’s “theme of ruins” which helps me to understand how mudang became representatives of musok through a “denial of any relationship of functionality” between mudang and society. Musok, as an emblem of an ethnocentric metaphistory, was “defunctionalized” to remove it from contemporary practice. On the other
hand, *musok* was anything but deprived of function as it was used to represent a unifying racial primordialism, creating a separation between Korea and Japan – a distinction based on pronounced characterizations of Koreans which obviated the need for historical justification and lodged Korean ethnicity into the recesses of an untraceable past. *Musok* produced an imaginary path of collective pilgrimages into the past to invoke popular nostalgia and held promises to revive Korea’s glorious origins and national strength. Nostalgias were created through this juxtaposition and shamans were revived to haunt modernity; shamans entered Korean intellectuals’ imaginations as “magic” was invoked to satisfy sentimental and romantic longings for Korean ethnic origins and ancient history.  

Colonialist and nationalist ideologies were not only rooted in a nation-to-metropole relationship. Korean nationalists attempted to situate themselves within an ethnic hierarchy among a racialized sphere of Far East Asians in a concentric world of race-based evolution. For intellectuals such as Ch’oe Nam-sŏn, overcoming colonialism could have meant losing the nation to the past and joining forces with close ethnic groups in Manchuria or Siberia. Paek Nam-un (1895-1979) was among the Marxist intellectuals of the colonial period who also believed that overcoming colonialism and restoring a Korean nation status would not provide liberation for Korean society.

As the Epilogue discusses, the colonial state’s promotion of Korean shamanism was meant to reinforce notions of a shared ancestry and to justify colonial assimilation policy, but shamanism was paradoxically inherited by the post-liberation indigenous state for

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43 Sin Ch’ae-ho’s initial use of shaman subjects in drafting an ethnocentric history of the Korean nation is the most widely recognized among Koreanists. For a description of magic’s “haunt,” see Peter Pels, 2003: 4-5.
45 Ch’oe Sŏk-yŏng, 1997.
political self-legitimation. Although Korean shamanism discourses continue after Japanese colonialism ends, research conducted during the colonial period were instrumental to the institutionalization of shamanism studies in Korea. Today, the colonial print media discourses to eradicate mudang from the city and the country have largely been forgotten as shamanism has become an eclectic characteristic of Korean urban life. Colonial images of mudang as artifacts of a distant past had more enduring effects. Shamanism has become a part of Korean studies and folklore studies due, in part, to Korean writings on mudang and shamans during the colonial period.46 The inheritance of colonial era developments on shamanism is an integral component in South Korean developments in shamanism research and in post-liberation communities that have embraced shamanism to represent their “folk” identity.

46 Musok translates into “the study of mu” and has often been used as the hangul equivalent to “shamanism.” See Nam Kŭn-u, “Chosŏn ŭi musok chŏnt’ongron kwa singminji” (Treatise on Korean traditional shamanism and colonialism), in Cheguk Ilbon i kŭrin Chosŏn minsok (Imperial Japanese Depictions of Chosŏn folklore), edited by Chu Yong-ha, 199-236, Sŏngnam: Han’gukhak chungang yŏn’guwŏn, 2006.
CHAPTER ONE

Confucian Reformers and Catholic Imperialists

INTRODUCTION

“Shamanism” was a new regime of knowledge that emerged through a historically situated discourse. The term “shamanism,” as it was first utilized to explain the Korean race, culture, history, and religion, is introduced in this chapter with a discussion on Russian shamanism.1 Since the first western writings on “shamans” emerged in the late eighteenth-century when German scientists started exploring a new Siberian frontier under the Russian empire, Russian imperial interests in shamanism were intended to aid Russian interests in Siberian trade. The first section of this chapter explores how a new discourse on shamanism, through publications on the new Siberian frontier, emerged out of Russia’s expansionist endeavours. Shaman characters were used in popular literature to meet the demands of a growing European literary market; these characters satisfied western readers’ curiosity about “un-civilized savagery.”2 The very literary characters born out of the imaginations of scientists on the Siberian frontier were later used to justify the Christian evangelical movement in Korea.

This chapter outlines the historical uses of the concept of mudang from the seventeenth-century up to 1876. Although it has been widely acknowledged that “shamans” were born out of a western imperial dialectic, relatively little attention has been given to the Korean discourse on the subject known as mudang that westerners later equated with “shamans.”

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1 Many Korean scholars are well aware of the historical precariousness of Korean shamanism. Hwang P’il-ho as an example, is critical of how (mu’gyo, 巫敎) has been made synonymous to “shamanism” and questions the theory that shamanism is the world’s first religious form. Hwang P’il-ho Han’guk mugyo ūi i’ûksŏng kwa munjejŏm (Korean mu faith characteristics and issues), Seoul: Chimmundang, 2002.

The second section of this chapter discusses how the neo-Confucian Chosŏn state contended with fractious rituals such as mudang kut alongside other anti-state heterodoxies such as Catholicism. In addition, this section looks at how neo-Confucian scholars described mudang as heterodox practice for multiple reasons. Negative discussions on mudang were used to redefine women’s relationship to “ritual,” to evaluate proper Confucian behaviour, and to suggest social and political reform. Chosŏn discussion about mudang shows that a native critique of Korean governance and a call for social reform existed autonomous from and before westerners began writing about Korea. Without recognizing Korea’s long history of reform thought, westerners wrote critiques of Korea in a way that assumed that Koreans inherently lacked the ability for self-critique and relied on the west to lead them in reform.

The violence which ensued from western imperial confrontations in Korea informed early western discourse on the country. French Catholic missionaries comprised the largest Christian evangelical movement in nineteenth-century Korea. The third section gives an overview of the Korean persecution of French missionaries alongside French imperial aggression in Asia throughout the nineteenth-century. Special attention is paid to a French missionary, by the name of Claude Charles Dallet, and his treatise on Korea in 1874, published just before Korea entered the era of unequal trade treaties with western countries. Dallet’s treatise will be reviewed for the ways in which he characterized Korean society, particularly Korean “superstitions” in light of these persecutions. His “martyrology” and the persecutions themselves are better understood by examining their historical context around rapid European imperial expansion in Asia and Korea’s domestic turmoil in the latter half of the nineteenth-century. Dallet’s treatise is arguably a gesture for closure on the Catholic
movement in Korea, marking a new generation of Protestant writings on Korea.³

I. RUSSIAN SHAMANISM

Historiographers of shamanism have concluded that the term “shamanism” has been widely misappropriated and a-historicized. The term has functioned for centuries to represent an “exotic essence, a romanticized inversion of western rationalism.”⁴ Nicholas Thomas argues that “virtually all who use it are aware that it derives originally from Siberia, even while it has long been applied to phenomena in many other parts of the globe.”⁵ Dutch explorers coined the term through their findings in Siberia in the late 1600s.⁶ Ronald Hutton claimed that the first time the word “shaman” appeared in writing was in 1672, “in memoirs of the exiled Russian churchman Avvakum” and “reached western and Central European scholarship twenty years later in the work of Nicholas Witsen.”⁷ While Russian tsars, Germanic explorers, and scientists introduced the word schaman to “educated European and American audiences,” this phenomenon remained largely unknown to Russians until the late nineteenth-century.⁸

Catherine the Great’s (1762-1796) economic initiatives were the driving forces behind

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⁵ Ronald Hutton, Shamans: Siberian Spirituality and the Western Imagination, London: Hambledon and London, 2002: vii. Mircea Eliade is perhaps the most famous contemporary scholar to produce a survey of global shamanism. Some scholars have refuted Eliadean models of understanding shamanism, while most continue to utilize them. Mircea Eliade, 2004.
⁸ See Andrei Znamenski, 2007: 5.
the creation of shamanism studies. Andrei Znamenski illustrates that from 1768 to 1774,
Catherine financed the world’s largest expeditions into Siberia for the purposes of
colonization and economic expansion. She commissioned “German-speaking scientists” to
become the pioneers of shamanism in their surveys of the newly acquired Siberian frontier.
From the eighteenth-century on, shamanism was “recognized among experts to be a scholarly
construct, used to group together beliefs and activities across the world” and to “have some
apparent relationship with those observed in Siberia.” The term was used “very loosely to
describe people who earlier were known under such names as the ‘medicine’ man or woman,
‘sorcerer,’ ‘conjuror,’ ‘magician,’ ‘witch doctor,’ and ‘spiritualist’,” but “no commonly
agreed definition has ever been ascribed to the term.” The vagaries of shamanism continue
to exist when no consistent definition has been ascribed to the term making shamanism a
questionable concept.

Tsarist Russian researchers commissioned under Catherine began to divide Siberia into
language-based regions but this was arbitrarily done so according to imperial geo-political
jurisdictions. Ronald Hutton finds that the word “shaman” originally derived from a

9 Russia’s interest in the Siberian fur trade caused “forcible subjugation of a new group of natives.” Ronald
Hutton, 2001: 14. The first Russian Academy of Sciences expedition to extensively observe and record on
“shamanism” was conducted between 1733-43. The second and larger expedition, sponsored under Catherine
the Great, was conducted between 1768-74. Andrei Znamenski, 2007: 7.

10 Explorers mapped tundra and taiga forests, searched for mineral resources, measured temperatures, collected
and recorded exotic specimens and antiquities throughout the Siberian wilderness. “Eighteenth-century
explorers also diligently catalogued the ways and manners of indigenous populations, including such ‘bizarre’

11 Eighteenth-century Enlightenment explorers in Siberia described these schaman as “jugglers who duped their
communities and who should be exposed...Although in the eighteenth-century this attitude framed in Christian
phraseology more or less disappeared from secular literature, it remained well represented in the writings of
western missionaries until the twentieth century.” Andrei Znamenski, 2007: 5.

12 Znamenski finds that the word was transliterated as sāman or xaman, roughly rendered to mean ‘agitated,’
‘excited,’ or ‘raised.’ Andrei Znamenski, 2007: viii. Flaherty finds that German
scientists standardized the Sanskrit adoption of the term (śramana/śrama) before the end of the eighteenth-
century and reappropriated it into German taxonomy with terms der Schaman, die Schamanka, das
Schamanentum and the verb was schamanen. Gloria Flaherty, Shamanism and the Eighteenth-Century,
dubiously categorized and identified Tungusic tribe that was later problematically grouped by scientists as “Evenki.”¹⁴ Beginning in the late eighteenth-century, European scientists arbitrarily classified Siberia as a regional language, a race, and a culture.¹⁵ Within Siberia, those who were “lumped” together under a single name had no prior history of unification “and often had long-standing enmities with each other.” Without consultation or consent from those within these groups, the Soviet regime collapsed nearly 120 distinctive linguistic communities into thirty-five “nationalities.”¹⁶

Shamanism historiographers acknowledge an inherently Eurocentric understanding of “North Asian religious systems” that existed along a common base of shamanism.¹⁷ Hutton further argues that western civilization defined itself against shamanism, creating adversarial relationships “between the developed world and indigenous peoples; between science and magic; between established and charismatic religion; and between institutional and ‘alternative’ medicine.”¹⁸ For late eighteenth-century European scientists, militarists, politicians, and fur traders, shamanism was an inroad to northern and eastern Asia. The “shamanism phenomenon” evolved into a pseudo-scientific parameter to categorize “indigenous” people throughout Russia’s Siberian Empire.

Shamans and shamanism subjects created a niche in the Christian literary market in late eighteenth-century Europe.¹⁹ Flaherty argues that the first reports on shamanism in Europe coincided “with the rising tide of European fear of witchcraft” where widespread Christian

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¹⁴ “Russian settlers in Siberia chose this expression and eventually began to apply it to all native spiritual healers… Russian and Western explorers encountered pockets of [Evenki] communities from central Siberia to the coast of the Pacific Ocean.” Andrei Znamenski, 2007: 3.
¹⁵ Ronald Hutton, 2001: viii.
¹⁷ Works by Gloria Flaherty, Andrei Zamaneski and Ronald Hutton serve as primary examples.
¹⁸ Ronald Hutton, 2001: viii.
persecutions made it dangerous to write about shamanism for a popular audience. If their reports did not “treat shamanism as a form of diabolic demonology,” writings on shamans were listed on the *Index librorum prohibitorum*; they were refused license to appear in print; or, even worse, they incurred accusations of “heresy.”\(^{20}\) Shamans as social subjects could only make their appearance within moral and legal discourse, practices and institutional apparatuses of the late eighteenth-century. Writers were allowed a certain amount of liberty when writing about shamanism as long as they adhered to a premise of Christian education. Flaherty argues that a wave of shaman-based literature flourished throughout eighteenth-century Europe on the basis that “the devil was clearly disavowed.”\(^{21}\) Writers experimented with the limits of Christian pedagogy and their shamanism stories became more risqué, feeding a gradually liberalizing consumer market throughout Europe while maintaining the use of shamans as literary figures for the purposes of “moral edification.”\(^{22}\)

Not only did exotic writings about foreign lands satisfy European literary demands, Christian missionary movements led the path for western imperial expansionism around the globe. Michael Taussig astutely argues this point: “The image of the devil and the mythology of redemption came to mediate the dialectical tensions embodied in conquest and the history of imperialism.”\(^{23}\) Missionaries were commissioned, not only to proselytize to non-Christian natives, but to transform them spiritually into dutiful imperial subjects. Spiritually transforming the natives of their frontiers was necessary to successfully colonize their lands. In Siberia, those who were identified as Christian were exempted from paying tribute in the price of Russians fur. The loss of profits from the tribute exemption caused the


colonial authorities to have the “strongest practical motive for discouraging a missionary effort,” which in turn, enabled most communities to retain their native religious practices in the 1600s. However, “the initial disposition to tolerate local customs and beliefs ended dramatically in 1706, with the publication of an imperial decree requiring the conversion of all natives to Christianity,” with the penalty of death for any who refused. Catherine the Great “who was wholly committed to the Enlightenment project, infused it with Protestant fervor” and the evangelical mission was made abundantly clear as frontier reports of shamans emerged in Russia’s eastern colonies. In the nineteenth-century when a new Russian nationalist monarchy promoted “confessional orthodoxy” as a part of its ruling ideology, a seemingly successful mass conversion created a “folk Christianity,” a syncretic mixture of shamanism and European Christianity.

II. CHOSŌN DISCOURSES ON MUDANG

While publications on Siberian shamanism were being distributed throughout Europe, mudang were also being discussed as contentious figures by reform scholars in pre-modern Korea. Before section three’s discussion on the emergence of shamanism in western literature on Korea, this section will highlight a pattern in mudang discussions during the Chosŏn period. The later western “discovery” of mudang as a type of shaman can be better understood by first examining how Koreans characterized mudang. Chosŏn-era mudang discussions were discernibly negative and, unlike western shamanism discourse, largely revolved around neo-Confucian ethics. From the seventeenth-century onward, Korean scholars heavily scrutinized Chosŏn’s internal problems, using mudang to illustrate political

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and social corruption and to suggest necessary reform. In addition, the appearance of mudang in these late Chosŏn critiques signalled a trend to examine the unique aspects of Korea and to distance the country from China.

Mudang have been a part of Korean scholarly discussion for hundreds of years. Through his research on Samguk yusa (Ancient History of the Three Kingdoms, 三國遺事), Kang Yong-gyŏng concluded that “master mu” (samu, 師巫) were venerated in the Silla Kingdom as early as A.D. 4 under King Nam-Hae’s reign. Pak Pyŏng-nyun claimed that the Chosŏn concept of “etiquette” or “rite” (ye, 礼) was derived from an ancient Chinese state religion that utilized “mu people” (muin, 巫人) as religio-political consultants for the state. In the first half of the Chosŏn dynasty, Court Confucians accepted “court mu” (referred to as kungmudang, 國巫堂) in order to receive their assistance on large-scale disasters and courtly concerns. Kungmudang were frequently invited into King T’aejong and Sejong’s courts in the first half of the fifteenth-century Chosŏn courts.

These state sanctioned kungmudang notwithstanding, late Koryŏ and early Chosŏn governments generally condemned mudang activities on the basis that they conflicted with state ideology and practices. Yi Yong-bŏm studied twelfth-century Koryŏ court documents...

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27 Kang Yong-gyŏng, “Kodae Han’guk musok ŭi yŏksajŏk chŏn’gae” (Historical development of shamanism in ancient Korea) Han’guk musokhak 10 (August 2005) 47.
29 Sometimes shortened to kungmu. Ch’oe Chŏng-sŏng, “Chosŏn chŏn’gi ŭi chonggyo mubwa wa musok” (Musok and religious culture in the first half of the Chosŏn dynasty) Han’guk musokhak 11 (February 2006): 7-36. Kungmu were also present in the Koryŏ courts. See Yi Nŭng-hwa, 1991: 42-43. Dynastic records show that particularly between the years, 1401-35, until the middle of Sejong’s reign, there were 23 recorded court rituals involving 巫. Ch’oe Chŏng-sŏng, 2006: 26. For further discussion on kungmudang during the Chosŏn Dynasty, see Kyŏnghyang chapchi (September 1983): 46-49.
that recorded *mu* ceremonies as “improper ritual” (*ŭmsa*, 淫祀). The late Koryŏ courts attempted to align themselves more closely with China’s Yuan dynasty by advancing neo-Confucian state reform policies. A new group of Chu Hsi followers conducting ritual studies (*yehak*, 禮學) emerged in the late Koryŏ/early Chosŏn era. In an effort to promote neo-Confucianism as the official state ideology, the Chosŏn government (1392-1910) increasingly recognized, regulated, and repressed *mudang* activities. Korean shamanism historiographers have claimed that the Chosŏn period was “an era of contempt and repression” for Buddhism and “shamanism” alike. A scholar official of the first Chosŏn administration, Chŏng To-jŏn (鄭道傳, 1342-1398) advised the court to build the walls of the new dynasty’s capital so that they would not include an area of rocks (*sŏnbawi*, 禪바위) that were “a focal point for the practice of certain shamanistic rites,” concretizing the physical and symbolic boundaries of neo-Confucian orthodoxy by literally exiling *mudang*-based practices.

While the neo-Confucian state welcomed *kungmudang* into its court, it also streamlined socio-political practices as “proper ritual” (*chŏngsa*, 正祀) and relegated other forms of

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30 See Yi Yong-bŏm’s survey of premodern Korean policies on *musok* in his article, “Musok e Taehan kûndae Han’guk sahoe ùi pujŏngjŏk sigak e Taehan kôch’al” (An examination on the negative viewpoint on musok in modern Korea) Han’guk musokhak 9 (February 2005): 152.
32 For a detailed discussion on the “rite controversy” (*yesong*, 禮訟) in the early Chosŏn, see Ch’oe Chŏng-sŏng, 2006.
33 Ch’oe Chŏng-sŏng, 2006: 25.
social/spiritual rituals, such as *mudang kut* as *ūmsa*. Martina Deuchler, researching the *Kyŏngguk taejŏn*, found that in 1431, neo-Confucian legislators claimed that *mu* had a “corrupting influence,” using this reason to restrict women’s from such patronage. However, this had little effect until 1447 when the king approved legislation which charged heads of families and their closest agnates with “guilt by association for the trespasses of their womenfolk.” Women’s patronage of temples and *mu* homes became punishable by one hundred lashes.36 Ch’oe Chŏng-sŏng also suggested that *musok*, together with Buddhism and Taoism, were considered forms of anti-Confucian heterodoxy from the early Chosŏn dynasty onward.37 In principle, the *muin*’s role as ritual specialists was rendered obsolete as the King was given the central role in conducting court rituals and as he was considered the sole mediator to heaven.38

Yet, practice was sometimes contrary to and often inconsistent with official ideology, as seen in the case of the state’s simultaneous acceptance of and resistance towards *mudang* practices. Official theatrical performances which utilized *mudang* characters date as far back as a thousand years and continued to be performed within the courts up to the end of the Chosŏn dynasty. The Chosŏn Confucian court continued to be entertained by traditional theatre where *mudang* characters were key figures in drama story-lines. Archaeological evidence suggests that under King Injo, an Office of “masked dance drama” (sandae) existed especially to manage this type of courtly theatre.39 More than serving as entertainers,
mudang were also summoned to conduct official rituals for the court. An elite group of
kungmu were occasionally incorporated into state affairs at the king’s discretion and had their
occasional place within the Chosŏn courts until the Japanese annexation in 1910. These
elite mudang were summoned to conduct rain rituals (pyŏlsin kut), combat drought, famine,
and uprisings showing that mudang made familiar appearances in the Confucian court for
unofficial and official purposes.41

The Chosŏn court was limited in its power and ability to uphold Confucian ideology as
seen in its attempt to restrict and its inability to eliminate “mu work” (muŏp) in and around
the court.42 Scholar-officials pinned the source of muŏp on the “inner” courts as the realm of
ŭmsa. Neo-Confucian ideologies morally edified “inner room” (anbang) activities in order
to cloister women within the inner quarters of the home and to extricate them from political
life. However, historians such as Martina Deuchler and Jahyun Kim Haboush have
questioned the meaning and practical impasse between the inner and outer sphere.43 For
instance, Deuchler examined manuals for women which exemplified “virtuous” behaviour as
those that avoided ŭmsa. She highlighted how Confucian scholars characterized “virtuous
women” as exceptional in their “hatred” towards “superstitious practices” conducted by
“shamans.” These didactic materials indicated that elite women’s interaction with mudang

41 Yun Tong-hwan studies of the characteristics of pyŏlsin kut throughout Korea in the 1900s. Yun Tong-hwan,
“Pyŏlsin ŭi yangsang kwa sŏnggyŏk: 1900nyŏndae ihu rul chungsim ŭro” (Types and characteristics of pyŏlsin:
after 1900) Han’guk musokhak 10 (August 2005): 245-84.
42 Cho relies heavily on Yi Nŭng-hwa’s research on Chosŏn wangjo ch’ogi to discuss this early dynastic
repression. Cho Hŭng-yun, 2003: 167-84. Yi Nŭng-hwa’s work will be discussed further in Chapter Five of this
dissertation.
43 For historical essays on this topic see Laurel Kendall, 1983 and see JaHyun Kim Haboush, “Versions and
Subversions: Patriarchy and Polygamy in Korean Narratives” in Women and Confucian Cultures in Premodern
China, Korea and Japan, edited by Dorothy Ko, JaHyun Kim Haboush, and Joan R. Piggott, Berkeley:
was a significant concern for Confucian scholars.\footnote{Martina Deuchler, “Propagating Female Virtues in Chosŏn Korea,” in \textit{Women and Confucian Cultures in Premodern China, Korea and Japan}, edited by Dorothy Ko, JaHyun Kim Haboush, and Joan R. Piggott, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003: 158.} While much of this material was written by men, women were also instrumental in pushing the limits of ēmsa and proper feminine behaviour by giving their heroines the authority to define neo-Confucian virtue in their genre fiction literature.\footnote{See JaHyun Kim Haboush’s work on genre fiction. JaHyun Kim Haboush, 2003: 297.}

The parameters of proper Confucian practice were not set in stone; Buddhism was among the less harshly criticized heterodox practices. Boudewijn Walraven specified that other representatives of “popular religion,” such as p’ansu and changnim, were similar to, but less scrutinized than, mudang because they appeared more “civilized” and posed less of a “threat to the social hierarchy” and unlike mudang, they were “not possessed by deities who lent them a special, and potentially dangerous, authority.”\footnote{Walraven defines them p’ansu as “blind exorcists” and changnim as “male ritual specialists [who] chanted scriptures in Buddho-Taoist style and specialized in healing.” Boudewijn Walraven, “Popular Religion in a Confucianized Society,” in \textit{Culture and the State in Late Chosŏn Korea}, edited by Jahyun Kim Haboush and Martina Deuchler, Cambridge, Mass.: London: Harvard University Press, 1999: 167-68.} While mudang practices may not have been diametrically opposed to neo-Confucianism, a “feminization of shamanism” could have been “the product of a gender-segregated society in which practitioners and clients tended to be of the same sex.”\footnote{Boudewijn Walraven, 1999: 165. See also JaHyun Kim Haboush and Martina Deuchler, eds., \textit{Culture and the State in Late Chosŏn Korea}, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 1999: 12.} Male spirits/ritualists were foregrounded under neo-Confucian ruling ideology to guarantee that high-profile spirits would be appeased, reinforcing the gender hierarchy through male specialists, and ultimately supporting a patriarchal governing system and social order.

Through the lens of Confucian ethics, mudang also became a vehicle to discuss economic reform. Mudang appeared as thieves and criminals in Confucian writings throughout the Chosŏn dynasty to illustrate moments of individual gain and public loss. Pak
Kye-hong highlighted the connection between officials’ interest in *mu* and state revenue and found that Chosŏn officials were able to exploit *mu* by discussing how they propagatd ŭmsa and “hid” or “stole” property. In 1509, Ch’oe Suk-saeng (崔琡生, dates unknown) reported to King Chungjong’s court (1506-1544) that through ŭmsa practices, “*mugyŏk* [male and female *mu*] dried up people’s property.” Mudang were closely critiqued for their accumulation of wealth showing how the state was losing its resources.

Yi Su-kwang (李昞光, brushname Chibong, 1563-1628), perhaps best known for his writings on western science and technologies, also wrote scathingly about unethical *mu* transactions. Yi created a twenty-five volume collection of encyclopedia-style essays, entitled, *Chibong yusŏl* (*Encyclopedic Essays of Chibong,* 芝峯類說) that was posthumously published in the eleventh year of King Injo’s reign. The essays covered topics such as astronomy, geography, the Mongol language, and Catholicism; however, the majority of his essays dealt with issues of statecraft and governance. Volume 18 of *Chibong yusŏl,* dedicated to the “arts” (*kiye*, 伎藝), had sub-sections on artistic writings, paintings, methods and techniques, miscellaneous games, gambling, music, instruments, Taoism, self-cultivation, Sŏn Buddhism and a section on “mugyŏk.” This section began with the warning that “once they come in, they arrange for wickedness to follow.” He declared, “today, common people say that *mu* [*mugwi*, 巫鬼] are so greedy that when they see people’s property, they want to

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49 In the third month, of the third year of King Chungjong (中宗代, 1506-44). Exact dates of 崔琡生 are unknown. Pak Kye-hong, 1971: 216.
take it while pretending other people are doing this, criminalizing other people.”
Yi’s ethical prerogative allowed him the authority to assess *mu* “wickedness” as a form of criminality. By criticizing *mugyŏk*, Yi was able to locate a misdirected pattern of exchange which he evaluated as an unethical and inefficient practice.

A number of factors enabled an efflorescence of these types of essay collections in the sixteenth-century. Literacy became more widespread, with an increase of men of letters and cultivated readers. The Chosŏn court encouraged general essay writings and promoted writers into higher positions in the bureaucracy at this time. Up to the early seventeenth-century, talented writers were given a leave of absence from their posts to devote their time to reading and writing. Peter Lee pointed out that the majority of these essays were derived from speeches which explains their plain language that was void of “laboured and ornate official style.” These essays were meant to demonstrate the authors’ exemplary Confucian ideals and behaviour while they made comments on contemporary society. Miscellaneous essays commonly discussed people of all walks of life, from slaves and merchants to actors and *mu*. *Mu*-related practices were not only discussed as an objectionable form of heterodox, but their patrons were scrutinized for “squandering their money” on “objectionable shrine” worship.

Anti-*mudang* discussions of the early seventeenth-century were fuelled by an upset in the neo-Confucian geo-political order from which Korean scholars considered themselves as the sole upholders of neo-Confucian ideology and practice. The Manchu invasions of 1627

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53 Peter Lee, 1985: 479.
54 Peter Lee, 1985: 486.
and 1636, and their overthrow of the powerful Ming, forced Chosŏn to acquiesce to a new “barbarian” Qing dynasty (1644-1911). Chosŏn-Qing relations were strengthened through the eighteenth-century as the Qing steadily gained economic prosperity, but many Koreans continued to believe that Qing rulers were usurpers of the throne. The Ming era was loyally commemorated while contempt was expressed for Korea’s contemporary “barbarian” neighbours through subtle gestures of slight such as renaming their Qing tribute missions with a lesser title than was formerly used for the Ming and refusing to use the new Qing calendrical system. The regional political upset aroused Korean scholars to declare their expertise on Chu Hsi learning and to promote ways to “reject heresy and uphold orthodoxy” (pyŏksa wido). This slogan supported notions of the Chosŏn state as the bastion of Confucian orthodoxy.

*Mudang* continued to appear in eighteenth-century scholarly critiques of administrative functions in a way that reinforced Confucian ethics. Scholars such as Yi Ik (李瀷, 1681-1763), Pak Chi-wŏn (朴趾源, 1737-1805), and Pak Che-ga (朴齊家, 1750-1815) voiced their opinions about the types of social and state reforms that were needed. They shared certain themes of social and governmental critique as seen in their negative assessments against *mudang*. *Mudang* beliefs, referred to as “evil spirits,” needed to be eliminated if *mudang* and their “heterodox shrines” were removed.  

By accentuating moments of *mugyŏk* upsetting the socio-economic order or *ŭmsa* opposing customary practices, these scholars were able to assert their opinions as expert Confucian principles meant to induce state reform.

Yi Ik (brushname Sŏng-ho) was a widely recognized unofficial, provincial scholar who wrote prolifically on contemporary and historical issues. His successors were grouped under

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55 Boudewijn Walraven, 1999: 165.
a “Sŏng-ho school” and gained notoriety for their extensive scholastic interests in sŏhak. In his most notable encyclopaedic work, Sŏngho sasŏl (Essays of Sŏngho), Yi Ik promoted the support of farming communities, the development of agricultural technologies, as well as the changes that were needed in Chosŏn’s political and judicial system. In Volume One of Sŏngho sasŏl, Yi covered miscellaneous topics of “the world” such as the attributes of eastern knowledge and civilization, Silla history, geographical and historical characteristics of the capital city, Paektu Mountain, the Korean peninsula, the establishment of the Tumen northern boundary, the flora and fauna in an East Sea island, and calendrical and celestial charts. His dedication to the livelihood of farmers could be seen in his discussion on the history of reservoirs and irrigation systems and his proposal to revive an ancient private land ownership system.

Mu were intermittently discussed in the first volume of Sŏngho sasŏl where Yi Ik gave historical accounts of Tan’gun’s relationship to mu (ŭimu, 巫巫) and Silla history. As a part of his contemporary commentary, passing criticisms were made of mu with regard to peasant life. Without explanation or evidence of how it happened, Yi pointed out that “female mu” (munyŏ, 巫女) used tax collecting officials to evade taxes and to benefit from unaccounted property. He claimed that these women hid their wealth from the government and caused “countless people” to lose “many months’ crops.” Concerned over this detriment to farmers, he cried, “what a pity!” Yi’s comment was not unlike Yi Su-kwang’s critique

57 Yi Ik, Sŏngho sasŏl (Essays of Sŏngho), translated by Ch’oe Sŏk-ki, second reprint, Seoul: Han’gilsa, 2002: 47-88.
from a hundred years before, signaling a long history of scholars who have made social and political commentaries using an anti-
mudang discourse.

By comparison, King Yŏngjo was radically different in his lenience towards mudang. He proposed some drastic measures to align Chosŏn state practice according to revised assessments of Chu-Hsi’s teachings. Among his proposals he concluded that it was unethical to force mudang to pay tribute cloth levies based on standards that were similar to those imposed upon criminals. In 1744, official advisor, Kim Úng-sun (金應淳, 1728-1774) recommended King Yŏngjo to eliminate the levies that were enforced on female slaves and female mu working for government administrators. Mudang were among a “low-born” status group, making up a significant source of state revenue. King Sejong’s administration (1418-1450) found it beneficial for the government to issue special taxes on mu homes. This low-born category of people also included merchants, artisans, and slaves. By 1425, the annual tribute tax from these people totalled 8,955,350 mun or about 9,000 strings (kan) of cash which was more than was in circulation at the time, forcing the government to open up the regulation to other forms of payment. James Palais, Confucian Statecraft and Korean Institutions: Yu Hyŏngwŏn and the Late Choson Dynasty, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1996: 55. Kyung Moon Hwang argued that mu “found themselves attached to state service” although they were officially ineligible for government positions, similar to others of this status group (such as kisaeng and kong nobi). Yŏngjo’s officials rejected his proposal for these women on the logic that the levy was not to punish them for their work, but rather to suppress the spread of mu practices. They argued that it was an effective method of social control and a necessary measure to discourage úmsa, but they were more immediately concerned that the proposal would reduce state revenue.

Records from the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries indicate that royal registers of mudang existed in small numbers, generating constant anxiety for the state. Mudang

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59 King Sejong’s administration (1418-1450) found it beneficial for the government to issue special taxes on mu homes. This low-born category of people also included merchants, artisans, and slaves. By 1425, the annual tribute tax from these people totalled 8,955,350 mun or about 9,000 strings (kan) of cash which was more than was in circulation at the time, forcing the government to open up the regulation to other forms of payment. James Palais, Confucian Statecraft and Korean Institutions: Yu Hyŏngwŏn and the Late Choson Dynasty, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1996: 55.


61 Yŏngjo’s high councilors also argued that female slave levies were needed in order to register future slaves in a dwindling slave population that was presenting a revenue crisis for the government.

demographics were difficult to track through the royal census. Because heavy levies and oppressive restrictions were imposed upon them, *mudang* avoided being registered by registering aliases or supplementary occupations whenever they could. As Yi Su-kwang and Yi Ik suggested in their commentaries above, scholars believed that *mudang* were hiding from state surveys and registrations. *Mudang* fell into a loophole under the patriarchal designs of Chosŏn policies; they were subsumed under the male heads of households as per the Chosŏn patrilineal family registry laws. Im Hak-sŏng’s research illustrated how some “mudang occupations [*muŏp*]” eluded state records. Census records from Kyŏngsang province between the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries held anomalous family registers of obscurely recognized hereditary *mudang* (*saesŭmmu*).

Records on *mu* were difficult to acquire because the patriarchal function of government policies created a loophole through which *mu* were unaccounted. Recent Korean shamanism scholars have found two main methods of acquiring *mu* occupations: the first has generally been recognized as an “ecstatic *mu*” (*kangsinmu*) where women were spontaneously possessed by spirits, forcing them to become *mudang*. Kangsinmu appeared more randomly and were difficult to trace through written records because they did not inherit kin-based occupations. A second method of acquiring *mu* occupation was through a stream of *saesŭmmu* where *muŏp* was matrilineally passed down to daughters of the family. Official records normally reflected patrilineal occupations and did not recognize wives’ or daughters’

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64 巫業. Im Hak-sŏng, “Chosŏn hugi hojŏk charyo rŭl t’onghae pon Kyŏngsangdo mudang ŭi ‘muŏp sesŭp yangt’ae: 17–19 segi Tansŏnghyŏn ŭi sarye punsŏk” (Aspects of saesŭp in the census registers of Tansŏng-hyŏn of Kyŏngsang Province in the late Chosŏn) *Han’guk musokhak* 9 (February 2005): 47-75.

65 Also known as *tan’gol* in the Chŏlla and Kyŏngsang provinces and known as *simbang* in Cheju Island. Im Hak-sŏng, 2005: 47-75; Tae-gon Kim, “Definition of Korean Shamanism: Centering around the Specific Character of Shamanism,” in *Culture of Korean Shamanism*, edited by Yong-chun Shin, Seoul: Kimpo College Press, 1999: 34.

livelihood. *Saesŭmmu* were considered less efficacious compared to *kangsinmu*.67 They received fewer clients, charged less for their services, and generated most of their income with other forms of work as their main occupations. The Chosŏn state’s patrilineal census systems did not have a method in place to recognize matrilineally-inherited household occupations, much less, to incorporate alias occupations which concealed *muŏp*. Even when *mudang* were the primary household income earners, they were likely subsumed under their father’s or husband’s occupations. Furthermore, some assumed the names and titles of Buddhist practices which incorporated “indigenous spirits” into a Buddhist pantheon.68 Some *mu* adopted honorific Buddhist titles revealing the nebulous references to *mu* and the tracelessness of *muŏp*.69

Scholars variously discussed the negative social effects of *mudang* to criticize neo-Confucian practice. In a book which Pak Chi-wŏn (brushname Yŏnam) devoted to the life and characteristics of an ideal “scholar” (*yangban*), he pointed out that if people refrained from seeking out *mudang* when they were gravely ill, they were conducting proper *yangban* behaviour.70 His *Yangbanjŏn (Story of a Yangban, 隨班傳)* may be seen as a tool to educate people on proper behaviour. By revealing the widespread practice of *yangban* soliciting *mudang*, the story presented a subtle critique of “corrupt Confucian” practices. His disciple, Pak Che-ga made more direct comments against *mu* and neo-Confucian practices.71 In 1786,

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68 James Grayson finds a long history of this evidenced in the *Samguk yusa (Records of the Three Kingdoms, 三國遺事)*. James Grayson, 1992: 205-06.
69 Titles such as *mansin* (萬神).
71 Pak Che-ga was perhaps best known for his diary discussing Pak Chi-wŏn’s official travel to Beijing in 1790 entitled, *Pukhakăi (Discourse on Northern Learning, 北學議)* in which Pak Chi-wŏn contributed his own preface.
he proposed to King Chŏngjo to have “idle and parasitic yangban” participate more fully in commerce and trade.72 He made scathing observations against mu-based practices where he expressed his disapproval of mogyŏk ceremonies for being “injurious” (paekhae, 百害) and “futile” (muik, 無益).73 Pak Che-ga’s criticisms of mu-based rituals and Pak Chi-wŏn’s anecdotes about a yangban were not only used as educational tools to train the elite on proper behaviour, they were meant to reveal corrupt practices in Confucian administration, to criticize the government for being inefficient and to reaffirm the belief that reform needed to be instigated from the level of government to cause positive social effect.

Immediately following Yŏngjo’s death, a significant measure was passed to officially ban mudang from residing within the capital city. Under King Chŏngjo’s reign (1776-1800), the government implemented stricter restrictions against mudang–related activities.74 Although they were officially ostracized, systematically implementing these anti-mudang policies within or outside of the capital city was a challenge when some mudang had close ties to people with political clout. Pu Nam-ch’ŏl argued that Chŏngjo did not wish to eliminate mudang when he himself was known to participate in non-Confucian ceremonies.75 Chŏngjo wished instead to push non-Confucian sites away from his geographical hub of

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73 Song Chun-ho and An Tae-hoe, eds., Hongje chŏnsŏ/yŏngjaejip/kûmdaejip/chŏngyujip (Collected works of Pak Che-ga), Seoul: Koryŏ taehakkyo minjok munhwa yŏn’guso, Han’guk kojŏn munhak chŏnjip, 1996: 316-348. Pak Che-ga’s bold essay “On Revering China” in his Pukhagu pushed the limits of his power and for his views against Chosŏn administration and particularly for his promotion to follow Qing as an example of good government, Pak was demoted to a provincial post.
74 Scholars such as Cho Hŭng-yun and Walraven believe that a marked anti-mudang campaign arose under Chŏngjo’s reign. Boudewijn Walraven, 1999: 165; Cho Hŭng-yun, 2003; see also his Han’guk chonggyo munhwaron (Religious culture of Korea), Seoul: Hyŏndae Sinsŏ, 2002: 13.
75 Pu compares Chŏngjo’s religious policies to the concessions he made for Buddhism, which he also practiced. Pu Nam-ch’ŏl, “Yugojojŏk hakjagunju Chŏngjo ŭi chonggyo chŏngch’ak” (Religion Policy of Confucian Scholar King Chŏngjo) Han’guk chonggyo munhwaron 37, no. 2 (July 2003): 47-65.
power. Therefore, he ordered *mu* homes relocated south of the Han River.\(^7^6\) In keeping with the segregation law, *mudang* resided and worked just outside the capital’s boundaries. However, as correctional records from the latter half of the Chosŏn indicated, they were not entirely successful at keeping *mudang* outside of the capital. Even with this formal restriction, many were also allowed within the capital at the request of wealthy, powerful families, and politicians. Royal families sought them out and invited them into the city and the palaces. Court records revealed that officials questioned and debated the extent to which *mudang* counsel and influence should be enfolded into state practice. *Mudang* were ostracized and oppressed by official principles and by law, but in practice, they continued to have a presence in the capital and to filter into the courts through back-doors. The state continued to issue restrictions, bans, and heavy taxes on *mudang* activity while they unavoidably tolerated those who worked under elite support throughout the late Chosŏn.\(^7^7\)

Scholars were not the only ones to challenge Confucian rule; artists also expressed a distinct aesthetic reform that echoed similar sentiments in the late eighteenth-century. New forms of realism emerged that explored novel conceptions of space and subjects.\(^7^8\) A current of genre paintings emerged in this century that incorporated native subjects conducting everyday activities.\(^7^9\) One of the most famous among the genre painters was an artist by the name of Sin Yun-bok (申潤福, brushname Hyewŏn, 1758-1819) who utilized these unconventional spatial forms, techniques, and narrative in an album series entitled *Hyewŏn p’ungsok toch’ŏp* (*Drawings of Customs by Hyewŏn, 圖帖風俗圖帖*). The painting in

\(^7^6\) Pu Nam-ch’ŏl, 2003.
\(^7^7\) Boudewijn Walraven, 1999: 160-198.
\(^7^8\) Yi Yong-suk, “Kyu’nam Ha Paek-wŏn ʿui Haeyusi hwach’ŏp koch’al” (*A study of Kyu’nam Ha Paek-wŏn’s Haeyusi hwach’ŏp*) Munhwa sahak 27 (June 2007): 1041-1070.
\(^7^9\) Painting circa late eighteenth-century; exact date unknown. From the Kansŏng Art Museum Collection in Sŏngbuk District, Seoul.
Appendix A, of a mudang conducting a household ritual, entitled “Munyŏ sinmu” (Spirit dance of a female mudang, 巫女神舞), was included in this album. In the center of this painting, a group of mostly women are seated with their backs to a stone wall of a garden that runs diagonally across the frame. The female host sits leaning in, smiling and eagerly clapping her hands to the music while the rest of the women stare transfixed at the dancing mudang. Nearly half of the painting is composed of the space outside the garden walls, of blurred and nondescript greenery and housetops. The mudang is in yangban costume, with her arms outstretched, in a dance posture. The mudang is the only standing figure, in a long, bright red coat, in front of a brightly lit room. The angled rooftop of the house meets at a point beyond the right side of the frame. The mudang is positioned closest to that point. All of these elements draw attention and focus onto her as the central figure in the painting.

Sin’s styles and themes represented the artistic revolution of his time, drastically departing from officially promoted renditions of Chinese formalism. Sin Yun-bok’s new genre and style was representative of his time, where state sponsored elites and private scholars alike generated interest in everyday “customs” of people across the social and political spectrum. Scholars were encouraged by the Chosŏn court to explore new themes for research. For instance, Yŏngjae Yu Tŭk-kong (柳得恭, 1748-1807), Kim Mae-sun (金邁淳, 1776-1840) and Hong Sŏk-mo (洪錫謨, 1786-1857) were encouraged to conduct

81 See Na Kyŏng-su’s analysis of reform scholar, Yŏngjae Yu Tŭk-gong (1748-1807) and his explorations of the ‘everyday.’ Na Kyŏng-su, “Yŏngjae Yu Tŭk-gong Kyŏngdo chapchi ŭi minsok munhwaronjŏk kach’i” (Folk culture writings of Yŏngjae Yu Tŭk-gong’s Kyŏngdo chapchi) Taedong hanmunhak 27 (December 2007): 131-56.
extensive research on “seasonal customs” among commoners as legitimate topics of study for their broad survey projects.82 They also produced works on ancient Korean history including the history of Parhae.

Sin’s “art of customs” (p’ungsokhwa, 風俗畵) was not entirely different from the types of research that scholars were conducting for their essays on contemporary society. Similar to government projects on practices among the non-elite population, Sin’s work could also be interpreted as a study of the everyday and have become an important asset for historians to assess Chosŏn life. However, during his time, these paintings were not well received. Sin served Chŏngjo’s court as the third and last descendant in a line of court painters. In his paintings, women were made the focus of clandestine rendezvous, courtly entertainment, roadside sceneries, village nightlife, menial chores, and inner-room activities. Genre paintings such as this were generally low-brow and regarded as “vulgar art” (sokhwa, 俗畵) in that they rendered mundane social practices, starkly contrasting and even satirizing traditionally heralded Sinized art forms which Confucian officials considered worthy subjects. Sin’s depictions of people conducting banal and sometimes scandalous acts overstepped the bounds of stately tolerance and the court stripped him of his title as official painter (hwawŏn, 畫員),83 and expelled him from the Royal Painting Institute (Tohwasŏ, 圖畫署).84 While

82 Among their writings are as follows (by order of authors listed above): Kyŏngdo chapchi (Capital magazine, 京都雜志), Yŏlyang sesigi (World almanac, 洌陽歲時記), and Tongguk sesi’gi (Almanac of the East, 東國歲時記).

83 See Kim Ŭn-yŏng’s study on Chosŏn institutionalization of 畫員. Kim Ŭn-yŏng, “Chosŏn sidae hwawŏn ŭi yesulgwan kwa hyŏngsŏng paekyŏng e kwanhan koch’al” (Examination of the background and formation of the Choson era art institute) Misul kyoyuk nonch’ong 21, no 2 (August 2007): 303-21.
scholars integrated *mu* in their commentaries about neo-Confucianism, artists depicted *mudang* in their paintings showing a multi-faceted shift in political sensibilities in the eighteenth-century.

### III. Catholic Persecutions and Martyrology

In the nineteenth-century, Koreans were not the only ones writing critiques on Confucian rule; westerners contributed to this discussion within the framework of Christian evangelism for western audiences. French missionaries composed some of the earliest western accounts of Korea, outlining a history that was centered on Korean persecutions against foreigners, namely against the French Catholics. Their writings were meant to educate western readers on distant countries such as Korea, but they also served to acquire the Catholic Church’s support for Far East missions. How and why *mudang* emerged as a part of the shamanism discourse may be understood by examining these types of western historiographical accounts of Korea as publications that supported the Christian mission in the East Asian frontier.

French Catholic missionary, Claude Charles Dallet (1829-1878), published the most detailed account of the persecutions against the French Catholic Church in nineteenth-century Korea. *Mudang* were mentioned in the short introduction to his first volume, that was the most widely read section to his thousand-page publication. The first section of Volume One provided a survey of Korea, which writers credited or otherwise reproduced in later writings on Korea. In it, Dallet identified a taxonomy of subjects, depicting Koreans as anti-Christian antagonists, to create a context for the Catholic persecutions. The subjects that

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84 Hyewŏn is recognized as one of the three famous Wŏn’s from the late Chosŏn period - alongside Tanwŏn (檀園, 1745–1806) and Owŏn (吾園, 1843 - 1897) for being the most influential painters of this period.
emerged from what may be termed, a “persecution teleology,” were characterized as fundamentally and homogenously un-Christian. For instance, *mudang* were described alongside Confucian “ancestor worship” as being superstitious, blurring *mu* and Confucian practice together without an awareness of the long history of Korean scholars who spoke for, against, or ambivalently about *sŏhak* as well as *mu* practices. Furthermore, in contrast to each of his martyrs, who were mindfully entombed with dates, Dallet’s Korea existed outside of time, allowing him to underplay the events that led up to the Korean state’s promotion of *sŏhak* scholarship and their shifting policies on Catholicism in the nineteenth-century.

Dallet paid relatively little attention to the history of Korean foreign policies prior to the nineteenth-century. The state’s position on the Catholic movement in Korea and the events leading up to Dallet’s teleology may be examined to show that these persecutions were a result of long-standing, cumulative efforts to repel foreigners in the interest of Korean domestic security. Official records from as early as the fourteenth-century indicated that the early Chosŏn courts were heavily invested in collecting information on foreigners to strategize and stay abreast of their tenuous foreign relations with surrounding countries.85 However, Christian writings begin a Korean history with a depiction of an isolated country that first encountered foreigners in the late sixteenth-century.86 A handful of Jesuit missionaries entered Korea under Toyotomi Hideyoshi’s army in 1594, associating Christian missions with foreign military antagonism.87 Dominicans in the Philippines and Chinese

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86 Charles Dallet highlights this in his introduction (xiii-xiv) and devotes Chapter One of his first volume to the “Invasion des Japonais en Corée, au xvi siècle.” Charles Dallet, 2008.
87 “Father Gregorio de Cespedes (1551-1611) and a Japanese Jesuit brother, Foucan Eion were attached as chaplains to the forces of the Christian *daimyō* Konishi Yukinaga (1551-1611).” Neither of them had any significant contact with the Korean population but “many of the Koreans who were taken back to Japan as slaves became Christians through the efforts of Jesuit missionaries working in Nagasaki and other major cities.”
Jesuits unsuccessfully attempted to enter the country intermittently throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.88 Chosŏn increased the number of diplomatic missions they sent to the Qing. As Yi Su-kwang’s 1633 publication, Chibong yusŏl documented, officials brought back numerous Chinese translations of foreign books, maps, calendars, scientific instruments, and materials, including those that informed Koreans on sŏhak (western learning). Koreans were introduced to Catholicism as sŏhak from these Beijing materials. Disregarding the diplomatic history of early Chosŏn, this focus on sŏhak set in motion the notion that Korean interests in foreign relations were instigated by the west.

In the late eighteenth-century, the Chosŏn government may have welcomed discussions around sŏhak, but they believed that Catholic monotheistic practice inherently conflicted with Confucian ruling ideology. A Korean convert from a Peking mission began to secretly baptize people in Korea in the spring of 1784.89 King Chŏngjo generally tolerated illegal Catholic conversion although it was officially banned, but his administration feared, “the authority of Confucian ancestral rites was being damaged by Catholicism, and so Catholicism was ruled a heretical belief in 1785.”90 Despite this ruling, a handful of Catholics began to emerge during Chŏngjo’s reign and a few people died under this 1785

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88 Sok-wu Choi, 1979: 82.
89 Birth name was Chu Munmo. See King Chŏngjo’s (正祖朝, 1777-1800) conflict with Catholicism and the officiating of Confucian “rites” (discussed further in this chapter) in Pak Hyŏn-mo, “Sŏhak kwa yuhak ŭi mannam:18-segi mal ch’ŏnjugyo nonjaeng kwa chŏngjo ŭi taėng” (Confrontation between Lestern Learning and Confucianism: Chŏngjo’s confrontation with the Catholic controversy in the late eighteenth-century) Chŏngch’i sasang yŏn’gu 4 (April 2001): 1-25; see also Kim Hong-u, “Chŏngjoju ŭi ch’ŏnjuhak pip’an – An Chŏng-bok kwa Yi Hŏn-kyŏng ŭi chungsim ŭro” (King Chŏngjo’s Catholicism criticisms – seen through An Chŏng-pok and Yi Hŏn-kyŏng ŭl) Han’guk chŏngch’ihak hoebo 20, no 2 (December 1986): 51-68.
Catholic heresy ruling. The years following Chŏngjo’s era witnessed larger-scale persecutions against Catholics as a ten-year old child prince, Sunjo, ascended the throne upon Chŏngjo’s sudden death in 1800.

Charles Dallet’s interest in Korean “heretics” such as mudang were by-products of his understanding of Korean “injustice” and “irrationality” meant to explain the Catholic persecutions. In order to examine his portrayal of Koreans as wrongful subjects, it is important to historically contextualize his concentration on “martyrs.” Dallet gave a detailed account of the short duration that the first Catholic missionary from Beijing, Chou Wenmou (1751-1801), spent in Korea. Chou entered Korea clandestinely in 1795 and was executed six years later under King Sunjo’s (1800-1834) new administration. Sunjo’s father-in-law, Kim Cho-sun, effectively concentrated ruling power into his own hands and those of his Andong Kim clansmen. Kim Cho-sun’s administration issued a persecution in 1801 under which a number of Korean Catholics and the Chinese missionary, Chou Wenmou, were executed. The persecution did little to dissuade the French Catholic Church, the main mission in Korea at this time, and the French Vicariate Apostolic of Korea was established in 1831. Local suppressions occurred in the first decades of the nineteenth-century with smaller-scale persecutions in 1815 and 1827.

The 1830s Chosŏn government did not see Catholics in Korea as victims. Twenty-one

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91 The following year, Kim Pŏ-mu, a government interpreter, died while being imprisoned and tortured under interrogation for his Catholic beliefs. That same year, Yi Pyŏk, the son of a rich aristocrat, died from health complications just after he was forced by his family to denounce the Catholic Church. In 1791, Yun Chi-ch’ung was found a heretic for refusing to prepare an ancestral tablet for his mother.

French priests were commissioned to Korea from 1831 to 1866.\textsuperscript{93} Korean caution over the growing presence of Catholics in Korea was compounded by their concerns over the Qing’s struggle to stave off increasing British military aggression. Witnessing this nearby crisis, the dominant P’ungyang Cho clan faction, which ruled over the title of crown prince Hŏnjong, felt more radical measures were needed to secure Korea against foreign aggression and issued another persecution to rid Korea of these western trespassers in 1836. Nonetheless, with the help of their stronger and more established Catholic Church in China and mostly unnamed local sympathizers, French missionaries continued to widen their entry into the country.\textsuperscript{94} In the same year as the 1836 persecutions, under the auspices of the first Bishop of Korea, Bruguière (1792-1835), followed by Bishop Laurent-Marie-Joseph-Imbert (1797-1839) and the Paris Foreign Missions Society, a handful of French missionaries secretly filtered into Korea. Three years later, in March of 1839, the Korean court moved to reject heterodoxy. Based on this decree, three French priests and another seventy-eight Catholics in Korea were executed.\textsuperscript{95}

The “bloodiest persecution in the history of Roman Catholicism in Korea” occurred in 1866, stemming from what appeared to be a multi-sided foreign invasion of Korea.\textsuperscript{96}

Continuing the practice of indirect rule, Hŭngsŏn, the father of the twelve-year old crown prince Kojong, appointed himself as the Taewŏn’gun (Prince Regent) and gained control of

\textsuperscript{95} Hong Yŏn-ju, “Kihae kyo’nan kwallyŏn charyo yŏn’gu” (Research material related to the Kihae year persecution) Kyohoesa yon’gu 26 (June 2006): 75-116.
\textsuperscript{96} Wi Jo Kang, 1987: 10.
state affairs in 1864.\textsuperscript{97} Two years later, Russians attempted to seize a part of Korean territory. Then, a U.S. ship by the name of \textit{General Sherman} was found in Taedong River, enroute to Pyŏngyang; it, along with its fleet, was burned down by local troops and residents.\textsuperscript{98} The same year, a French military fleet appeared off the Kanghwa Island coast and remained there for six weeks.\textsuperscript{99} Taewŏn’gun deployed a 20,000 troop defensive to the area and a bloody battle ensued from which the French were forced to retreat. In 1864, the French Church noted that twelve French Jesuit priests and an estimated 23,000 native Korean converts were residing in Korea.\textsuperscript{100} Under Taewŏn’gun’s 1866 full-scale persecution, the remaining nine French clergymen and approximately 8,000 Korean converts were executed, making this the most severe Catholic persecution in Korean history and among the largest in the history of the Roman Catholic Church. Later that same year, France retaliated by launching a campaign against Korea, under Admiral Roze of the French Far East Navy (formerly based in China) by again attacking Kanghwa Island near the capital city, in retaliation against the Korean government’s persecutions of French Catholic missionaries.\textsuperscript{101} They succeeded in getting Korea to sign the Korean-French Treaty (Hanbul choyak).\textsuperscript{102} Taewŏn’gun set out

\textsuperscript{97} With the death of the dowager queen, the new king’s father, Yi Ha-ŭng was given the traditional title of the father of the child-king and the defacto ruler, given the title, Hŭngsŏn Taewŏn’gun or “Prince of the Great Court.”

\textsuperscript{98} In June 1871, the U.S. made a counter-attack, which ensued in a larger battle but was also unsuccessful.

\textsuperscript{99} Also known in Korea as the “Western Disturbance of the Pyŏng’in Year” (Pyŏng’in yangyo).

\textsuperscript{100} Daniel Kane, “Bellonet and Roze: Overzealous Servants of Empire and the 1866 French Attack on Korea” \textit{Korean Studies} 23 (1999): 1-23.


\textsuperscript{102} Afterward, the Missionary Treaty (\textit{Kyomin choyak}), Missionary Composition Agreement (\textit{Kyomin hwaŭi yakjŏng}) and the Missionary Violation Regulations (\textit{Kyomin pŏmbŏp tansok chorye}) were enacted in 1899, 1901 and 1904 respectively. No Yong-p’il argues that these treaties and laws allowed missionary entry but did not immediately secure Christian missionary rights in Korea. No Yong-p’il, “Ch’ŏnjugyo ŭi sinang chayu hoektŭk kwa sŏn’gyo chayû hwangnip” (Catholic faith acquisition and establishment of missionary liberties) \textit{Kyohoesa yŏn’gu} 30 (June 2008): 153-99.
upon a dual campaign of both strengthening Korean central authority and bolstering the country’s borders against foreign encroachment.

Dallet underplayed the impact that Korean scholars had on the French understanding of the country. With unwelcomed presence in Korea, foreign missionaries found affinities among some Korean intellectuals who had interests in sŏhak and missionary writings. Yi Sukwang wrote the earliest Korean account of Catholicism in Chibong yusŏl, where he examined a copy of Matteo Ricci’s True Teaching of the Lord of Heaven. Chŏng Tuwŏn (鄭斗源, 1581-?), another official who travelled to Beijing, published extensively on the scientific knowledge he acquired from his contact with a Jesuit priest. The famous Pak Che-ga, who was exiled based on public accusations that he was a Christian heretic, found allies among the underground Catholic community. Followers of Yi Ik’s teachings were recognized among the Southern faction (Kiho namin) as “pro-western.” Catholic missionaries found a reprieve among reform scholars who were more willing than the government to entertain their foreign teachings.

Considering how “western learning” resonated among the very scholars who were attempting to ostracize mudang, the reverse was possible: that westerners indirectly learned about Confucian adversaries through Korean reformist discussions. A silent exchange can be seen in the parallel discussions between western and Korean writings along common interests, displayed in their shared repulsions against unorthodox subjects such as mudang. Chŏng Ha-sang (丁夏祥, 1793-1839), nephew of famous reformist scholar, Chŏng Yag-yŏng (丁若鏞, 1762-1836), stated in his own defense that mudang “prey on innocent women and children,

103 James Grayson believed that the 1785 Catholic heresy ruling was made in reaction to Yi Ik’s followers who were thought to be spreading “this strange creed.” James Grayson, 2002: 179.
winning their confidence and then swindling them out of their money and property.” With this familiar critique, he attempted to reason with the Chosŏn government by asking, “why are we Catholics denied the tolerance granted to [mudang]” when “Catholics are not thieves?”

Former discussions on un-Confucian heterodoxy informed western writings on Korea.

These persecutions prompted the first set of biographies to be produced by western missionary martyrs in Korea. Through an elaborate underground system, many of these biographies made their way back to the Vatican. From 1836-1863, Charles Dallet, who had spent most of his missionary career working in India, went back to Paris where he reviewed letters and monographs from the first Korean Catholics who wrote from Kyūshū, Japan in the decades following the Imjin Wars (sparked by Hideyoshi’s invasion of Korea, 1592-1598). He also studied the writings of previously published material on French missionaries in Asia who had undergone the Korean Catholic persecutions in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Dallet published a two-volume French treatise from these materials entitled the *Histoire de l’Eglise de Corèe* (*History of the Korean Church*) in 1874. Nearly 400 pages of this first volume and the entire 600 pages of the

104 For the purposes of the English-language collection, the editors state that *mu* has been translated into “shaman.” See Peter H. Lee and W. Theodore de Bary, eds., *Sources of Korean Tradition*, 1, New York: Columbia University Press, 2000: xviii. See Donald Baker’s translation of Chŏng Ha-sang’s plea, in the above series, volume 2, 2000: 138-140.
105 Hong Yŏn-ju, 2006.
106 Gari Ledyard finds that “in what must have been an intricately planned operation, Korean Catholic fishermen took the mail out to sea and passed it to Chinese Catholic fishermen who took it to Shanghai, whence it was dispatched to Hong Kong, where the Société des Missions Étrangères had an agent, who posted it to Paris. This route was apparently pioneered and developed by Kim Tayken, Korea's first Catholic priest, who studied and was ordained in China. From 1836 on, all French priests who entered Korea, or in 1866 those who fled it, did so by sea.” Gari Ledyard, 30 May 2000.
107 His first chapter traced the Imjin Wars and the first Jesuit missions in Korea. Dallet devoted Chapter One of volume one to the sixteenth-century Japanese invasion.
108 Dallet transcribed Daveluy’s writings and credited him throughout his two-volume manuscript.
second volume were dedicated to a chronology of the Korean Catholic persecutions, highlighting the lives and conditions of deaths of French and Korean “martyrs.” His composition of the French Catholic persecutions was the most extensive account of Catholic “martyrology” in Korea.109

Beyond these past persecutions, Dallet’s work created a composite of Korea in order to appeal to the French Church. Dallet devoted the first two hundred pages of Volume One compiling what he saw as a comprehensive introduction of Korea by discussing its geography, population, royal families, government, legal/criminal system, education system, language, social structure, morals and habits, science, industry, commerce, and international relations. Here, he spent a significant amount of time discussing Korean women, devoting two sections of his introduction to the “conditions of women,” “family, adoption, and parenting.”110 In a section entitled the “Position of Women,” he described women as slaves and as people locked up and hidden indoors while recounting that women did not have any legal rights and were not even given names. For Dallet, studying Korean women was necessary to better understand their role in “superstition,” writing that “women of all classes hold to [superstition] as with their life, and their husbands, not to compromise the peace of their household, tolerate [it] while refusing to take share in it.”111 Dallet’s survey of Korea mentioned in the above can also be read as an appropriation of Korean knowledge. Similar,

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111 He contradicted his own appraisals of women as being both powerless and rebellious, showing his indifference to the gaps in his logic and his unwavering impulse to denigrate Korean society. Charles Dallet, 2008: CXXXVIII.
short, encyclopedic essays such as Dallet’s were written by the very reform scholars who were labelled as “pro-western.”

Dallet’s discussion of women was dovetailed with a section on Korean religions laying the foundation of his understanding on *mudang*. Dallet believed that there were three religions in Korea: Confucianism, Buddhism, and superstitions. The category that garnered the longest discussion was on Confucianism as he believed that “the doctrines of Confucius… established by the law, became the dominant religion; its worship [was] the official worship.” Under the category of “superstitions” he described “ancestral cults” and “popular superstitions” and claimed that the “worship of ancestors” had a “universal” following in Korea and was directly inherited from China. An important part of this depiction was in the pervasiveness of “superstition.” All the types of Korean religions were described as forms of superstition. Dallet believed that Koreans saw “the devil everywhere” and that “these superstitions and a great deal of others, which would be too long to enumerate in detail, [were] held all over the country;” the pervasiveness of superstitions in Korea was based on what Dallet believed to be “public credulity.”

Dallet was much more descriptive than reformist scholars bothered to be when discussing “mou-tang” but shared certain common assessments. He gave detailed information that could not be gathered through mere observation and that were not intuitive, showing the necessity for local translators and informants as in the passage below:

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112 Confucian court rituals and official burials were recurring themes in this section. Charles Dallet, 2008: CXXXVIII.

113 Charles Dallet, 2008: CXXXVIII. Yi Ŭn-suk examines Dallet’s perception of women through Dallet’s analysis of Korean “family culture.” Yi Ŭnsuk, 2006. “The sacred books of China are also the sacred books of the Koreans. An official translation in the vulgar language exists of which it is defended to not change even one word without the order of the government.” Charles Dallet, 2008: CXLIV.

114 “Many must be charlatans, astrologers, soothsayers [psychics/seers], jugglers, and fortune tellers, of one sex or the other - [superstitious practitioners] live in Korea because of public credulity.” Charles Dallet, 2008: CXLVIII.
Inspect land for good development or burial property, determine days fated to be auspicious for events, read horoscopes for engaged couples, predict the future, conjure up misfortunes or accidents, chase away bad air, recite formulas against certain diseases, exorcise demons, etc…, and always with grand ceremonies, much fuss and quantities of food, because the gluttony of the soothsayer is well known in Korea.\textsuperscript{115}

He intricately described abstract phenomenon such as mudang pantheon, the function of each spirit, and the symbolic meaning behind each act. He shared a perception with earlier reformist critiques that saw mudang as “gluttonous.” He stated that if these people were offered money, they could be found “anywhere.” He utilized the Korean term mou-tang without providing an equivalent French term, leaving the reader to conjecture the meaning of the term from its context. Mou-tang were not given much emphasis in his discussion on Korean “superstitions” and religion, but was rather mentioned in passing.

Through Dallet’s description of male “soothsayers,” he pointed out a contradiction in Confucian orthodoxy policies. He noted that they underwent three years of “novice training” to be accepted into “company membership.”\textsuperscript{116} They were “recognized by law,” paid taxes to the government, and had extended curfews to work at night; they were “strongly organized” “especially in the streets and lanes of the capital.”\textsuperscript{117} Dallet believed these male “seers” dominated the field of Korean “superstitions” and noted on their social and political inclusion as disabled members of society.\textsuperscript{118}

The first French writing on mou-tang may have been published by Dallet. However, he would not have been able to produce any of this material had it not been for the help of Marie-Antoine-Nicolas Daveluy (1818-1866), a French Catholic missionary in Korea.

\textsuperscript{115} Charles Dallet, 2008: CXLIX. See also Kil-sŏng Ch’oe, 1970: 126-27.

\textsuperscript{116} “During this time each devotee has to study the secrets of art, and especially the streets and lanes of the capital. It is an extraordinary thing, and seems naturally unexplainable that their addresses have to be found in the maze of tortuous streets, cul-de-sac, dead ends, which form the town of Seoul. When an unspecified house A is indicated for them, they go there while groping a little with their sticks, almost also quickly and as surely as any other individual.” Charles Dallet, 2008: CXLIX.

\textsuperscript{117} Charles Dallet, 2008: CXLIX.

\textsuperscript{118} Again, contradicting his claim that only women were ‘superstitious.’
Dallet’s writings have largely been criticized as being a reproduction of Mgr. Daveluy’s correspondences. Certainly, Dallet did not deny this and he credited Daveluy throughout his writing. Unlike Dallet, who did not know how to read or speak the Korean language, Daveluy claimed to be highly proficient in the language. Daveluy was charged with the dangerous job of collecting and shipping Catholic correspondences out of Korea. Dallet noted that Daveluy was forced to stop his work in compiling and smuggling out correspondences in 1862, when it became too dangerous for him to do so.

A culmination of decades of environmental and socio-political crises in the latter half of the nineteenth-century caused great domestic turmoil and also resulted in the demise of the French Catholic movement in Korea. In the early nineteenth-century, a series of droughts and floods struck rich rice-producing areas of Korea, causing great famines. To add to peasant hardship, taxes on farm land and crops were hiked and farmers were required to provide more free labour to aid the state’s revenue. The first large scale peasant uprising occurred in December 1811 when Hong Kyŏng-nae, an impoverished, disenfranchised yangban, led the peasants in the north in P’yo’ngan Province into an armed rebellion and occupied the region for several months. The central government dispatched an army and, after a savage scorched-earth campaign, the revolt was put down. In the south, peasants continued to organize against the provincial administrators and wealthy landlords.

The Catholic persecutions were compounded by a peasant uprising and suppression in 1862, when a group of farmers in Chinju, Kyŏngsang Province, rose up against oppressive provincial officials and the wealthy landowners in what Sun Joo Kim calls a “tax-resistance
The 1862 Chinju incident was the result of several decades of exploitation of destitute peasant exploitation by local magistrates. Peasants organized by taking up arms in the three southern provinces. They killed local government functionaries and set fire to government buildings. Once the central government officials investigated the scene, they found fraudulent practices by the local officials and hastily revised the land, military, and grain lending systems in an effort to alleviate the problem.

In the mid-nineteenth-century, the Korean government had observed decades of increasing western colonial encroachments, not only in Korea but also against its Asian neighbours, starting with the British defeat of the Qing empire in the Opium War of 1839-42 and resulting in the Treaty of Nanjing. The French were also seen as major aggressors in Asia throughout the nineteenth-century. From as early as the 1840s, the French had spent several years tracking Vietnamese maritime trade throughout Asia and had set their sights on acquiring Vietnam and parts of China. French foreign surveys did not go unnoticed by the governments in Southeast Asia. The French used the execution of a priest in China as an opportunity to justify sending their troops to fight alongside the British in the second Opium War in 1856. In 1860, China was again defeated and made to sign the Tianjin treaty, forcing China to open even more ports to western trade. After 1860, other western nations imposed unequal trade treaties upon countries throughout Asia. In 1862, following a series of Catholic persecutions in Vietnam, France seized the southern part of the country as its first Southeast Asian colony. In 1870, a group of French missionaries were killed in Tianjin, to

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119 The latter half of the nineteenth-century Chosŏn witnessed a steep rise in peasant uprisings to protest high interest rates in grain loan system and high taxes. Sun Joo Kim, “Taxes, the Local Elite, and the Rural Populace in the Chinju Uprising of 1862” in *Journal of Asian Studies* 66, no. 4 (November 2007): 993-1028.
120 Farmers organized to rebel against Paek Nak-sin and other corrupt officials and wealthy landlords.

which the French responded by forcibly leveraging more extraterritorial rights over the region. After annexing Cambodia and Laos, in 1883, the French waged war against Chinese troops in northern Vietnam and colonized the area (which came to be known as Indochina) in 1885.

Charles Dallet took little notice of French imperial aggressions in Asia, underplayed the negative impressions of western gunboat diplomacy on Koreans, and overlooked the ill effects that such events would have on the French mission in Korea. Towards the end of his second volume, Dallet explained the 1866 persecution as the Chosŏn court’s misdirected reaction against the Russian attempt to take over the frontier territory in the northern part of Hamgyŏng Province. He described how French missionaries were interrogated and incarcerated immediately thereafter without mentioning France’s assault on Kanghwa Island, or other reasonable cause for the state to target the French in Korea at the time.122 Dallet concluded his book by lamenting the “martyred” Daveluy in the Catholic persecutions of 1866; experiencing the loss of an important Catholic figurehead in Korea and the loss of Dallet’s primary information supply source on Korea.123

CONCLUSION

This chapter has been an attempt to locate the historical conditions under which shamanism emerged as a part of Russia’s imperial frontier investigations. Publications on Siberian shamanism from Russia’s newly acquired territory were disseminated across Europe and continued to reverberate in late nineteenth-century Protestant writings on Korean shamanism. Unlike westerners who assumed in their writings that they were the only ones

equipped with the ability to educate Koreans about God, the devil, and Korean heathens, a
long history of Korean reformist scholars believed they were able to recommend statecraft
reform, monitor ethical lifestyles, and promote social order.

Westerners relied on local informants versed in local scholastic forms of thought to
produce their own writings on foreign countries. French writers were ill-equipped to conduct
extensive research on Korea at the time; without native fluency or established residence, they
could not autonomously or comprehensively produce such information on their own.
Considering that Dallet never stepped foot in Korea, he created a marvelously expert account
on the country. He mentioned Davuley’s instrumental role as his informant while he
dismissed the similarly crucial role of his Korean informants. The Catholic mission in Korea
was presented as an entirely self-enabled project.

_Mudang_ were objects of debate and discussion within Korea’s royal courts independent
of western _mudang_ discussions and yet westerners have written about their “discovery” of
Korean _mudang_. The fact that these subjects were labeled with non-western names reveal
the invisible process of interpreting and translating to understand the “foreign.” Korean and
western writings on Korea mirrored one another in ways that were not natural or intuitive. It
was not a coincidence that they made similarly scathing assessments of _mudang_ and use of
.mu-related activities to evaluate society and yet, Korean scholarship on intersecting issues,
was not recognized. Westerners appropriated Korean knowledge on local practices in order
to support their own imperialistic paradigms.

Siberian shamanism re-appeared under an English Protestant discussion of _mudang_, as
discussed in the next chapter and again under Korean nationalist writings during the colonial
period, as discussed in Chapter Five. Late nineteenth-century English publications were
remarkable for making *mudang* synonymous to shamans and in their assumptions that Koreans were racially derived from Siberia. A flourish of English writings on Korea represented the relative success that Protestant movements had respective to earlier Catholic missions. These publications were also made possible through the new inroads that westerners had into Korea after unequal trade treaties with the country were secured in 1876. English writings emphasized “logical” and “scientific” assessments of Korea as a part of the Christian mission. By emphasizing their common interests with Korean self-strengthening movements to promote scientific thinking and to eradicate superstitions, Protestants gained an arm of local support in the country. At the same time, their racialized criticisms of Korea were reappropriated in the new print media, reproducing a negative discourse in order to compel Koreans to reform.
CHAPTER TWO

*Mudang Mark the Dawn of Colonialism*

**INTRODUCTION**

Following the 1876 Kanghwa Treaty, Korea was pressured to sign treaties with several western nations allowing foreigners easier entry into the country. Anglo-North American Protestants produced the bulk of early western writings on Korea; these emerged in the last two decades of the nineteenth-century. Charles Dallet’s earlier teleological understanding of Korea was repeated in successive late nineteenth and early twentieth century English writings, as seen in the ways *mudang* resurfaced to characterize Korean people as un-Christian heathens and to represent Korea as an irrational country. To all intents and purposes, these writers picked up where Chosŏn neo-Confucianists and French Catholics had left off.

The 1876 Kanghwa Treaty marked a new phase in British and American missionary movements, stemming from Japan’s use of western-style gunboat diplomacy. Americans forced Japan to sign a Japan-U.S. Amity and Peace (Kanagawa) Treaty in 1854, opening its ports to the U.S. and other western nations and a decade after France’s attempt to pressure Korea, Japan dispatched warships to Korea and secured the Treaty of Kanghwa in 1876.¹ England, France, Italy, Russia, Austria, Belgium, and Denmark followed suit, shortly thereafter commissioning their countries’ missionaries to Korea. Korea signed a trade treaty with the U.S. in 1882 and appeared “just then opened” to adventurous American pioneers seeking “new fortunes in this fresh field.”² The first western merchant settlements emerged in Inch’ŏn in the 1880s following these new trade treaties, and were eventually established in

the capital and the interior cities as well. These settlements became the locations of the first missionary settlements.3 At this point, some missionaries claimed that “the persecution of the Christians had blown over” and assured their English readers that “there was a more generous disposition to allow religious freedom” in Korea.4 Missionaries felt they were being offered “a special time” in Korea because “remarkable changes [were] taking place in their material world.”5

This chapter’s examination of English Protestant writings will show a marked shift in the Christian movement in Korea. Dallet’s mission was abruptly and effectively aborted with Davuley’s death; his conclusion signalling the end of a chapter in the French Catholic mission. Protestants had the upper hand over Catholics on the shamanism discourse in that Catholics were also being condemned for bearing “magic” traits in their practices that were arguably similar to those of shamans.6 Contrasting Dallet’s “obituary” of the Catholic movement, Isabella Bird Bishop’s (1831-1904) book, Korea and Her Neighbours, published in 1897, boasted a “birth” of sorts. The New York Times endorsed her book, calling it “especially interesting at the present state of [Korean] history,” following a period of “isolation during many centuries.”7 Part of Bishop’s objective was to encourage western imperialists to seize a rare opportunity in Korea. At end of the nineteenth-century, alongside Bishop, English writers generally noticed an “opening” in Korea for the Protestant movement.

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3 James Grayson, 1989: 187. Kim Hyŏn-su finds that the Catholic church also owned a significant amount of land in Chungnam province at the turn of the century revealing that they also had significant settlements in Korea. Kim Hyŏn-su, “Simgi njesidae haptŏngni ŭi t’ojisoyu kwangye ŭi nongŏp kyŏngyŏng” (Colonial era dynamics of landlord tenant relations by the Catholic Church in Haptŏk village) Yŏksa wa hyŏnsil 67 (March 2008): 285-316.
Where once the country may have been damned as an aggressor, Korea was presented in a new chapter for the west in the late nineteenth-century, overshadowing the country’s former Catholic repulsions with portrayals of Korea’s need for Protestant leadership.

This chapter also examines how western discussions on shamans and Korean assessments of mudang developed simultaneously in the late nineteenth-century to reveal similar values in ethics and progress. The early Korean print media discourse will be studied through two newspapers, Tongnip sinmun (Independent, 1896-1899) and Taehan maeil sinbo (Korea Daily News, 1904-1910), to see how these publications coincided with English writings on mudang in the late 1890s and early 1900s. Korean intellectuals in the late nineteenth-century, provoked by the accelerated logic of modern life, zealously pursued a newspaper language, grafting patiently etched words right onto the print mill and systematizing the traditional use of syntax and grammar in an immediate form of communication that Walter Benjamin asserted valorized information over narration. The Korean presses complimented their English-language contemporaries with similar national critiques and reform suggestions. While they may have shared views on national crisis and on “civilization and enlightenment,” their ends were entirely opposed; writings such as those by Bishop, favoured foreign imperial acquisitions while Korean nationalist presses intended to fend off foreign aggression by bolstering national self-strengthening and sovereignty.

The differences between the two newspapers examined in this chapter can be explained in the context of a tumultuous pre-colonial (1895-1910) period. In the aftermath of the 1895 Sino-Japanese War, Tongnip sinmun’s anti-mudang articles cemented the notion that mudang represented a debased Korean indigenous culture, reinforcing a Christian imperial discourse.

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8 Benjamin found that with new technologies in printing allowed print products to be placed on the market, “not only in large numbers as hitherto, but also in daily changing life.” Walter Benjamin, 1968: 219.
of enlightenment in order to strengthen the country with foreign assistance. Meanwhile, Taehan maeil sinbo began publishing just before the 1905 Russo-Japanese War, speaking directly against abettors to Japanese imperialism warning Koreans about their plot against the nation. These papers were similar in that they re-appropriated earlier Confucian reformist and Christian imperial assessments of Korean social ills seen in their shared anti-\textit{mudang} discourse. However, they differed in their political views on foreign alliances in general and on Japan in particular.

I. PROTESTANT INROAD

In a wave of Anglo-Protestant missions, the Canadian Presbyterians, American Methodists, and the Church of England had the largest presence in Korea in the late nineteenth-century. Geographic societies promoted cultural investigations over foreign lands for potential expansion of imperial frontiers. The British Royal Asiatic Society published the earliest English-language books on Korea in the early nineteenth-century and established the Royal Asiatic Society and the Royal Geographic Society in the 1830s for the purpose of protecting their “foreign possessions” in Asia.\footnote{Basil Hall’s expedition to Korea in 1816 and a subsequent publication on Korea in 1818 were the first of its kind on behalf of the Society. Basil Hall, \textit{A Voyage to the West Coast of Corea and the Great Loo-choo Island}, Philadelphia: Abraham Small, 1818. Lila Marz Harper, \textit{Solitary Travelers: Nineteenth-Century Women’s Travel Narratives and the Scientific Vocation}, Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Press, 2001: 143.} These societies invited missionaries and “professional explorers” into foreign service to produce observation reports for publication.\footnote{Gloria Flaherty, 1992: 43.}

English writers produced narrative authority over their Korean subjects while they relied on earlier publications to validate their own imperial findings on foreign “\textit{dæmons}.” Gloria Flaherty argues that eighteenth and nineteenth-century Euro-American writings on shamanism were reproductions of earlier texts; that new publications on shamanism were
produced without doing any fieldwork at all. Some English writers on Korea vaguely credited their sources and, in rare cases, directly quoted earlier writings, but most were vague about their sources and wrote in the fashion of first-hand accounts. Similar to Dallet’s invisible use of Davuley’s notes, English writings on Korea spoke ambiguously in the singular voice of western imperial ideology. Shamanism became a discursive tool by which Bishop promoted Anglo-centric empire-building. Bishop faithfully reprinted some of these earlier works verbatim as she did with her classification of dæmons in Korea.Narrative themes on natives such as shamanism helped to establish scientific authority for the expanding British Empire.

Similar to western writers before her who did not have capacity in the Korean language, Bishop also relied on local informants, translators, and guides for her work, and yet she implicitly refused “to identify herself as an auxiliary member of a group.” Bishop turned toward gaining sponsorship from Britain’s geographic societies for official accreditation, from which she developed an increasingly authoritative style. Lila Harper argues that Bishop’s tenuous acceptability as a female representative for the British Empire caused her to accentuate her authority as a travel writer. She wrote “in response to both governmental and scientific interests” and through her narratives, acted on behalf of new British government-funded scientific professional societies. Her work was distributed throughout Europe and the U.S. The American Geographic Society commended described her work as “accurate

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11 Gloria Flaherty, 1992: 15.
12 Ellasue Wagner was among these rare cases. This American Methodist Episcopal missionary credited and directly borrowed from Gale. For example see, Ellasue Wagner, 1931: 140.
15 For a detailed biography of Bishop’s travels and publications, see Lila Harper, 2001: 137, 139.
and careful.” Bishop’s assistants and publication resources remained invisible in her writing, gaining her authority to assert her expertise over the regions she discussed.

Even as Christian phraseology mostly disappeared from secular literature, it remained “well represented in the writings of Western missionaries until the twentieth century.” In 1891, Isabella Bishop was elected the first female Fellow of Britain’s Royal Geographical Society and was registered as a “medical missionary.” In 1894, she set out on a three-year journey throughout Asia, travelling between China, Korea, Manchuria, Russia, and Japan and returned to London where she wrote *Korea & Her Neighbours*. The former British Consul General to Korea, Sir Walter Hillier, endorsed Bishop in his preface to her book by affirming her “appreciation of Christian enterprise in these remote regions.” Coming from a family of numerous missionaries, Bishop was “strongly committed to religious philanthropy and causes” in her travels abroad. Through her kinship attachments to the Church, she had ready access to missionary materials and she expressed her “indebtedness” to her Anglo-North American predecessors for paving the Christian path of knowledge on Korea.

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20 Andrei Znamenski, 2007: 5.
21 Recorded as “medical missionary 27 letters 1888-98” with her journal manuscripts listed under the “Far East” category. Royal Geographical Society, archives - correspondence files. Bishop established the John Bishop Memorial Hospital in Kashmir, the Henrietta Bird Hospital for Women in Punjab, and three other hospitals in China and Korea. Lila Harper, 2001: 149. Bishop did not highlight her role as a medical missionary although her travels were supported and additional funding was given to her in order to establish medical institutions. Anglo North Americans were the primary contributors to the first western hospitals in Korea. For such an example, see Horace Allen, 1908.
22 Isabella Bishop, 1970: viii.
23 She was the daughter of a vicar of the Church of England. Her immediate and extended families were heavily involved in the Church; her two aunts were also missionaries in India. Lila Harper, 2001: 146. Rev. G. Herber Jones, an American Baptist minister for his notes on “Korean daemonism,” and Dr. Landis, a medical missionary working under the Church of England, for his publications on Korea. Isabella Bishop, 1970: 400.
Christian prose was especially present in Bishop’s foreign mission writings. Local practices were subjected to Protestant interpretations, such as explaining Korean religions as a “belief in dæmons.” This “dæmon” category was subdivided into “Shamanism” and “devil-worship.” While Bishop remarked that there was “no single word” for “Shamanism,” her use of the term was described as “convenient,” imparting it as “popular” knowledge.

Protestants in Korea remained vigilant of any anti-Christian hostilities which may not have completely “blown over.” Missionaries continued to lament the antagonism Koreans had against them and lamented that Christianity could still be perceived as a heretical belief system at the close of the nineteenth-century. In their defence, a 1901 Presbyterian Congregational Council for Missions attempted to distinguish themselves from their Catholic predecessors by advocating the separation of church and state through the four articles:

1) The minister shall not participate in politics.  2) The church will instruct its members that state affairs and church affairs are separate, and that state affairs are not to be conducted in the church.  3) The church will instruct its members to obey the law, governmental officials, and the emperor.  4) Political matters shall not be discussed in the church.

Jin Gu Lee finds that these agreements were made “through compliance with the political powers of the state rather than on any guarantees of the church members’ freedom of conscience.” This promise to divorce the Christian mission from politics theoretically distinguished the Protestants from the Catholics in the hopes that this would give them some protection against future persecutions.

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24 Isabella Bishop, 1970: 426. For an example of exact replication by Bishops successors, see Ellasue Wagner, 1931: 135.
25 “Without claiming any degree of scientific accuracy for the term Shamanism, as applied to this cult in Korea, it is more convenient to use it, the word dæmon having come to bear a popular meaning, which prohibits its use where good spirits as well as bad are indicted.” Isabella Bishop, 1970: 401.
26 Ellasue Wagner, 1931: 140.
27 He claimed, “Confucian scholars more than any others oppose[d] the preaching of Christianity.” This refers to Christianity as a heresy against state Confucianism. James Gale, 1898: 176-67.
Protestant writers on Korea were obliged to comply with this agreement but, in actuality, they did not shy away from political issues, devoting large portions of their writings to political observations and commentaries. They aligned their opinions closely to Korean campaigns for national self-strengthening and enlightenment. King Kojong (1852-1919) carried out reforms based on new enlightenment policies, despite warnings and protests made by a number of Confucian officials who believed that the Japanese and westerners would be the country’s demise. On 4 December 1884, while the Chinese army was busy fending off the French in northern Vietnam, a revolutionary group known as the Enlightenment Party (Kaehwadang) seized this opportunity to overthrow the Korean government. During its brief occupation of the Korean court, Kaehwadang proposed radical reforms on behalf of the king. After three days of rule, the Chinese redirected some of their troops and helped to overturn the coup. Following this incident, Yuan Shih-k’ai took on a new role as the Director General Resident in Korea of Diplomatic and Commercial Relations and China gained a stronger influence over the Korean economy and foreign relations than ever before. This did not go unnoticed by western missionaries in Korea as they spoke in concert with Kaehwadang to declare that Korea was doomed if it could not wrest itself from China’s grip.

Critiques of Confucianism served in multiple ways to establish a Protestant advantage. First, these criticisms mirrored Korean progressive’s criticisms of China’s increasing imposition on the country, deflecting Korea’s domestic and diplomatic failures onto China. Bishop warned that China could take advantage of Korea’s “powerful” sway towards other

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nations and that it was a “helpless condition.”

Korean and western attempts to promote Korean self-strengthening exaggerated Korea’s lack of agency and dependence on China. This can be seen in western and Korean critiques of Confucianism where both reflected on China’s international decline and found political solidarity in their disfavour of Chinese-Korean alliance.

Second, the anti-Confucianism position was an indirect critique of the Catholic Church’s ritualism. A growing number of Korean Christians warned that “the fall of the Joseon dynasty” was “inevitable,” partly because the state’s Confucian ceremonies were “excessive and pointless.” Protestant evangelists considered “Confucian scholars” the enemies of God and the Korean state. Sukman Jang noticed how “Protestantism – trying to oust Confucianism from its privileged position – emphasized its own anti-ritual character.” These judgements of Korea’s political inefficiency fit in neatly with Protestant criticisms of elaborate ritual. Protestant criticisms of Korean spirituality served a double advantage not only against Catholic ritualism, but also accusing Catholicism of idolatry and exorcisms, all themes that also predominated in Protestant estimation of Korean superstition and “daemonism.”

Third and perhaps most important, Confucian ruling ideology was characterized in a way that showed Korean inability for self rule. Bishop collapsed all sectors of Korean society into one homogenized group and created a larger umbrella of “Daemonism or Shamanism,” without any clear distinction between Confucianism, “the worship of Spirits,”

31 James Gale, 1898: 212.
34 James Gale, 1898: 176-67.
Buddhism and Taoism. Bishop claimed that Buddhism was Korea’s last “national faith” and that all such faiths have disappeared three centuries ago with only “ancestral worship and a form of ‘Shamanism’” in existence “in its most superstitious and rudimentary form.” She effectively erased Confucianism and its ancestral pedigree of rulers, not only as representatives of the nation, but also as a part of stately function, collapsing state practice and practices “by the lower and middle classes.” Bishop believed that Korea’s royal court had “wrought much evil” with their involvement in shamanistic practices, describing how “The ‘Dæmon of the Yi Family’ was invoked in every district once in three years by the mu-tang; she explained that this “dæmon” represented “the spirit of a rebellious Crown Prince, the sole object of whose dæmon existence is to injure all with whom he can come into contact.” She characterized the Korean government and the nation as ritualistic and inefficient. This larger category of superstition glossed over the history of Confucianist writings which attempted to distance “common practices” from state practice and in some cases, even further from the tenets of Confucian philosophy, an issue outlined in Chapter One. Courtly and scholarly writings revealed several hundred years of dissonant but co-existing relationships between heterodox mu practices and Confucianism. Bishop characterized Koreas according to what she conceived as shamanistic gendered behaviour, contrasting these characteristics to masculine Christian rulership, whereby dismissing the successes of five-hundred years of Confucian patriarchal ruling ideology and asserting the need for foreign rule.

Spiritual evangelism aside, Protestants were welcome in Korea for the practical reasons

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37 Isabella Bishop, 1970: 63.
38 Isabella Bishop, 1970: 63.
that they would fund and found new western-style hospitals and schools. Establishing these
types of institutions was an effective way for people such as Bishop to gain favour from
foreign representatives in Korea. Chung-shin Park argues that Protestantism overshadowed
Catholicism in the late nineteenth-century precisely because Protestants succeeded in
implementing western health-care and education systems when the Catholics did not.40

Hyeon Beom Cho highlights how the Protestant Church introduced Euro-centric educational
pedagogies in their assessments of civilization.41 They believed that a “calling” to educate
Koreans was inherent to proselytizing their faith.42 A number of western-style schools
including schools for girls were erected under the Protestant missions.43 Protestant
organizations emphasized their interests in the institutional outcrops of the Church.44

Educational reform was on the Korean agenda and Protestants seized the opportunity to
to further their presence in the country. They glossed over a centuries-long history of Korean
reform writings that criticized innocuous rituals, refined religious traditions into uniquely
Korean practices, advocated the study of “practical” subjects,45 and researched new sciences
and technologies.46 Within and outside of the Chosŏn government, writings on social and
political reform abound from the eighteenth-century onward. In the eighteenth-century,

Buddhist monks proposed public education (pot’onghak) as the primary means to strengthen

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40 Chung-shin Park, Protestantism and Politics in Modern and Contemporary Korea, book manuscript,
Oklahoma State University, 1997: 18. See also, Sukman Jang, 2001: 105.
41 He claims they emphasized notions of time and material thrift as measures to be civilized. Hyeon Beom Cho,
“A Study on the Protestant Discourse of Civilization in Early Modern Korea,” Korea Journal 41, no. 1 (Spring
42 James Gale, 1898: 161.
43 In 1886, American Methodist missionaries started the first Ewha Girl’s School in Kyŏngsŏng. See Hildi
153; see also Yi Chŏng-hŭi, “Hanmal, Ilcheha ŭi yŏsŏng kyouyungnon kwa yŏsong kyoyuk chŏngch’ae k” (Women’s educational theory and policy at the end of Chosŏn and under Japanese imperialism) Yŏsŏng yŏn’gu
44 James Gale 1898: 240-41.
45 James Gale, 1898: 176-67.
46 For an example of late nineteenth and early twentieth century western writings where Korea’s downfall was
blamed on China, see Isabella Bishop, 1970: 15.
the country and explored ways to implement social egalitarianism, and “enlightenment.” Hong Kŭm-su finds that the Korean state initiated strategies to restructure regional political administrations in the late nineteenth-century. In the 1880s, local governors analyzed and provided advice to the central government on ways to restructure regional educational administrative activities, to strengthen rural educational access, to design public education curriculum and to incorporate agricultural development technologies. Yi Yŏng-ho finds that late Chosŏn scholars also developed new writings on history and implemented their historical methods into state curriculum. All of these reform movements preceded and were independent of western missionary establishments in Korea. Domestic educational reform initiatives were largely overlooked in western accounts which described the Protestant creation of Korea’s first reform schools.

Alongside institutional contributions such as schools and hospitals to “serve” foreign interests, Britain’s ultimate mission was to find opportunities for imperial expansion. Late nineteenth-century imperialism was promoted to maintain Britain’s competitive position in global capitalism. Similar to its other European counterparts at this time, Britain sought rapid foreign expansion throughout Asia for “colonial profit.” By the end of the century, Britain had built an empire of 345 million people, making it the most formidable empire in

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48 Pak Su-jŏng looks particularly at Governor O Haeng-mok’s administration starting in the 1880s. Pak Su-jŏng, “Chosŏn hugi suryŏng O Haeng-mok ū kyo-yuk haengjŏng hwaltong punsŏk” (Governor O Haeng-mok’s educational administrative activities in the late Chosŏn period) Kyoyuk haengjŏng-hak yŏn’gu 26, no 1 (April 2008): 141-62.

49 Yi Yŏng-ho, “Pijiryu yangsik ū hwalryong han chŏn’gi ssŏk kyo-yuk yŏn’gu” (Research on biography writing education using epitaph forms) Òmun yŏn’gu t’onggwŏn 132 (December 2006): 473-96.

Britain justified its aggressive colonial expansion as a noble mission to “civilize” its “half devil and half child” colonial subjects. British and North American ethnographers and anthropologists used shamanism as a method of understanding foreign belief systems and “regarded shamanism as possibly representing one of the major links that connected the inhabitants of Asia and America across what was soon to be named the Bering Strait.”

Thus, “shamanism” became particularly pronounced as an Anglo-North American-Protestant imperial discourse.

It would be helpful to revisit European diplomatic history in order to better understand this discursive tension between Catholic and Protestant writings on Korea. Dallet never used the term “chamanisme,” but there were many interesting parallels between his earlier description of “superstitious practitioners” and the shamans that appeared in Protestant discourses on Korea. In the eighteenth-century, England was ruled by Hanoverians, whose support of exploration and research led to many cross-Channel cooperative ventures. The English use of the term “shaman” stemmed from the German word *schaman* as many new eighteenth-century words were because German was “the up-and-coming language of scientific discourse.” This alliance with Germans and Russians furthered the English imperial cause, as they developed close ties to Hanoverian imperial frontier scientists. The Anglo-French relationship, however, deteriorated in the mid-1730s and was wrought with strife by the early nineteenth-century.

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51 Tibor Berend, 2006: 22.
52 Quote from an 1899 poem written by Briton, Rudyard Kipling, entitled, “The White Man’s Burden” which appeared in a popular magazine, *McClure*. This poem was written in response to the American takeover of the Philippines in the 1898 Spanish-American War.
Whether writings on shamanism represented geo-political alliances or whether it was a term that simply held more currency in certain languages, it is clear that English writers such as Bishop used it frequently in their depictions of Korea. Although Bishop echoed Dallet and gave credit to him in her introduction as the “one authority of which all writers, with or without acknowledgement, have availed themselves,” she concluded that his work was “now obsolete,” considering Dallet’s writings in particular to be irrelevant. Dallet’s characterizations of Korean superstitious practices seemed to have a lasting effect on the later writings about Korean “shamans” even if he did not use the word. The French had incorporated the term *chamanisme* into their language in the early eighteenth-century so the concept was not unfamiliar to Dallet’s time. Still, *chamanisme* was considered a term based on German/English etymology and may have been omitted for its relative obscurity in the French language which may explain its conspicuous omission from Dallet’s work.

Although Bishop rejected Dallet’s findings, the content of their books frequently overlapped, to reveal the contemporary salience of the earlier work. For instance, Dallet and Bishop described Korean religious activities in strikingly similar ways. He described “soothsayers” *kut* as “frenzied” and “diabolic vociferations,” while Bishop described *mudang kut* as “dancing, gesticulations” and as “ecstasy.” Dallet noted how rituals were conducted in a series of mounting chaotic performances where drums became louder through “more and more rapid beating of their sticks on the floor and on copper or clay vases” and how their dancing was “jerking more and more.” Similarly, Bishop observed how a Buddhist monk, “circled the bell with a greater and ever-increasing passion of devotion, beating its bosses

56 Isabella Bishop, 1970: 1.
57 For a discussion on the Anglo-Franco relationship, see Jeremy Black, 1986.
59 Charles Dallet, 2008: CXLIX-CL.
heavily and rhythmically, faster and faster, louder and louder, ending by producing a burst of frenzied sound.”60 A New York Times book review also stated that the introduction to Dallet’s books on Korea were among the few “books on a country [that] have become obsolete in so far as its present political condition and social order are concerned” and that it was under these conditions that Bishop’s new book was welcome. To be sure, portions of Dallet’s work may have been outdated and yet, his introduction, which provided one of the most comprehensive surveys of Korea at the time, was disregarded as useless information even while its contents were echoed in later writings.

By the late nineteenth-century, American and British imperial discourses were more closely connected in their common interest in Siberian shamanism. Anglo-North American travelers to the “Far East” drew from German studies on Siberia to show that Siberia and Korea shared common origins. Those westerners who had knowledge about Korea, considered the country “a continuation of Siberia;” Isabella Bishop even outlined the common land and naval routes between the two regions.61 Korean shamanism was considered to have northern roots in and around Siberia. Bishop stated: “So far as I know, Shamanism exists only in Asia, and flourishes specially among the tribes north of the Amur, the Samoyedes, Ostiaks, etc., as well as among hill tribes in the south-western frontier of China” and that Korean shamanism was “by no means distant [kin] to those of the Shamanism of northern Asia.”62 A direct connection was forged between what she witnessed in Korea, the notion that shamanism originated out of Siberian “indigenous” belief systems

60 Isabella Bishop, 1970: 403.
and that these traits were shared across a geopolitically delineated Northeast Asia.

Korean shamanism was linked to characterizations of Korean gender, placed outside of time in a totalizing assessment of the country. Korean spirituality and race were mapped out according to the country’s geographical terrain, linking Korean ethnicity to physical space. In attempting to locate the origins of Korean shamanism, Bishop swayed between supporting theories of Korean pan-Asianism and Korean uniqueness. While noting that “Korean Shamanism or Dæmonism differ[ed] from that of northern Asia in its mildness, possibly the result of early Buddhist influence,” she also claimed that the “social organization of the Peninsula figure in very early Korean history and appear to have been the chief, if not the only, ‘religious instructors’.” She further asserted that shamanism existed at the “dawn of Korean history” even as it was uniquely syncretic. These suppositions that Korean shamanism was Siberian-derived, pan-Asian, organically Korean and syncretically mutated all at the same time were contradictions. Vague and contradictory derivatives revealed her struggle to locate shamanism in history.

Bishop paid special attention to social gender transgression which was an enduring characterization made of Korean shamanism in the twentieth century. Male shaman femininity and dominant female practices were indications that Korea was a feminized country. She believed that female mudang had an “elevation above their sex” and that “the female idea prevails so largely that [male ‘Pak-su’] wear female clothing in performing their functions, and the whole class has the name of mu-tang, and is spoken of as female.” Bishop claimed that these transsexual men were believed to have been “persons of much distinction in the kingdom” in ancient Korea, “but their social position has been lowered

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63 Isabella Bishop, 1970: 401.
64 Isabella Bishop, 1970: 409-410.
during the present dynasty.66 This understanding of transsexual male status in ancient
Korean history would be revived and reinterpreted by Korean scholars in later colonial
writings.67

Notions of mudang adoption, childlessness, and irregular child-rearing were also
themes that were repeated in colonial Korean newspaper discourses against mudang. Bishop
believed that women mostly practiced shamanism and their husbands were effeminized as
men who desire “to live in idleness on the earnings of his wife,” to accentuate abnormal
familial practices.68 Korean fathers were shown selling off their sons to ensure their
“prosperity and long life (a girl being of little account).” These children referred to “the
sorceress or mu-tang as Shin” and were “considered her children” so that childless mudang
could purchase their offspring.69 Their gender position was “a peculiar one,” because
mudang were seen as “outcasts” at the same time as they were highly revered.70 Mudang
gender reversal was not illustrated as a form of feminine emancipation but rather as an
aberration and dysfunction that lay underneath an oppressive patriarchal society. For Bishop,
Korea’s subversion of social heteronormative roles and “feminine nature” was a comment to
a nation in crisis, in need of paternal salvation.

Although Bishop was not the first English writer to discuss Korea, she was among the
first to write extensively about Korean shamanism.71 Boudewijn Walraven concludes that an
anonymous writer for the Korea Repository was the first to write about Korean shamanism in

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67 See Chapter Five.
71 Scholars such as Cho Hŭng-yun believe that Bishop was the first. Cho Hŭng-yun: 2003: 92.
1895. Bishop mentioned that the Korea Repository was generating curiosity about Korea, but at the same time, she made it a point to research Korea because it was a relatively obscure country for most westerners. Throughout her career, she wrote eleven lengthy travel books. The American Geographic Society stated in Bishop’s obituary: “She usually chose as the scenes of her travels those regions that were coming into public notice, and thus her accurate and careful descriptions had a timely and practical interest.” These books were among the most popular travel books of the late nineteenth-century and her book on Korea was undoubtedly most English readers’ introduction to the country.

The British Royal Geographic Society expressed its gratitude that the Bishop book was so “timely,” written during an “impending war” between China and Japan. Bishop was in Korea immediately preceding the Sino-Japanese War, edited her book while residing in London in the aftermath of the war and published her book two years after the war had ended. “Scientific societies” such as this one declared that publications on Asia were “paramount to the welfare of a maritime nation such as Great Britain.” Britain was forthcoming with its motives to use such “scientific” information to manoeuvre its way into new trade ports and treaties with lesser-known nations. As the next section will illustrate, the events at the close of the nineteenth-century revealed that Korea needed to instil swift and sweeping changes in order to maintain its sovereignty. Korea’s newly established newspapers offered ways to forge foreign allegiances in order to bolster Korea’s defence and strengthen its society.

Mudang emerged in Korea’s print media as an emergency plea to strengthen the nation.

74 American Geographic Society, 1904: 765.
75 Lila Harper, 2001: 133.
76 Isabella Bishop, 1970: 205-06.
II. MAKING THE NEWS

In the 1890s, many Koreans feared that their country would be subsumed by its stronger neighbours if fast and effective social and political reforms were not implemented. This caused many Koreans to advocate campaigns for accelerated national self-strengthening. Changes in the East Asian world order, western encroachments, and domestic turmoil were all topics that consumed Korea’s early newspapers at the end of the nineteenth-century. 

*Mudang* were written into the equation as newspapers used them to motivate rapid social change. The critiques that earlier Confucian reformists made of *mu* and western missionaries made about shamanism were re-appropriated and expanded in Korea’s early newspapers, which discussed how *mudang* were impeding national reform.

*Mudang* began emerging with considerable frequency in Korea’s early newspapers which can best be understood within the context of a self-strengthening movement that was sparked by increasing threat to Korea’s national sovereignty. The events that led up to the Sino-Japanese War stirred greater interest in national self-strengthening. Kim Ok-kyun (1851-1894), leader of the failed 1884 Kaehwadang coup d’état, was killed while in exile in Shanghai and his body was shipped back to Korea on March 28, 1894. Later that same year, the Korean government requested foreign assistance to help suppress mounting peasant rebellions throughout the country. Chinese troops began to retreat once they were notified that the peasant army had come to an agreement with the Korean government to support its terms for reforms. Japan disregarded this resolution and occupied the Royal Palace in Seoul, triggering the peasant army and Chinese troops to return towards the capital. The Japanese succeeded in coercing the government to pass a set of radical reforms and put down the
outnumbered peasant army. Mounting tensions between China and Japan over the latter’s intrusion in Korea’s domestic affairs erupted into the Sino-Japanese War.

Koreans had mixed feelings about Japan’s involvement in this war. As a part of resolving Japan’s role in Korea, Tonghak leader, Chŏn Pong-jun, was tried and executed for the peasant uprisings and for indirectly triggering foreign intervention. The Treaty of Shimonoseki, signed after the war, gave Japan Taiwan and the Penghu Islands “in perpetuity” and control over the Liaodong Peninsula (and Port Arthur) from China, blocking Russia’s potential southern expansion and the only warm-water port in the east. Westerners objected to Japan’s takeover of Port Arthur as an “atrocity,” claiming that the Japanese “massacred” non-combatant Chinese in the takeover. A few days after the treaty was signed, Russia, France and Germany formed a Triple Intervention and forced Japan to repatriate the Liaodong Peninsula back to China in May of 1895. In 1898 Russia signed a 25-year lease on the Liaodong Peninsula and proceeded to set up a naval station to fortify Port Arthur. Soon thereafter, other western nations gained port and trading concessions: Germany acquired Tsingtao and Kiaochow; France gained Kwang-Chou-Wan; and Great Britain gained Weihaiwei.

People had varied opinions on Korea’s national friends and foes, pronounced in print

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78 These reforms called for a major overhaul of the Korean economic infrastructure while they neglected to consider ways to strengthen Korea’s military defense system.
79 At the start of the Sino-Japanese War, the New York Times noted that “the Coreans [sic] hate the Japanese and the latter are itching for a row of some sort.” L.A. Scranton, “The War is Corea: Origin of the Troubles – Hardships Endured by the People” in the New York Times, 4 August 1894.
80 For the official death sentence of Chŏn Pong-Jun, see Chung Ch’ang-nyŏl, “Tonghak kwa nongmin chŏnjaeng” (Tonghak and the peasant war), in Han’guksa yŏn’gu inmun (Korean history research), edited by Kim Kyŏng-hŭ, Seoul: Chisiksanmisa, 1982: 451-52.
81 Treaty of Shimonoseki was signed on 17 April 1895.
82 The New York Times later issued a corrective on the “Massacre of the Chinese at Port Arthur” based on a report by the Japanese Foreign Affairs Minister, Mr. Mutsu. He claimed that the Japanese troops were “crucified” by the Chinese and were “so horribly treated that the tales of Indian massacres in the early days on the frontier pale in comparison.” The New York Times, 18 December 1894. See also The New York Times, 20 March 1895.
media’s opinions about Japan in the aftermath of the war. The Sino-Japanese war marked a period of tenuous and short-lived sovereignty for Korea. The East Asian world order seemed to be shifting away from China towards a strengthening Japan.\textsuperscript{83} The very first article of the Treaty of Shimonoseki forced China to recognize Korea’s full and complete independence and autonomy and sever the tributary relationship. In 1896, just after the war, *Tongnip sinmun* welcomed Japanese assistance and praised Japanese leadership for helping to “promote and civilize society.”\textsuperscript{84} Some Koreans believed that Japan would help strengthen the Korean nation. This enforced declaration of sovereignty, caused by the Treaty of Shimonoseki, was considered a necessary and beneficial measure for Korea. However, less than six months after the treaty was signed, the Korean Queen was assassinated along with three court women in Kyŏngbok Palace. Miura Gorō, the Japanese Minister to Korea, and the Taewŏn’gun were speculated to be behind this assassination (as a collaborative design to eliminate a mutual rival).\textsuperscript{85} While some westerners supported Japan as a type of proxy civilizing force, others expressed their contempt towards Japan as an aggressor.

On 11 February 1896, King Kojong and his crown prince sought refuge in the Russian legation in Seoul for a year, believing the palace was no longer safe for them. While there, Kojong’s administration made drastic shifts to replace its pro-Japanese cabinet with a pro-Russian one. Kojong agreed to trade and resource concessions with Russia and to a lesser degree with other western nations. The Independence Club (*Tongnip hyŏphoe*) was especially vocal in its outrage towards Kojong’s “absence” from rule. In response to scathing domestic and international criticisms that lampooned him, Kojong returned to his

\textsuperscript{83} Horace Allen recounted instances where conniving Japanese stole from Koreans in a chapter he entitled, “A New Year’s Adventure and a Story of Economy.” Horace Allen, 1908: 23-30.

\textsuperscript{84} *Tongnip sinmun* 26 November 1896: 2.

\textsuperscript{85} Assassinated on 8 October 1895; James Gale, 1898: 197.
palace and issued a new series of relatively restrained Kwangmu Reforms to replace the drastic 1895 reforms.

Through these reforms, Kojong attempted to revive state revenue and to resolve tax exploitation practices that had burdened the peasantry for so long. He also attempted to re-legitimize the throne by designating the national title as the “Great Han Empire” (1897-1910) and by declaring a new era titled after a new reign name, Kwangmu. These measures actualized the 1895 treaty article, making Korea’s head of state the hereditary sovereign and establishing Korea’s equal-standing with China. As shown in Appendix B, the King-turned-Emperor symbolized a new era by replacing traditional Korean robes with Prussian-style royal attire for himself and formal western suits for his diplomats, emblemizing his new rulership with sartorial displays “to represent the kaehwa movement and to demonstrate Korea’s ‘new civilization’ in a global context.”86 While these displays of change were also meant to reinvigorate the legitimacy of the throne, the Kwangmu Reforms were relatively conservative in respect to earlier measures.

Korean presses articulated their own assessments on the types of reforms that were effective and needed in Korea. *Tongnip sinmun* protested what it believed to be unethical and corrupt government practices by showing government collusion in “common practices.” On 19 and 29 September 1898, *Tongnip sinmun* tailed the wife of Pak Chang-kŭn, “a high ranking military officer,” as she roamed around the palace near Samchong Street with a *mudang* who was performing *kut* “without permission.”87 The paper showed that no one was safe from scrutiny and that all must participate in this anti-*mudang* campaign. It was

87 *Tongnip sinmun* 19 September 1898: 4; 29 September 1898: 3.
particularly concerned that mudang activity was pervasive in Seoul.\textsuperscript{88} When even powerful administrators such as this officer’s wife could provide secret entry for trespassers to roam around government buildings, the paper advised the police to keep a watchful eye on people in all sectors of society. Tongnip sinmun showed that people in positions of power enabled mudang activity, collapsing all sectors of society into a homogenously superstitious population. The paper utilized a language of national collectivity: “In order to advance our nation quickly, mudang and p’ansu not only have to be removed from Seoul, Pyongyang and other various places, but the people of this nation must recognize this sort of thing in order for the world to achieve great fortune.”\textsuperscript{89} This narrative was meant to compel fellow countrymen to act in a collaborative effort for national interests. The paper served as a watchdog over government administrative practices and used incidents of mudang activity to show that the state and society lacked necessary change.

Tongnip sinmun acted as a model for proper state and social reform. The paper was launched on 7 April 1896 as an extension of the Tongnip hyŏphoe. The paper was at the forefront of the vernacular script language reform; a “basic building block of the enlightenment project.”\textsuperscript{90} It utilized an irregularly used phonetic alphabet that avoided the use of Chinese characters in an attempt to promote and systematize a national script (kungmun). Attempting to solicit international support by producing the first English newspaper service entitled Independent in conjunction with Tongnip sinmun; it also received news items from Reuter’s News Agency via China, thus providing a novel source of


\textsuperscript{89} Tongnip sinmun 14 September 1897. As mentioned in Chapter One, p’ansu may be “blind exorcists” but they are also known more generally as male shamans or male assistants to mudang kut. Boudewijn Walraven’s 1999 article in Culture and the State in Late Chosŏn Korea,167-68.

\textsuperscript{90} Andre Schmid, 2002: 68.
information on events in the outside world. From 1897, it prompted the introduction of a number of other Korean script papers and by the following year, had a circulation of three thousand and performed a valuable educational function to increase literacy.

Sŏ Chae-p’il (1866-1951), the founder of Tongnip sinmun, had a dramatic life as a Christian nationalist. He was exiled to the U.S. for his involvement in the 1884 Kaehwadang coup d’etat. Sŏ took on an Anglicized name, Philip Jaisohn, and naturalized as an American citizen. In 1896, he returned to Korea at the invitation of a new reform government and formed the Tongnip hyŏphoe. This association began with young government officials, but soon opened its membership to include various political groups such as more conservative Confucian reformists, becoming the most visible non-governmental political organization of its time. The Tongnip hyŏphoe stressed the need for reform-oriented government policies that included reversing Korea’s foreign concessions, promoting social programs, and ultimately producing a strong autonomous state. They held regular conferences and meetings to strengthen national morale and to form new reform initiatives.

Sŏ Chae-p’il scrutinized mudang as a target for social reform. Mudang appeared on the average of once a month in Tongnip sinmun, grouped in the category of “womanly issues” and often framed in legal language to signify social instability. Described as “thoughtless women,” mudang were said to be “crowding police stations” all over the country. The belief was that many fell under the police radar because they were disguising themselves as Buddhists. Most often, mudang were mentioned through summaries of criminal reports of illegal activities and incarcerations. They also appeared in editorials that accused them of

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92 Tongnip sinmun 14 September 1897, 8 December 1896: 2.
93 Tongnip sinmun 14 September 1897.
crime, reports that revealed them to police/government officials, or in editorials that explained their adverse impact on society and on the nation. *Mudang* were accused of stealing, lying, cheating, trespassing and corrupting the public, and recalling longstanding characterizations of social problems to represent stumbling blocks towards national enlightenment. The discourse on *mudang* was meant to judge wrongful behaviour based on a language of crime and punishment to display Korean systems of social management as progressive. *Tongnip sinmun* editorials echoed strongly of Christian values. Although these Christian overtones can be read as an attempt to “Americanize Koreans” and a way to communicate globally enlightened thinking, Sŏ’s ultimate mission was to create a strong native-governed, autonomous nation, supported by foreign allies.94

At the same time that *Tongnip sinmun* worked to reveal social corruption, the paper also broadcasted hard-working, morally upright community builders to trounce racist depictions of Koreans as “lazy orientals.”95 A December 1896 editorial praised a newly appointed chief of police for being a hardliner against *mudang*, stating “the police headquarters are happy and the Japanese people welcome him because he promotes a civilized society.”96 At times such as this, the paper placed the Japanese ahead of the west as Korean allies and as people who could help usher in social change. The paper also bragged about its own headway in this regard as seen in a September 1897 editorial that boasted, “Our newspaper has often written on *p’ansu* and *mudang* wrongdoings. Bright people have read

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96 “Kim Chae-p’ung recently replaced Yi Chong-kŏn as the head officer of the regional police headquarters.” *Tongnip sinmun* 26 November 1896: 2.
Regular updates on the activities of the Tongnip hyŏphoe were given, providing minutes of the society’s debated topics such as the harmful effects of mudang; and people were encouraged to drop-in on future meetings and to participate in activities for reform. In these ways, the paper publicized its association’s work ethics and created an enabling discourse for like-minded Koreans.

*Tongnip sinmun* believed that Koreans had the capacity for civilization and enlightenment which would strengthen the nation and lead them towards political autonomy. It spoke more immediately and broadly to the public than Korean writers of earlier generations ever could have. The very nature of the new newspaper medium coupled with a more widely-accessible vernacular script promoted greater public access and greater readership. With a medium that shortened the time between production and readership, the paper was able to provide up-to-the-moment investigative reports, as illustrated in the above story of the police official’s wife, to tell stories as matters of “real time.” These technological and discursive innovations facilitated a vision that the paper could be a vehicle for popular political democracy. It was an important vehicle for assuming public opinions and was able to affect national affairs until the government shut down the paper along with the Tongnip hyŏphoe on 4 December 1899.

If Japan’s interests as national allies were unclear after the Sino-Japanese war, there was more certainty that they posed a threat in the decade that followed. By the beginning of the twentieth century, Britain and Japan developed an affinity based on common enemies in

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97 *Tongnip sinmun* 26 November 1896: 2.
99 Sŏ Chaep’il left for America again in May 1898, at which point Yun Ch’iho took over as the editor and was forced to write the English language section alone until the press was shut down. Newspapers under the same name continued to publish in Shanghai by the Korean provisional government in exile (established in 1919). All *Tongnip sinmun* publications ceased in 1928. For a detailed discussion on Korea’s first newspaper presses, see Yi Kwang-nin, 1979.
China and Russia. In January 1902, the Anglo-Japanese Alliance was established, giving Japan the support of Britain to contain Russian expansion in Northeast Asia in exchange for Japan’s assistance in putting down the Boxer Rebellion in China. Japan also gained U.S. support to contain Russian expansionist interests in Manchuria. Negotiations between Japan and Russia were attempted to peacefully negotiate their designs over Korea and Manchuria. In 1904, upon realizing that a compromise could not be reached, Japan made a surprising gesture of military aggression toward Korea and Russia. Japan forced Korea to sever ties with Russia, permit Japanese counsel over its administrative affairs, and waive diplomatic alliances with all foreign powers, save Japan.

On the eve of Korea becoming an official “protectorate” of Japan, in February 1904, *Taehan maeil sinbo* began publication, voicing scathing criticisms of Japan. Just after the protectorate treaty was signed, a number of nationalistic publications erupted in concert to oppose the protectorate treaty, enunciating “Great Han [Tae Han]” in their titles to alert of violations against the empire’s sovereignty. Korean newspaper readership peaked during the uncertain tumult of the times. By 1908, the top three independent newspapers had a combined print of approximately 16,700 copies, with a possible reach of around 200-300 thousand Korean residents. Of these, *Taehan maeil sinbo*, with the strongest voice against Japan, had the largest distribution. Its editorial line, bilingually published in Korean and English, was strongly anti-Japanese with *inter alia* reports on activist movements such as the Korean independence guerrillas (ǔibyŏng).

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Taehan maeil sinbo had a short but exceptional life under the harsh censorship laws which were in effect. Buffered by the British extraterritorial laws in Korea, this paper was exceptionally able to maintain its political views against the new protectorate government. It was founded by Ernest Bethel, a former reporter for the Daily News of London, who travelled to Korea to report on the Russo-Japanese War, and who in 1904, decided to remain in Korea to operate his new press. On 1 June 1908, the English edition closed, then resumed briefly in 1909 until it was permanently shut down after Bethel’s death on May 1, 1909 (when he died of tuberculosis while serving a prison sentence). Because of Bethel’s controversial public opinions, he was tried by the British court in Shanghai, and again by the Japanese authorities; in October 1907 he was bound over for six months, and in June 1908 imprisoned for three. The new editor, Yang Ki-t’ak, was arrested but freed after his trial in July 1908. Although the staff was severely reprimanded for its political views, it was able to largely disregard censorship restrictions, charges, and threats that the Japanese government was able to impose upon other Korean presses. Just before annexation in 1910, the paper was taken over by the Japanese government, and its name changed to Maeil sinbo (Daily News), operating as a mouthpiece for the Government General from 1910 to 1940.

Taehan maeil sinbo was unwavering in its belief that Japan had intentions to colonize Korea. In 1905, Japan defeated Russia, giving Japan its first victory over a western nation and making Korea a protectorate (pohoguk) of Japan. Yi Song-sŭn argued that some Korean intellectuals benefitted from and were in favor of the Ŭlsa Treaty that outlined Korea’s

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103 Due to heart failure, said to be brought on by excessive brandy-drinking and smoking.
104 In January 1911, former staff of the paper were arrested and imprisoned for alleged sedition. This time Yang was also sentenced to ten years’ imprisonment, reduced on appeal to six years.
Chapter Two

protectorate status. Others expressed ambivalence towards the Japanese for instigating these events and for enforcing these reforms. Some historians found that Korean government officials and even Emperor Kojöng himself were ambiguous towards Japan before and after the outcome of the 1905 Convention and were even confused about the repercussions of the Úlsa Treaty. However, most Korean historians would conclude that the Úlsa Treaty was signed under coercion and most Korean administrators did not believe that it was legally legitimate. Ch’ŏn Chi-myŏng studied Japanese high-official political commentaries after the Úlsa Treaty was signed to find that some Japanese administrators fought a hardline for outright annexation over “protection.” These men continually urged for expedient colonization. For some, the signing marked the end of Korea; in response to this, Korean government officials, Yi Han-ŭng and Min Yŏng-hwan, committed suicide, Righteous Armies took up arms, and student demonstrations erupted throughout the country. Taehan maeil sinbo started publishing at this time, while watching Korea forced to hand over many of its governing jurisdictions. The paper made it its mission to prompt Koreans into action, believing that it was not too late to reverse the course of total colonization.

Taehan maeil sinbo was as critical of the weak Korean state as it was of Japanese aggression and ruthlessly targeted the heads of state as being among the nation’s enemies.

106 Yi Song-sun, “Hanmal/Iliche ch’o ‘chibang chisigin’ ūi kûndaegŏk chedo mit munnul e Taehan kyŏnghŏm kwa insik” (Experiences and perceptions of ‘local intellectuals’ on modern culture and civilizations during the late Great Han Empire and early Japanese colonial period) Yŏksa munje yŏn’gu 18 (August 2007): 39-79.
107 To Myŏn-hŭi, “Úlsa joyak ūn ottŏkkye kiyŏk toeb wannun’ga?” (How has the Úlsa Treaty been remembered?) Yŏksa wa hyŏnsil 66 (December 2007): 17-43. Sŏ Yŏng-hŭi, “Úlsajoyak ihu Taehan Cheguk chipkwŏn seryŏk ūi chŏngse insik kwa taeŭng panggan” (Understanding of the situation and countermeasure powers of the Taehan Cheguk after the Úlsa Treaty) Yŏksa wa hyŏnsil 66 (December 2007): 45-75.
On the eve of official annexation, the Taehan maeil sinbo singled out Japanese advisors, Korean government ministers, heads of police, Japanese and Korean civilians, and suspected pro-Japanese political groups as engaging in activities with mudang. One of its editorials accused the finance minister, Ko Yong-hŭi of “calling on some mudang” to cure the ailing sixty-year old Prime Minister Lee. It further complained that the prime minister took to “praying diligently for all disasters to disappear” and concluded that he “never did any good.”111 By tracing politicians’ transactions with mudang, Korea’s top administrators were proven to be “old,” “thoughtless” and ineffective. Although the paper emphasized Japanese abuses against Koreans, it also made scathing criticisms of various Korean groups for working against the interests of a nation in need of self-strengthening.

On October 1908, after its English version was shut down, Taehan maeil sinbo summarized the problems of the nation in a long editorial that attacked mudang, Tonghak, and the Japanese. The editorial in Appendix C attempted to clarify people’s misunderstandings of the causes for the protectorate and impending colonization of Korea.112 Negative images of mudang were cast alongside Tonghak to criticize the Japanese and to mobilize the population into action. The general public was blamed for what the editorial described as an epidemic of people being coerced into trusting and giving to Tonghak, mudang, and paksu. Making claims that Tonghak was a pro-Japanese guerilla army, this editorial believed that the Japanese were not only co-conspiring with indigenous groups such as mudang, but that they were propagating pro-Japanese support under indigenous identifications. In other words, the Taehan maeil sinbo believed that political activists’

111 Taehan maeil sinbo Jan., 13, 1910: 2.
112 Taehan maeil sinbo editorial, 10 October 1908: 2.
“Japanese” inclinations caused them to fail in liberating Korea, concluding that Japan was a systemic problem and a hegemonic force.

The onus of Korea’s downturn was pinned on Japan, making Japan the catalyst for Korea’s political plight. A June 1910 general news column reported that “A Japanese man by the name, Kokkumushi, formed the Sinri Religion and female shamans contributed five 
*hwan* each to him for membership. Then, without notice, he recently disbanded the group. As a result, the female shamans are preparing to appeal to the southern regional police department to get their money back.”\(^{113}\) The column blamed the Japanese for organizing and exploiting *munyō*, but more for spreading superstition (*misin*) in Korea. It also suggested that Koreans needed police protection against Japanese misconduct. Japan was made out to be less “enlightened” than Korea, questioning its abilities to be “protectors” over others.

What was at the heart of the matter for the paper was that Koreans lacked proper education. People were described as “confused and foolish” for not understanding their ancient and recent history. While it blamed Koreans and Japanese for the nation’s downfall, it held unquestionable loyalties towards a Korea that should be free from Japanese rule. It also held a stronger position than did *Tongnip sinmun* in that *Taehan maeil sinbo* believed Korea could only become a strong sovereign nation if it relied on itself without any foreign interference, making the self-strengthening of Korea the paper’s most pivotal issue. In one of its final editorials, it stressed the need to produce better national textbooks “for spiritual education and scholasticism” as an alternative to the few Korean and Japanese textbooks that were available.\(^{114}\)

In February 1909, on the eve of Japan’s annexation of Korea, an editorial made a

\(^{113}\) *Taehan maeil sinbo* 26 June 1910: 1.

\(^{114}\) *Taehan maeil sinbo* 26 April 1910: 1.
desperate plea for Koreans to overcome mudang/p’ansu “barbarism” by proposing a national day of action, believing that the movement must start with proper historical consciousness. Koreans needed to recognize that they had once a glorious start and that their ancient history should be revered: “Historically, after the first king founded the country, people only respected each successive king as having much virtue and wisdom.” Korea’s downfall was equally important to locate in history; the editorial proposed that the downturn began in the “middle ages” when “many wasteful people became infatuated with mudang/p’ansu.” Not only were people being asked to understand their history in these ways, the editorial asked to understand the current plight of the nation; explaining how even “the foolish man knows that [mudang/paksu] ruin our people,” and yet, it lamented that people continue to live, act, and die “as such barbarians.” The call for action to “rectify” the current situation used Korea’s most important national holiday, the Lunar New Year, as an opportunity to motivate people to leave “ancient” and “barbaric” practices behind. The editorial ended on a hopeful note that people should “dream” for change in order to “open up to a better era.” In this declarative editorial, Taehan maeil sinbo asked for Koreans to reflect on their past in order to learn the negative consequence of believing in the power of mudang, as if this would be the key to national sovereignty.

Taehan maeil sinbo’s narrative and vision were unique to its time period. Even though other nationalist papers such as Tongnip sinmun similarly invoked notions of “barbarism” by depicting wrongful social behaviour through mudang activity and used these types of images of “barbarism” to convey universal values of civilization and enlightenment (munmyŏng kaehwa), Taehan maeil sinbo had the advantage of historical hindsight to unwaveringly blame Japan for Korea’s national predicament. Through editorials such as the one discussed

115 Taehan maeil sinbo 9 February 1909: 2. The rest of this paragraph borrows from this one editorial.
above, former pro-Japanese reformists such as Sŏ Chae-p’il and the Kaehwadang were implicated for paving Korea’s road towards colonization. It offered to “correct” any political ambiguities through an introspective narrative of nostalgia and historical lessons. Although other papers from the protectorate period would have shared these insights, Taehan maeil sinbo was able to push the limits of its extraterritorial privilege to speak vehemently against the Japanese protectorate and continue running under the semi-colonial government’s strong arm policies. The paper’s ability to print its relatively unfettered political views was made possible under its post-1905 British affiliation.

Early Korean newspapers offered interesting intersections and contrasts to western writings on Korea at the end of the nineteenth-century.\(^{116}\) Korea’s early print media, particularly Tongnip sinmun and Taehan maeil sinbo, similarly chastised indigenous Korean practices. Although Tongnip sinmun and Taehan maeil sinbo were both English/Korean bi-lingual newspapers, their Korean versions never utilized words such as “shamanism” in their descriptions of society. They spoke as representatives of, and for, a native Korean audience, to carefully steer their readers in an indigenous language of national self-strengthening. The critiques made in these late nineteenth-century newspapers were reminiscent of western shamanism accounts in the ways in which mudang were characterized. But different than the western discourse, Korean newspapers used mudang to explain recent events, as in the way in which Taehan maeil sinbo connected mudang to Tonghak (offered similar healing practices to those of mudang kut) to explain Korea’s “failure” in the Sino-Japanese War.\(^{117}\) Mudang were used to describe the changes that needed to occur in society in order to


\(^{117}\) Taehan maeil sinbo 10 October 1908: 2.
strengthen the nation. In these ways, the print media’s discursive intention with mudang was to incite Korean awareness in their contemporary matters.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has aimed to magnify the moment when a foreign assessment of shamanism emerged alongside early Korean newspaper discussions against mudang. Protestant missionaries introduced the concept of Korean shamanism in the latter half of the nineteenth-century in ways that were reminiscent of earlier Confucian reformists’ criticisms of mu and western imperial writings on shamanism. English writers used the loosely-based assumptions created by earlier European scientists in colonial Russia to assume that Korean indigenous traditions were shamanistic and originated from Mongolia and Siberia. Anglo-North American writings on shamanism overlooked native writings on their discursive subjects to appear a new science that represented the Protestant imperial knowledge system.

Geographic exploration gripped the late nineteenth-century imperialist imagination “as it combined military prowess and hunting with the pursuit of scientific knowledge.” The crucial instrument of western writings on Korea was to assert a method for knowing the unknown country which was the foundational activity of authority.

North American and British writers utilized “shamanism” to describe mudang for an English-language audience and characterized Koreans as a shamanistic people. Christian missionaries were equally concerned with Korean “barbarism” as they were with spiritual evangelism. Hyeon Beom Cho argues that Christian missionaries spoke authoritatively about the “uncivilized” nature of Korean politics, society, culture, and thought. Cho further

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argues that this western discussion had an impact on the later “modernisation” discussions around “civilized life habits,” “separation of church and state,” “individual freedoms” and the psychological impacts of “civilization” that were pervasive throughout twentieth century Korea.\textsuperscript{120} Writings on all types of “scientific” knowledge were open for those who served the interests of their empire and the exploration became a science to serve as an imperial colonizing activity.\textsuperscript{121}

Writings from western missionaries and travel writers acting as “amateur scientists” of this new knowledge informed the earliest colonial administrative writings on Korea. They drafted what Edward Said described as an “imaginative geography” where western “specialists” constructed and perpetuated a collective fantasy of “the Orient” as “a field of study based on a geographical, cultural, linguistic, and ethnic unit” which was contrasted against the west through a racially gendered discourse.\textsuperscript{122} In this case, Dallet and Bishop portrayed Koreans as a feminine species and their descriptions of the Korean spiritual landscape were based on their observations of the physical landscape, rendering Korean characteristics as something observable and unchanging. The Christian missionary discourse also prompted Koreans to criticize mudang. Michael Taussig astutely critiques how shamans have been used as an apparatus for colonialism.\textsuperscript{123} Alongside shamanism, terms such as politics, economics, culture, art, science, philosophy, religion, space-time, community, and individual were “all translations of foreign words that came into use” in the Korean print media’s discursive interaction with the international community. The parameters of these

\textsuperscript{120} Hyeon Beom Cho, 2001: 28-30.
\textsuperscript{121} Lila Harper, 2001: 134-35.
\textsuperscript{122} Edward Said, 1979: 50.
\textsuperscript{123} Michael Taussig, 1980: xi.
new terms were conceptualized by using *mudang* as a discursive inversion of those terms.\(^\text{124}\)

A new system of knowledge created under European, North American and Korean imperial narratives on Korea laid the groundwork for colonial scholarship and opened a path for colonization.

Korea’s early print media contributed to the collage of discussions on Korean reform at the end of the nineteenth-century. These discussions sometimes intersected in the ways in which they depicted social or national crises, traced through their common use of *mudang* as negative subjects. Tonghak and Buddhist groups eventually responded and reacted against these types of criticisms through their own popular publications such as *Ch’ŏndogyo hoewŏlbo* (*Heavenly Way Church Monthly*) and *Chosŏn pulgyo wŏlbo* (*Korean Buddhism Monthly*).\(^\text{125}\) Alongside *mudang*, un-Confucian and un-Christian groups such as Tonghaks and Buddhists were demoted to the category of religious “syncretism” (*kyori honhap*) and struggled to be included in discussions on national reform. What was particular to *mudang* was that before, during, and after colonialism, they did not author the writings that discussed them.\(^\text{126}\) Unlike the literary campaigns driven by *Tonghak* and Buddhist journals (in the post-1910 colonial era presses), those who did not print their opinions did not have the

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\(^\text{124}\) Chŏngch’i (politics), kyŏngje (economics), munhwa (culture), yesul (art), kwhahak (science), ch’olhak (philosophy), chonggyo (religion), sigong (space-time), kongdongch’ e (community), and kaein (individual). Chin-Hong Chung, 2001: 8.

\(^\text{125}\) First issue of *Ch’ŏndogyo hoewŏlbo* (*Heavenly Way Church Monthly*) was released on 15 August 1910; first issue of *Chosŏn pulgyo wŏlbo* (*Korean Buddhism Monthly*) was released on 25 February 1912.

\(^\text{126}\) This problem is prevalent in shamanism studies throughout the world. Ronald Hutton finds of Siberian shamanism, “First, not a single shaman working in a traditional Siberian society seems to have left a direct testimony; the words of all, where they are recorded, are mediated through the publications of outsiders. Secondly, virtually no data survives from before a period at which native society was being altered by Russian rule, and the best of it was collected when the traditional ways were either in considerable decline or have disappeared. Thirdly, almost all of the material which we do possess was recorded by people who were at best indifferent to shamanism and often bitterly opposed to it, and that is as true of the twentieth century as of the eighteenth.” Ronald Hutton, 2001: 43-44.
privilege to curtail these discussions.\textsuperscript{127} The very presses that oppressed these illiterate subjects did little to show who/what mudang were and more clearly revealed writers’ intentions with subversive literary subjects to induce popular change.

\textsuperscript{127} They appeared in the crime report dailies without producing any documented counter-discourse.
CHAPTER THREE

Urban Print Media

INTRODUCTION

A question that the rest of this dissertation will attempt to answer is, “During Japanese colonial rule, why was the Korean print media interested in discussing mudang?” During the colonial period more than ever before, Korean elites felt compelled to display themselves as knowledge keepers to upset the colonialist notion that the Japanese were the modernizers of the east. Through their newspapers and journals, Koreans were able to exercise their colonially contingent agencies to exert their authority over others. The print media used mudang as devices to talk about the “city,” “nation,” and “empire.” Discursive constructions of mudang may be better understood by examining the colonial print media as an urban-based discussion. Mudang represented the manifestations of “rural femininity,” infiltrating the developing space and signalling the pitfalls of rapid industrialization. These subjects were discursively produced to justify cheap industrial labour and gendered social relations.

The Japanese Government General shut down most of the Korean nationalist presses in 1910, after they had been proliferating for nearly fifteen years. After 1919, many of these press laws were relaxed and Korean newspapers and journals began to flourish again within the constraints of the Government General regulations. Korean newspapers and journals from 1920 to 1939 are studied in this chapter to analyze how the Korean print media manipulated mudang subjects to produce a modernizing discourse under Japanese colonialism.1 Positioning mudang as journalistic discursive subjects creates three modes of understanding the colonial space: First, it centers cities as information hubs for the news

1 All Korean newspapers were shut down in 1940.
circuit; examining the location of the presses complicates the bifurcation between nation and empire. Through the print media, the city became the interior and representative of nebulous spaces such as the “nation,” “empire,” and “world.” Second, this treatment shows how the city was a socially separated “imagined community” which was distinguishable from the “rural.” This spatial separation was a way to legitimize and authorize the asymmetries of power in the city’s own region, preserving privilege for those who held the reigns of colonial power as well as for those fortunate enough to secure urban residence. Third, the print media emphasized purposeful human labour and social relations as a part of colonial industrialization and capitalist development. The print media was acutely interested in the social effects of rapid urbanization and the gendered division of labour in mechanized industries.

Urban-centric newspaper and journal discussions on mudang are themes in this chapter, broken up into three sections which complement, overlap, and complicate each other to show how Korean urban elites expressed their social concerns under colonial rule. The first section focuses on city dwellers as they straddled, crossed, and threatened the urban/rural divide. Newspapers and journals envisioned modern cities as unified developmental entities by dislocating what they deemed to be spatio-temporally “out of place.” Cities were seen not only as the loci of power, but also as living corporeal entities, as things that needed to be protected and embraced, articulating concerns over neighbourhoods and districts through an imaginary corporeal topography.

The face of political power changed when the Japanese took over Korea. New seats of government replaced the native bureaucracy but maintained the same spatial arena in Seoul. Most of the popular presses were housed in the capital city, reinforcing an urban-centric
focus to print media discussions. Urban resident dislocation was a condition of city life as Seoul became a space of growing Japanese and international residents. In an attempt to create a stronger Korean population, new native newspapers under the 1920s colonial administration were more determined than ever before to broaden Korean literacy rates. They became the spokespersons of progress and modernization by using cases such as mudang activities to problematize the status quo and to showcase their public campaigns.

The second section examines how “urban” space was imagined as an ontologically distinct non-rural space and looks at how this impasse was articulated in the print media. Mudang were used to characterize urban versus rural distinctions among women. This section discusses how rapid industrialization transformed urbanites’ perception of the city. The print media reported an abnormal rise of women abandoning the countryside for factory work. The growth of a female industrialized labour force caused new concerns about women’s altered lives and deteriorating values. Concerns over an influx of “rural women” into cities was constructed from within the imaginings of the “urban centre.” The print media created webs of relations and disconnections, determined by social and economic developments. This migration pattern was seen as a disruption to urban civility. An anti-mudang colonial discourse emerged from within the print media’s understanding of a rapidly increasing female industrial labour force. Mudang subjects were a by-product of gender stratified labour principles where rural women and children were needed to supply a cheap labour pool for colonial industries.

The third section traces how the print media reacted to an assumed “influx” of rural women and utilized images of corrupt rural women as a terrain to determine proper gendered

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behaviour. *Mudang* emerged as discursive subjects alongside concerns about the feminization of cities. Images of feminized work and migration intersected on various levels with those that created an anti-*mudang* discourse of uneducated, superstitious, and rural women who disturbed urbane life. *Mudang* and other images of “backwardness” were placed alongside new commodities and technologies as a way to educate readers on modern lifestyles and urban consciousness.

Through these three sections, this chapter will demonstrate that the Korean colonial presses were interested in *mudang* in a way that was not coincidental or epiphenomenal. Korean colonial newspapers and journals sought to reveal the everyday problems of society in the hopes of transforming the multitude into a modern population by exercising their media privileges as urban elites. The spatial dynamics of the city had a reciprocal relationship with social relations. These domestic efforts to create a modern nation were neither natural nor simple. They happened in the course of complex struggles, intricate balancing of partly incompatible aims, and above all, in the context of highly charged fields of power. The print media created a space for modern subjects by imagining the urban space through a rule that meant to discipline through difference. *Mudang* were a part of the making and remaking of national and colonial identities and the transformations in these *mudang* discourses crystallized techniques of governance revealing the interstitial layers and interoperability of native and colonial powers as they were exercised from within the space of the colonized print media.

I. CITY LIFE

Seoul, the capital for half a millennium, was the most populated city in Korea. Known as the
“City of the King,” the capital was distinguished as a “sacred place” determined by and for the sovereign: “The monarch, who performed many rituals himself or had them performed by his deputies, was the closest link with Heaven the Korean people had.” The city was delimited with special zoning regulations, stipulating that no executions or burials could be performed within its boundaries in order to reinforce the capital as a sanctimonious place of decorum, privilege, and power. Additionally, heterodox shrines and practitioners such as 

mudang

were banished from the city to buttress the space as a citadel of Confucian idealism.3

In the late nineteenth-century, the city that was once a bastion of Confucian tradition, was transformed into an oasis of technological innovation and modern governance. From the late 1880s to 1890s, the palaces around Seoul were equipped with electrical lighting to illuminate government buildings as symbols of technological innovation.4 In 1882, Enlightenment Party (Kaehwadang) members, Kim Ok-kyun and Pak Yong-hyo proposed ideas for road construction and maintenance in their counsel for government reform. In 1896, the Independence Club made similar recommendations to the Ministry of Home Affairs to widen roads, repair sewers, install new water services, and lay down streetcar, railroad, and

3 The indigenous name “Seoul” was used colloquially to refer to the “capital-city” throughout the Chosŏn Dynasty, but this city had many different names in its history. In 1896, it was transformed into the imperial city of Hwangsŏng as parcel to Korea’s declaration of the country as the Great Han Empire. Then, with the official annexation of Korea in 1910, it was renamed again as Keijō in Japanese, stemming from Kyŏngsŏng (Capital Fortress), a name for the city that has also been used for hundreds of years. Kim Yong-kŭn, “Ilcheha singminjijŏk kŏndaesŏng ŭi han t’ŭkching: Kyŏngsŏng ŭi tosi kyŏnghŏm ŭl chungsim ŭro” (Characteristics of modernity under Japanese colonialism: through Seoul city experience) Sahoe wa yŏksa 57 (June 2000): 11-44. Boudewijn Walraven, 2000: 180, 182. The capital was also called Hansŏng (referring to the “fortress city” on the Han River). The city was renamed Hwangsŏng (City of the Emperor) between 1897 and 1905.

telegraph lines to, from, and within Seoul. Through domestic and foreign initiatives, international legations, consulates, missions, western-style hospitals, new curricular schools, hotels, boutiques, and European-style parks emerged around the city. Residential buildings were constructed with western floor-plans and landscaped with exotic fruit trees. This urban metamorphosis signaled the country’s entry into a new century.5

An emerging urban newspaper industry asserted new visions of modern living by introducing new consumer products, scrutinizing “outdated clothing practices,” and discussing urban planning initiatives alongside reports on national and global issues.6 Most of the country’s publishing houses were in the capital; the newspapers that they produced and the very “sight of newsboys passing through the streets with bundles of a newspaper in Enmun [sic] under their arms, and of men reading them in their shops [were] among the novelties” of 1890s Seoul.7 People bought, read, discussed, and distributed newspapers as visual accessories to city life.

Arguably, the early newspapers catered to an elite group of urbanites.8 Only a privileged minority learned the traditional character script, limiting the print media’s distribution demands. A primary task for the presses was to make their products more accessible to the general population. Intellectuals debated ways to systematize an alphabet-based hangul script (traditionally referred to as a “vulgar script”) to promote literacy. The print media was a leader in this vernacular language reform movement and newspapers such as Tongnip sinmun and Taehan maeil sinbo showcased their contribution to this initiative by

5 Tongnip sinmun 8 December 1896: 2.
6 Susie Jie Young Kim, 2007: 613.
7 Isabella Bishop, 1970: 440.
Promoting national literacy was a massive project which had to assume that an entire population was being assessed and represented. In actuality, Hangul was systematized by marginalizing and erasing regional variations (in the same way language was systematized in literacy production cities such as Tokyo) and was modeled around the urban dialect used by the literati in Seoul, reinforcing the elite, urban-centric process of systematizing language.

Urban-centered educational reform movements saw themselves at the center of institutional and curriculum changes, as innovators to standardize the Hangul script and advocates of literacy. In the early 1880s, Kaehwadang proposed government reforms that incorporated western pedagogies but the first governmental initiative to systematize a modern national education occurred under the 1894 Kabo Reforms. The Office of Educational Affairs (Hangmu amun) was established and then turned into a Ministry of Education, which oversaw the School Bureau and the development of primary and secondary schools and aCompilation Bureau for the creation of national textbooks. In 1895, the Seoul Teachers’ School (Hansŏng sabŏm hakkyo) was put in charge of training new teachers for primary schools, and was equipped four years later to train secondary school teachers. The educational reform program was meant to be implemented across the peninsula, but with mediocre support from urban philanthropists and lacking necessary government funds, the initiative was hardly successful at sustaining the needs of the capital city, much less, to be

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9 As Chapter Two discussed, Tongnip sinmun has been hailed as being one of the first organizations to print a strictly indigenous vernacular writing system in their paper. Taehan maeil sinbo also followed suit.
11 The Kaehwadang were mostly responsible for attaining new pedagogical materials from Japan and through American missionary education initiatives.
implemented throughout the country.\footnote{Michael Seth, 2002: 17. See also, Yunjae Park, *Han’guk kŭndae ŭihak ŭi kiwŏn* (The origin of Korean modern medical system), Seoul: Hyean, 2005. Yi Yong-bŏm stresses that the impetus for educational reform originated from Japanese/Christian regimes. Yi Yong-bŏm, 2005.} The initiative remained confined to Seoul and catered to the intellectual needs/aspirations of a small group of urban elites.

Despite the efforts put forward by the urban reform schools, traditional private schools (*sŏdang*, 書堂) were much better funded and well attended, remaining the most popular form of education into the early twentieth century. After 1900, privately-run reform schools drastically increased and succeeded in garnering several thousand students compared to Seoul’s public schools that only amassed a few hundred. These private reform schools “promoted a mixed style” of traditional and foreign subjects and were abundantly funded by royal families and wealthy merchants.\footnote{Michael Seth, 2002: 17.} However, parents avoided sending their children to public and private reform schools where the use of Korean language was discouraged.\footnote{Until 1920, public or “ordinary” schools discouraged the use of Korean language. For this reason, “most Koreans avoided sending their children to those schools… Instead, they sent their children to *sŏdang*, the traditional Korean schools.” Hiromitsu Inokuchi, “Korean Ethnic Schools in Occupied Japan, 1945-52,” in *Koreans in Japan: Critical Voices from the Margin*, edited by Sonia Ryang, London: Routledge, 2000: 141. See also Pak Chong-sŏn, “Ilche kangjŏmgi (1920-30) nyŏndae Chosŏnin ŭi sŏdang kaeryang undong.” (Korean private school improvement movement during 1920-30s Japanese occupation) Yŏksa kyo'yuk 71 (September 1999) 35-84.} By the time Korea was formally annexed by Japan in 1910, just under 10,000 Koreans (about six percent of the population) attended colonially-operated public schools and this number dropped temporarily immediately after annexation.\footnote{By 1912, 2.1 percent were attending public schools. This number rose to 3.7 percent by 1919. Kim Yong-hŭi, 2001: 43.} The Japanese Government General instituted regulation policies in order to decrease the popularity of the traditional schools throughout the country, but despite these measures, most Korean parents avoided sending their children to these public schools and into the 1930s continued to send them to *sŏdang*,
where they were taught the better recognized, traditional topics.\footnote{Traditional curriculum would have included training in the Confucian classics and the Chinese script. While enrolment in these schools increased, so did enrolment in other unlicensed private schools. Pak Chong-sŏn, 1999.}

The more liberal colonial policies of the 1920s induced and encouraged larger numbers to participate in the education initiative. The Korean presses proposed ways to improve textbooks and to change curricula to draw popular interest and took charge of tracking the developments of reform institutions. By 1928, 17.2 percent of Koreans were attending public schools, but even with these increased numbers, by 1930, only 6.78 percent of Korea’s entire population could read Korean or Japanese.\footnote{These numbers vary according to each statistical record. This number was taken from Yi Sŏng-yun, “Ilcheha Kyŏngsŏng pangsong ŭi tamnon saengsan kwajŏng kwa munhak ŭi taeting” (Kyŏngsŏng broadcasting discursive production and literary confrontation under Japanese imperialism) \textit{Uri munhakhoe} 22 (August 2007): 331.} Kim Yŏng-hŭi reasons that the relatively low literacy to school attendance ratio meant that people were attending school under coercion because these were compulsory programs after all; many may not have actually attended regularly and most never attained literacy skills even when they were registered in school.\footnote{Kim Yŏng-hŭi estimates that “outside of the rich and middle class urban population, between 90-95 percent of the population was illiterate. It was more severe in the case of women where 95-99 percent was illiterate.” Kim Yŏng-hŭi, 2001: 44. Pak Chong-sŏn also finds that even after the more lenient 1920s educational reforms, a small minority of the Korean population attended “ordinary” schools. See Pak Chong-sŏn, 1999.}

The knowledge hierarchy and discrimination produced by this reform campaign was fuelled under a method of “self government” that emerged neither spontaneously nor necessarily through popular demand. Newspapers were troubled by the fact that educational reform and the literacy campaign were not making much of an impact on society. They exaggerated the literacy problem in order to provoke readers to support their objectives. During the colonial period, \textit{Tonga ilbo (East Asia Daily)} and \textit{Chosŏn ilbo (Korea Daily)} were among the biggest newspaper advocates of the unified orthography \textit{(match’umbŏp}}
t’ilgwan). The presses believed that national reform rested on the shoulders of enlightened urbanites to educate the illiterate peasant population. Tonga ilbo reiterated this urban-centric view with a popular saying, “one in a hundred peasants read.” It blamed “simple farm women” and “illiterate women” for propagating superstition, pointing out that they were the least educated, inadvertently summarizing the systemic barriers to public education.

Literacy became a comprehensive benchmark for national enlightenment and was made a method to promote “science” while illiteracy was seen as a stumbling block to reform and became the measure of the uncivilized.

Writers used mudang to signify an uneducated population, and to conflate notions of rural life. A 1921 Chosŏn ilbo editorial outlined the differences between “doctors [ũiwŏnin]” and “so-called munyo” stating that the latter had “very little knowledge and no techniques to ably see and master diseases and to clearly guide people.” While mudang were assumed to be illiterate, by placing mudang in direct opposition to doctors and teachers, the Chosŏn ilbo editorial treated them differently from “simple farm women.” Mudang were imagined as conducting practices which obstructed urban, institutionalized healthcare.

While the print media provided its readers with daily dosages of proper social behaviour, those who could not read their papers were considered to be defenceless against social corruption as uniformly unenlightened, oppressed subjects who were denied the ability to make judgements or to act of their own accord. Tonga ilbo specified that “simple farm women” were being “tempted” by mudang, believing that women’s lack of education caused

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21 Tonga ilbo 5 January 1922. See also Kim Yong-hŭi, 2001: 44.
22 Tonga ilbo March 1923: 3, 28 October 1933, 1 March 1939.
23 Chosŏn ilbo 21 July 1921.
unprincipled temptation.\textsuperscript{24} A 1935 \textit{Kyemyŏng sibo} (Enlightenment Bulletin) editorial assumed that “because today, 70 percent of Koreans are illiterate, we cannot imagine entirely ridding the concept of superstition.”\textsuperscript{25} While it underestimated the illiteracy rate, the editorial intimated that unschooled women created urban problems. The editorial blamed illiteracy for causing “superstitious people” such as mudang and p’ansu to do their business in the “capital city with its many cultural institutions and education systems,” to show that illiteracy prevents “scientific civilization from developing.” The presses feared that the “general public” was engaging in “ignorant” activities as described in a 1924 \textit{Tonga ilbo} article that asserted: “Naïve masses [sunjinhan minjung]” were a problem “not only in Kyŏngsŏng, but also in the countryside.”\textsuperscript{26} A 1921 \textit{Chosŏn ilbo} reiterated that it was “really pitiful [sillo hansim]” that mudang were “so numerous in the capital city.”\textsuperscript{27} Sometimes the city was glorified as the hub of national reform, and other times it was highlighted as being unexceptional; but all these discussions reinforced an urban-centric gauge for society at large.

The print media gave educational projects momentum, encouraged their development, and compelled them to take certain directions that supported elite interests. Most of Korea’s publishing houses were based in Seoul, which also held the highest concentration of yangban households in the country. The majority of urban publishers came from these very households and staffed their presses with cosmopolitan intellectuals – many of whom had studied abroad. The majority of newspaper readers in colonial Korea were also either composed of Seoul’s urban middle class or landholding class in other major Korean cities.

\textsuperscript{24} \textit{Tonga ilbo} 24 March 1923: 3.
\textsuperscript{25} \textit{Kyemyŏng sibo} 15 (May 1935): 1.
\textsuperscript{26} Described as “mujihan minjung (ignorant masses)” and “ilban sahoe (general public).” \textit{Tonga ilbo} 11 November 1933; \textit{Tonga ilbo} 22 May 1924: 3.
\textsuperscript{27} \textit{Chosŏn ilbo} 21 July 1921.
and had reading fluency in both Korean and Japanese.\textsuperscript{28} Among a small group of Koreans who had the means to pursue advanced degrees and administrative training, some chose to study abroad.\textsuperscript{29} Study-abroad students (\textit{yuhaksaeng}) quintessentially embodied Korean modernity and transnational status through the new education they obtained from China, Russia, the U.S. and Japan. The print media were staffed with foreign-educated, social, political, economic technocrats, who were able to express their expertise about global civilizations, local events, and national politics.

While many admired Korean international experience, there were those who believed that foreign exchange would lead to foreign aggression. On the eve of Japanese annexation, \textit{Taehan maeil sinbo} expressed its discontent at Japanese influence on Korean society. Editorials and stories between 1908 and 1910 repeatedly blamed the Japanese people by portraying their negative impact on Korea through \textit{mudang}.\textsuperscript{30} Japanese residents and administrators were accused of infiltrating the decorous (\textit{yeûi}) Korean space and were said to be smuggling \textit{mudang} “devils” into Korea.\textsuperscript{31} The paper imagined a country that might have once been free of \textit{mudang} “contamination,” when the nation was gloriously sovereign, uninterrupted by Japan’s increased aggressions. These news stories, commentaries, and editorials imagined a past before a less civilized Japanese unleashed its “various monsters”

\textsuperscript{28} Kim Yŏng-hŭi, 2001: 42-53.

\textsuperscript{29} While well-to-do Seoul residents traveled between various colonial urban centers and Seoul at their convenience, it was not as easy for most travelling abroad in search of work to repatriate and they permanently relocated in foreign cities. Osaka housed Japan’s largest Korean expatriate community, the majority of them cheap labourers. A 1933 Osaka survey revealed, “66 percent of the heads of Korean families in Japan expressed their intention to reside permanently in Japan.” Eriko Aoki, 2000: 166. Once Japan invaded mainland China, Koreans were forcibly relocated throughout the empire to work in mines, heavy industry and the military. “Between 1938 and 1944, the population of Koreans in Japan jumped from 779,878 to approximately two million.” Hiromitsu Inokuchi, 2000: 143.

\textsuperscript{30} The following articles chastise Japanese for their involvement with \textit{mudang}: \textit{Taehan maeil sinbo} 10 October 1908, 16 February 1910, 19 February 1910 and 26 June 1910. As seen in the context of these articles, \textit{mudang} held a broader meaning to refer to “uncivilized” or “foreign” peoples and cultures.

\textsuperscript{31} \textit{Taehan maeil sinbo} 19 February 1910.
and “delusions” onto Korea.\textsuperscript{32} The paper invoked Korea’s potential future advancements without the Japanese and forecasted a nation that was on the verge of destruction in the hands of a “lesser nation.”\textsuperscript{33}

These counter-colonial discussions involved inventing a glorious pre-colonial identity and re-assigning identities made under the force of colonialism. Portraying mudang as foreign imports rather than as remnants of Korea’s rural past was a completely new and unique argument that was made in the later editorials of Taehan maeil sinbo. The ways in which mudang were typically used to racialize Koreans was being re-appropriated to stigmatize the Japanese. This strategy distanced, abstracted, and denied predominant and pervasive notions that Koreans were culturally, intrinsically, indigenously unmodern and superstitious. Pinning the mudang phenomenon on Japan was this paper’s last ditch effort to criticize Japanese colonial policy, by delegitimizing the colonial argument “that Koreans were an inferior race needing the guidance of a superior race to bring about ‘civilization and enlightenment’ to their country.”\textsuperscript{34} By playing up the negative impact of Korea being “flooded” by the Japanese, the paper wished to save the nation by compelling people to push the Japanese out.

The colonial print media discussion of mudang was affected both by policy and population issues. The strict media and press censorship laws of the Japanese protectorate and continually revised throughout the colonial period caused subtle yet relentless expressions of nationalism.\textsuperscript{35} The first Japanese newspaper censorship orders were issued on

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{32} Taehan maeil sinbo 19 February 1910, 10 October 1908.  
\textsuperscript{33} Taehan maeil sinbo 10 October 1908.  
\textsuperscript{34} Gi-Wook Shin, 2006: 42-43.  
\textsuperscript{35} Censorship laws were issued under the last Chosŏn administration to monitor the early print media presses in the 1880s and ‘90s. These laws were revisited and revised under the Japanese Government General.}
August 20, 1904, just before Korea became a Japanese protectorate.\textsuperscript{36} The Resident General then instated the Newspaper Law in 1907 and the Publication Law in 1909.\textsuperscript{37} By the time of annexation, Korea had lost all judicial autonomy, which had already existed only in name.\textsuperscript{38} The Japanese also shut down all Korean-owned newspapers once they annexed Korea in 1910.

The censorship laws were relaxed in the 1920s alongside a growth in Korean-run newspaper presses. In March 1919, over a million Koreans rose up around the country in a declaration of independence against Japan’s “military rule.” The mass demonstrations first broke out near the heart of a Japanese settler neighbourhood in Seoul and quickly spread to Pyongyang, Korea’s next largest city, onto the rest of the country and into the countryside. In August 1919, Admiral Saitō Makoto replaced the Governor General of Korea.\textsuperscript{39} Saitō implemented a self-proclaimed dictum of “enlightenment” and “cultural rule” to placate Korean resentment over oppressive Japanese rule; meanwhile, the colonial government reinforced its surveillance systems and control measures more than ever before. Many of the harshest censorship laws were lifted and the Korean language presses were issued hundreds of permits to publish. Meanwhile, more regulations and inspections were imposed upon the presses than ever before, causing hundred of seizures and suspensions for some publishing

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\textsuperscript{39} Admiral Viscount Saitō Makoto’s (斎藤実) administration ran from 1919-1927.
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houses. An increased ad-hoc movement to ban and suspend the presses after 1925 was meant to “elicit Korean compliance to censorship standards.”

Colonial-era presses enforced internal self-censorship methods to avoid run-ins with the police. *Mudang* became a politically “neutral” subject through which writers could readily express their social and political opinions. Meanwhile, politically charged words such as those that represented the Korean nation, such as *Taehan* (大韓), *ko’guk* (故國) and *Hwangsŏng* (皇城) were prohibited. Writers utilized alternate terms such as *kohyang* (故郷) and *hyangt’o* (鄕土) to invoke notions of “homeland” and other types of coded language to veil their nationalist/anti-colonial content. Throughout the colonial period, writers utilized imaginative literary devices to express their opinions, lavishing their writings with pronouns such as “our” (*uri*, 우리) to create a distinct notion of “us” to imply what was not “them.”

The pronoun, *uri*, was inexhaustibly prefixed to abstract notions of *nara* (나라), *kukka* (國家), *kungmin* (國民), *minjok* (民族) to stir on nostalgic sentiments over a nation whose name was forbidden. Such vocabulary made the discussion domestic, local, and internal.

Invoking *uri* meant that these writers could speak wholly of a collective community, people,

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41 See Han Man-su, “1930nyŏndae ‘hyangt’o ǔi palgyŏn kwa kŏmyŏl uhoe” (Discovery of 'birthplace' and the censorship roundabout in the 1930s) *Han’guk munhak* 39 (June 2007): 227-53.

42 *Nara*, meaning “country,” “state,” “nation,” “land;” *kukka*, meaning “the state,” “the nation,” or “the land;” Kungmin could mean a nation; a people; a nationality; the people; the nation; a national; a member of a nation; a citizen; a subject; *minjok*, meaning “a race,” “a nation” or “a people.” For a discussion on the pre-modern existence of state, country, and nation, see Kyung Moon Hwang, “Country or State? Reconceptualizing Kukka in the Korean Enlightenment Period, 1896-1910” *Korean Studies* [Honolulu] 24 (2000): 1-24.

43 The journal *Uriijip (Our house)* is an example of the use of the word *uri* to imply something domestic. This journal dealt with family/household issues, meant for Korean housewives/mothers.
country, and a pre-colonized nation.\textsuperscript{44} Notions of “we” and “us” created a natural and organic, self-referential interiority that intimately spoke to those included in the writing/reading process. These self-censorship techniques “screened out radical publications” and succeeded in appeasing the colonial administration by producing politically safe publications which resulted in decreased seizures and suspensions and increased regular publication permits after 1930.\textsuperscript{45}

The capital city’s drastic population increase, along with growing numbers of Japanese settlers, had a profound impact on the nature of colonial print media discourse as seen in the ways in which 	extit{mudang} topics became urban issues. Japan implemented a dual-legal system over its colonies, placing Koreans on a different “level of civilization,” ‘degree of culture,’ or 	extit{mindō} (standards of popular consciousness) which accounted for the different places [Japan and its colonies] occupied in the international hierarchy and justified a different treatment of the colonial populations within the Japanese imperial order.”\textsuperscript{46} From the mid-1920s to the early 1940s, the population of Seoul skyrocketed more than threefold, to form new notions of urban space.\textsuperscript{47} Koreans and Japanese migrated into and next to Seoul in search of work and the city’s boundaries expanded in 1936 to meet the demands of this growing metropolis. Writers believed the city was buckling from the drastic increase in the urban settler population. From 1915 to 1935, over a quarter of the capital city’s population was made up of Japanese nationals.\textsuperscript{48} The colonial period witnessed Seoul rapidly change.

\textsuperscript{44} With terms such as “\textit{chŏn Chosŏn} (all of/entire Chosŏn),” \textit{Kyemyŏng sibo} 6 (July 1934): 6.
\textsuperscript{45} Peter Duus gives the following explanation, “the Japanese had screened out radical publications and dampened the will of publishers to fight the system.” Peter Duus, et al., 1989: 327.
\textsuperscript{48} Kwŏn T’ae-hwan and Chŏn Kwang-hŭi, eds, \textit{Sŏul ŭ chŏnt’ong ihae: in’gu wa tosihwa} (Understanding Seoul tradition: population and urbanization), Seoul: Sŏulhak yŏn’guso, 1997: 109. See also, Chŏng Sung-kyo and
into a locus of cosmopolitanism and racial tensions as the colonial government amassed sizeable real estate in the capital city, demolishing Korean palaces and ritual spaces, replacing them with Europeanized colonial buildings, forcing urban residents to surrender their homes for urban infrastructural projects, and trafficking outdoor activities into regulated “public” spaces.49

The Korean presses used mudang to rationalize concerns over urban transformations. A 1932 Silsaenghwal (True Life, 實生活) journal article warned that rich urbanites were being tainted and ruined by rural “superstitions.”50 The article traced the recent story of “an anonymous famous millionaire in Seoul” who “was ruined of all his fortune” and was “robbed out of his hundred-room home and forced into a small straw-thatched hut in the outskirts of the city” because he extravagantly “gambled” away his fortunes. His “wise and virtuous wife” brought on their ultimate demise by seeking out a mudang who later “took advantage” of the wife’s “weak ignorance.” The mudang persuaded her to trade in what was left of their possessions for two golden turtles. They buried the treasures and the wife was ordered to pray for an “inexhaustible fountain of wealth” to spring up from the burial site. After a hundred days of prayer, the “foolish wife” returned to the burial site in search of her

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50 Silsaenghwal was one in a series of differently titled journals. Chosŏn mulsan changnyŏhoe (Association for Korean Production) regularly published a series of journals between the 1920s to 30s, changing its title from Sanŏp'ye to Chahwal to Chosŏn Mulsan Changnyŏhoebo to Changsan and also to Silsaenghwal. It published under the title of Silsaenghwal from 1931 to 34, producing a total of nine volumes before it was shut down.
new fortune, only to find the golden turtles had “vanished” with the mudang, leaving the family with only “lumps of earth” to their name.

This story was remarkable for three reasons. First, the millionaire, his household, his wife, and the mudang were all unnamed and yet described as “well-known” Seoul residents. Their anonymity opened this incident up into a potential city-wide phenomenon. The onus was on the reader to recognize and apply this story to similar culprits and incidents in the vicinity of their own homes. The victims and perpetrators at-large allowed readers to engage in self and civil surveillance. This discursive strategy was one that enabled the writer to “‘govern without governing ‘society’ – governing by acting on the choices and self-steering properties of individuals, families, communities and organizations.’” Subjective lives became objects of new forms of public knowledge and the target of new forms of discursive power, through suggestions that readers should monitor themselves and manage their social environment.

Second, the spatial ethics implied in this story reveals a politics of identity centered on an urban elite space. A small picture above the title of this article illustrated the distinct boundaries of spatial privilege. Trees lined the foreground with a shadow of Seoul’s city gates in the distance – creating an image that the ruined millionaire might have seen as he trekked to the city’s “outskirts” and looked back at the inadmissible gates of his former home. His new residence outside the capital city’s gates was vast and uncultivated. The city was the place of privilege and ethical distinction while the poor and morally deserted resided in the “outskirts.” This recently bankrupted family could no longer afford to be city dwellers

52 *Silsaenghwal* 3, no. 6 (June 1932): 21.
and their only alternative was to move into a “thatched hut” outside of the city, reinforcing the socio-economic spatial segregation of inside and outside the urban.

Third, the editorial also taught lessons on ethical habits where efficient behaviour determined a person’s value. It believed that extravagance was wasteful, risky, and corrupt whereas frugality and thrift were rational, safe, and righteous. The editorial implied that the mudang “duped” the wife and stole her last remaining household possessions. The housewife was blamed for soliciting the mudang and for her “foolishness,” “entanglement” in superstition. It did not credit the housewife for weighing out her options, or for calculating a strategy to regain her husband’s losses on her own accord.53 The editorial ended with “we still do not know where the mudang lives,” hinting at the possibility that, unlike her unfortunate clients, the mudang was still operating somewhere in the city with her newly acquired riches.

The colonial city functioned as specific space of power that the urban print media was both enabled and enjoined to establish. The Government General accused mudang of hindering the development of a “self-help spirit and scientific attitude.”54 Meanwhile, the colonial state also granted mudang associations and official organizational status.55 The print media was alarmed by the contradictory effects of “cultural rule.” Newspapers utilized the language of the Government General to criticize the state, saying that “cultural rule” policies, such as those that enabled mudang associations, were hypocritical to the government’s

53 If the mudang was associated with risk, then she had the potential to produce gains as well as losses.
55 The most commonly recognized among these organizations was the Sungsinin chohap (崇神人組合), established and lasting through the 1920s. See Chapter Five for detailed discussion on this guild.
promotion of “self-help and scientific attitude.” The presses believed that mudang organizations were taking advantage of government policies for their own profit and that they inhibited Korea’s progress.

Mudang were granted no place to participate in the media’s process of modernization. Korean journalists believed that mudang had no validity as officially recognized subjects and used mudang-based institutions as examples of poor government. However, in one brief, isolated instance, Chosŏn ilbo retracted its anti-mudang position. In July 1925, severe monsoon rains caused “disastrous flooding” throughout the country that the paper covered in a headline, “All groups aid conditions.” With nearly two dozen columns covering the flood, one centered on the front page detailed the “Korean famine relief [Chosŏn kigûn kuje],” included seven short reports of assistance for flood victims around the country. The report opened with a notice that food provisions were being sorted for 2,600 people. Similar activities around the country were noted, such as a group of volunteers who “fed a thousand people” in the Tangju neighbourhood and another group of volunteers organized in the neighbourhood of Okin. A Catholic convent issued medicine and worked alongside the Catholic Boys Association, providing “free medical treatment.” The column also mentioned two mudang associations. First, it noted that the Sungin Goodwill Association” was a “busy refugee aid,” collecting monetary donations in two Seoul neighbourhoods. The second mention was of a similar mudang group that was collecting men’s and women’s clothing in Kaesŏng and delivering them from their branch office to Seoul headquarters. Their public

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56 Do-Hyun Han, 2000: 42.
57 Of the hundreds of commentaries that have been collected on mudang for this dissertation, this is the only instance where a newspaper praised mudang for their work. Chosŏn ilbo 25 July 1925.
58 Sungin was an abbreviated term for Spirit Worshippers Guild which was a mudang-run cultural organization. See Chapter Five for a detailed discussion on this organization.
education projects were encouraged because nationalists believed that it benefited the nation as colonialists saw it befitting for the empire.

This incident was an exceptional moment for the presses when mudang work was shown in a positive light. Chosŏn ilbo momentarily retracted its negative position on mudang, crediting their efforts by naming their contributions and recognizing them as an institution. Mudang were shown operating through an urban network with regional branches in the same light as other charitable organizations. They were timely and organized as a response team, philanthropic and giving as volunteers. These subjects were doing a “service” rather than a “disservice” and were briefly removed from the negative discourse; they were made contemporary, logistical, efficient, and worthwhile under the duress of a country-wide emergency.59 Unfortunately, the retraction disappeared alongside the passing of the public crisis incident and Chosŏn ilbo returned to its former dismissal of mudang associations and activities in successive issues. The incident did not reveal so much mudang ability to contribute to society as it showed that the discursive treatment of these subjects was dependent on how requests and demands for mudang were valued.

The Korean presses after 1920 was permitted to run under governing themes that proposed to enhance “culture” and “enlightenment,” compelling and coercing, requesting and requiring popular involvement. Newspapers assumed a different perspective than that of the state by presenting themselves as witnesses on the ground. The print media re-used certain targets, such as mudang, to detail common, everyday behaviour and to explain their “damage to economic efficiency.”60 A 1922 Tonga ilbo editorial observed that mudang were claiming that if people joined their organization, “they would be able to run their businesses without

59 Chosŏn ilbo 25 July 1925.
60 Chosŏn ilbo 21 July 1921.
worry."\textsuperscript{61} A 1921 *Chosŏn ilbo* editorial similarly expressed its concern over women’s spending patterns, claiming the need to “oppress mudang, especially by awakening women’s credit circles” to modern financial management.\textsuperscript{62} By giving examples of social corruption through stories of *mudang* and their clients “using each other” with mismanagement of personal properties, the paper hoped to bring women’s circles into disrepute and to persuade women to place their trust, savings, and debt in new financial institutions.\textsuperscript{63} Newspapers reported on women who turned to *mudang* for monetary advice and security, and bolstered their anti-*mudang* campaigns around times when *mudang* services seemed especially popular, strategizing campaigns to reduce spending around expensive holidays such as the Lunar New Year. One such *Tonga ilbo* story described a wife who depleted her family’s fortunes because she acted according to a *mudang*’s New Year’s predictions.\textsuperscript{64} The presses acted as financial brokers and advisors as they attempted to dissuade women from soliciting *mudang* for advice and services.

These newspapers were not just worried that *mudang* were making money. The colonial state’s recognition of *mudang* provided the print media an opportunity to assert their authority in interpreting state ideology and interests. Women gathered their monetary resources to help secure their families’ economic prosperity as a component of their household duties and asked *mudang* for advice on types of investments their families should make, optimal locations to set up shop, names for their businesses, auspicious openings, rituals to protect and flourish their businesses. Newspapers were empowered to steer the conduct of their subjects towards accepted and useful pursuits. Throughout the 1920s, the

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{61} *Tonga ilbo* 11 February 1922.
\textsuperscript{62} *Chosŏn ilbo* 21 July 1921.
\textsuperscript{63} In this case, *kye* or “credit circles.” *Chosŏn ilbo* 11 November 1923.
\textsuperscript{64} *Tonga ilbo* 17 May 1921: 3.
\end{flushleft}
print media steadily criticized what was seen as state leniency on *mudang* and urged the government to impose greater controls upon the population. These *mudang* discussions complied with the colonialist measures for scientific modernization while they also questioned the accuracy and effectiveness of cultural ruling ideology, allowing the print media a semi-autonomous space to express their political discontent.

II. THE RURAL EXODUS

The concept of rural women was inextricably tied to the print media’s discussion of *mudang*, revealing the coloniality of this discourse. Examining the gender stratification of labour provides a glimpse into writers’ concerns over female, rural out-migration, urban development, and the colonial capitalist economy. A rise in female mechanized workers emerged out of the demand for women in and around rapidly industrializing areas, as new city migrants, creating much anxiety for urban elites. Increasing demand for industrialized labour required new definitions of gendered work and raised questions around the values attributed to women. Journalists utilized a *mudang* discourse to reinforce a spatially gendered dichotomy between the masculine city and the feminine countryside as settlement spaces expanded in and around cities. Industrialization and migration triggered writers’ fears of urban invasion and concerns over a collision between modernity and tradition. Urbanites’ anxieties about a feminine, rural influx were manifested in stories about *mudang* that were used to show how the city was unsuitable for rural women.65

65 Special attention has been paid to the 1920s drastic increase in women’s industrial labour in the textile industry which leveled off in the 1930s. More recently, historians have examined women’s work in heavy industries in the late 1930s, as they were recruited to fill for wartime labour shortages. See Chi Su-gŏl, “Ilche ŭi kun’gukchuŭi p’asijum kwa ‘chosŏn nongch’on chinhŭng undong’” (Japanese imperial militaristic fascism and the “Korean rural revitalization project”) *Yŏksa muhje yŏn’guso* 47 (1999): 16-36; Hong T’ae-hyŏng, *Sŏul isip segi saenghwal munhwa pyŏnch’ŏnsa* (The historical changes to Seoul life and culture in the twentieth century). Seoul: Sŏul sich’ŏng kaebal yŏn’guso, 2001; Janice Kim, *To Live to Work: Factory Women in Colonial Korea,*
Colonial Korea was marked by the debut of conceptualizations of gendered labour in rural and urban industries. The gendered division of labour for female factory workers provides a context for the broader discourse on women as economic subjects, and mudang discourses as methods to regulate these subjects in particular. Labour for mass-production was designed and operated through a socially gendered infrastructure of Korean “culture” and “tradition.” Women’s labour within and outside the home was characterized as “feminized” work rather than simply as “work.” These labourers were discursively constructed through multiple, contradictory, and nebulous conceptions of “feminine” bodies. Women were construed according to revamped categories of new women, modern girls, “good wives, wise mothers” (hyŏnmo yangch’ŏ, 賢母良妻), midwives, rural women, and mudang.

A discursive dichotomy between rural and urban life was exacerbated by exaggerations of rural women flocking to cities as a result of industrialization. Before Japan colonized Korea in 1910, there were already over two hundred factories in operation in Korea. The Korean peninsula had become the geographic stepping-stone for Japan to enter the Asian mainland and was a crucial human and material resource base for Japan’s expansionist endeavors. Upon annexation, the first Government General administration took full control of the Korean economy and targeted factory labour production for industrial growth in Korea. Soon Won Park finds that in the early 1920s, Seoul’s Kyŏnggi Province was the biggest

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industrial region in Korea. As Yi Ok-ji’s chart in Appendix D indicates, there was a boom in the number of factories erected during the first decade of colonial rule (2,087 factories in 1920) and the numbers steadily increased throughout the colonial period, reaching 7,242 factories by 1940. From 1925 to 1930 about 40,000 people left the countryside and another 60,000 migrated out from 1930 to 1935, but by 1940 the rural out-migration increased by another 220,000 people. Overall, the urban population of Korea more than quadrupled in size from 1910 to 1945.

Although women consistently composed about a third of the total labour pool for industry throughout the latter half of the colonial period, a greater percentage of women to men migrated out of the countryside to fill these positions. Chŏng Chin-sŏng argues that three percent more women than men migrated from rural to urban areas in search of work. This number may not appear significant but, such a wave of female urban migration was previously unprecedented and caught the attention of the media. Chŏng emphasizes that “the survey of rural areas shows a decrease in the number of people in the “lower class”

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67 In Park’s study, “a nationwide total of 604 industrial factories and mines that employed 42,923 workers, 23% (139) of the factories and 31.4% (13,495) of the workers were concentrated in the Kyŏnggi region.” Soon Won Park, 1998: 46.

68 Soon Won Park’s figures differ from the following: Yi Ok-ji, Han’guk yŏsŏng nodongja undongsa:1 (Korean women’s labour movement history: vol. 1), Seoul: Hanul ak’ademi, 2001: 34. This irregularity may because categorical parameters were not consistent. For instance, the number and types of workers that determined “factory” versus “cottage” industries were not consistently applied.

69 In the first half of the colonial period, over a quarter of the people that left the countryside went abroad to Japan, Manchuria, and Siberia and rural resident foreign emigration continually increased up until the end of the colonial period. Chŏng Chin-sŏng, “Singminji chabonjuŭihwa kwajŏng esŏ ui yŏsŏng nodong ŭi pyŏnmo” (Women’s labour participation in Korean colonial society) Han’guk yŏsŏnghak 4 (1988): 55.

70 These statistics give some idea of labour populations but are not entirely reliable because parameters such as the number and type of workers counted to determine the category of “factory” versus “cottage” industries were not consistent. Janice Kim notes there are inconsistencies and discrepancies between Government General year-end records and official census records causing “much confusion over the exact population figures of colonial Korea.” Janice Kim, 2009: 39.

71 Chŏng Chin-sŏng’s “net migration” survey was based on age categories of every 100 people who originally resided in rural areas. Chŏng Chin-sŏng’s 1988 article in Han’guk yŏsŏnghak, 56.
concluding that the fundamental reason people left their homes was due to poverty.\textsuperscript{72} The cause for poor female workers to make this “rural exodus” was that they were basically “sucked into industry and commerce.” The notion of impoverished rural women entering the city fuelled print media’s imaginations of a dichotomous urban/rural divide.

Rural areas were seen as being affected by the rapid industrialization and urbanization generated in the cities. Rural household enterprises, such as silkworm farming, animal husbandry, vegetable cultivation, raw cotton and medicinal plant cultivation, composed a “formidable proportion of the peninsula’s output throughout the colonial era.”\textsuperscript{73} In order to centralize women’s cottage labour production and commodities, the Japanese colonial government attempted to centralize women’s household labour, production, and goods. Certain household producers found it difficult to compete with larger factories. Household textile industries were the most effected by factory production when large Japanese and mid-size Korean spinning companies took over in the 1930s.\textsuperscript{74} The government made it virtually impossible for cottage textile industries to compete by confiscating looms and by prohibiting women from performing such jobs as sewing and weaving within their homes.\textsuperscript{75} Household enterprises started to decline in the 1930s as women were pushed towards factories and larger towns and cities in search of work.\textsuperscript{76}

\textsuperscript{72} Chŏng Chin-sŏng’s 1988 article in Han’guk yŏsŏnghak, 56-57. See also Janice Kim, 2009: 54-55. Dong-no Kim, “Pannong panno: Iliche sidae nongmin undong ŭi kundaejŏk chŏnhwan kwa nodong ŭi hyŏngsŏng” (Pannong panno: the modern transformation of peasant movements and the emergence of labour dispute during the colonial period in Korea) Hyŏnsang kwa insik t’ongsŏn (December 2007): 13-32.
\textsuperscript{73} Janice Kim, 2009: 58.
\textsuperscript{74} After 1930, an influx of girls was distributed in large scales into cotton mill work needed to operate the booming spinning industry. Yi Ok-ji, 2001: 35.
\textsuperscript{75} Chŏng Chin-sŏng, “Ŏgap toen yŏsŏng ŭi chuch’e hyŏnsŏng kwa kun wianbu” (Construction of oppressed women’s identity and the military comfort women) Sahoe wa yŏksa 54 (1998): 80.
\textsuperscript{76} At its peak, “in 1933, households were responsible for 40.1 percent of Korea’s total industrial output.” This was reduced to 24.7 percent by 1938. Janice Kim, 2009: 58.
A slightly larger number of younger pre-adolescent girls than boys migrated to cities in search of work as young girls provided a cheap labour pool (often subjected to work without pay) for the empire.⁷⁷ Janice Kim finds that “the majority of poor, single women entered mechanized industries, as light industrialists favored the employment of women in their teens and early twenties.”⁷⁸ However, many Korean mechanized industries hired older married women. Thanh-Dam Truong argues that “far from being gender-neutral, industrialization processes in East Asia have deployed the women’s labour force in strategic positions to reduce labour costs, which makes rapid domestic capital formation possible.”⁷⁹ Throughout the empire, the system of using “female child workers... can be accredited to Japanese industrial designs” but the use of young girls in Korea was limited to certain industries such as spinning, weaving and silk-reeling industries in Korea.⁸⁰

In an effort and as a means to undervalue and justify labour exploitation, pay disparity, and non-pay, female wage-work was represented as, and was made the equivalent to, women’s biological instincts. The Government General capitalized on ideologies of these women’s (re)productive labour to populate and produce for the growing empire. Women and their children were needed to supply steady, exploitable, and profitable labour for the empire’s economic expansion and the state used “cheap workers” to meet their goals for mechanized manufacturing industries, agricultural exports, and diversified trades and services. Women’s work in mechanized industries was made to appear natural as an

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⁷⁷ Of all surveyed women, the single largest age group was between 10-14 years of age (comprising 32-35 percent of all women), whereas among men, 15-19 years of age comprised the largest age group (52-55 percent of all men). Chŏng Chin-sŏng, 1988: 56.
⁷⁸ Janice Kim, 2009: 52.
⁷⁹ The gendered division of labour practices was not unique to the second half of colonial Korea. “The history of industrialization itself has been an ongoing process of gender subordination.” Thanh-Dam Truong, “The Underbelly of the Tiger: Gender and the Demystification of the Asian Miracle,” *Review of International Political Economy* 6, no. 2 (Summer 1999): 134; 135.
extension of their work in child-bearing and housekeeping, in order to encourage the gender
disparity needed in cheap mass production. The first factory control regulation was
stipulated in Meiji Japan in 1881 for “Factory Worker Recruitment.” The Meiji Japan’s
ruling ideology was for men to “increase production, promote industry” and to suggest that
women “worked only in exceptional cases, because of poverty.” Contrary to this ideology,
a study conducted in 1899 Meiji showed a distinct sexual division of labour where women
comprised over 70 percent of Japan’s spinning mill industry. The use of women as
mechanized producers was made the equivalent of women as “home-makers” by linking
female reproductive characteristics to industrialized production. Promoting the notion that
women’s labour was an automatic extension of their bodies enabled a sexual division of
wage labour that assumed women’s work was effortless and, therefore, less deserving.
Andrew Grajdanzev (1899 - ?), an economist in colonial Korea, observed a surprisingly large
percentage of female factory workers in Korea, indicating that women were being exploited
in colonial industries. Women’s factory work was characterized as a form of feminine
work to justify their substandard wages.

Women sought work in and near industrializing areas when their lives in the
countryside could not offer them financial security. Although many women left the
countryside due to poverty, they were not passive victims, but rather decisive and resourceful

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81 This was a world-wide early-industrialization phenomenon. On China, see Lydia Kung, Factory Women in
Taiwan, Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1983; on Malaya, see Lai Ah Eng, Peasants, Proletarians and
Prostitutes: A Preliminary Investigation into the Work of Chinese Women in Colonial Malaya, Pasir Panjang,
Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1986; on Britain see Krista Cowman and Louise A. Jackson,
84 Eiko Shinotsuka, 1994: 104.
85 For his discussion on female and child factory labour, see Andrew Grajdanzev, Modern Korea, New York:
International Secretariat, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1944: 182-84.
people seeking work in potential places of better opportunity. Women’s wage-earning potential was weighed against new public warnings about their straying from the watchful eyes of their parents, putting their “morals” and social respectability on the line and threatening the backbone of families and society.\textsuperscript{87} The next section will show how the colonial Korean media depicted the deterioration of feminine morality through the conceived displacement of rural women in and around cities, as uneducated, impoverished, and vulnerable to superstitious “vices” such as interactions with mudang. The mudang/rural women discussion in the print media was informed by gendered understandings of socio-spatial ethics and a privileging of urban identity. Rural women’s supposed interactions with mudang revealed writers’ concerns about disintegrating transformations that seemed to be taking place in cities and in the countryside. Urban elite expressions were articulated through anxieties about the permeability of the urban space and the impacts of a female rural exodus into cities which glossed over the crisis in the countryside and injustices of female labour exploitation while exaggerating the urban influx of women in an anti-mudang discourse.

III. WOMEN ENTER THE CITY

Cities as beds for capitalist modernity and urban industrial production involved industrialized subjects as a source of labour capital. Rapid industrialization was made possible through the supply of women as a cheap and abundant labour pool for nearly all industries in colonial Korea. Images of feminized work and migration intersected on various levels with negative mudang images. Mudang were “multi-faceted and yet autonomous

political agents with collective identities." What is more is that they and their clients were from the same or nearby communities in cities as well as in the countryside and yet, mudang were frequently associated with rural women in order to create a discourse of displacement – that such women did not belong in cities, that they were outsiders. For those women who left their homes to make money, when factories could not offer them work, the city still provided a potential space for them to acquire new forms of wealth. The expression of a new social awareness developed in conjunction with the material dictates of modern metropolitan centers.

A metropolitan social order positioned rural women in the same way as mudang, according to their low-income (and concomitant low-class) status – as simple country-folk, characterized as ignorant, unruly and unfit immigrants into the city. The two were not connected explicitly or directly, but as women at the low end of the social order, they served negatively to contrast the types of positive gender roles in the structuring of a moral society. Mudang were similarly discursively displaced to represent new urban migrants in that they were both shown as interrupting city life and upsetting urban modernity. The media depicted a crisis with a rise in mudang and their “rural women” associates, showing their apprehensions about the effects of the rural exodus and rapid industrialization.

Particularly in the latter half of the colonial period, a slightly larger percentage of women than men migrated from rural to industrializing areas in search of work. Tied to the changing socio-economy of the colonial city in the 1920s and 30s, new urban concerns emerged alongside a diversifying consumer market and images of a city that was seen as

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89 Chŏng Chin-sŏng, 1988: 57.
quickly “overcrowding” with masses of female urban newcomers. As deteriorating rural conditions pushed increasing numbers of workers away from agricultural production into other industries, mechanized production industries became overloaded with rural migrant workers. During the Great Depression as unemployment rates soared, working conditions deteriorated and “a boycott broke out nearly every day in metropolitan centers.”90 The print media feared rising unemployment meant a crisis for society.

A 1932 Silsaenghwal journal editorial captured these urban problems in a political cartoon. The cartoon in Appendix E was entitled “Pulgyŏnggi ŭi yŏlmae (Fruits of the depression).”91 In its foreground, bundles of human skulls hung heavily from tree branches as their strands of hair swayed in the wind. The distant horizon was lined with factory smokestacks. The caption beside this illustration explained that unemployment was “becoming more severe by the day. Although one wants to work, there are no jobs.” The cartoon depicted “the abundance of haggard faces” as the “fruit of unemployment” and the “fruit of poverty.” It lamented, “Ah! Unemployment! This is a scary matter! How many are unemployed and impoverished? This is a miserable matter!” The heads of unused workers were shown as rotting fruit, wasting away when cities could not accommodate them. Shown here as disembodied heads, manual labourers were made to be pitied, portrayed in images of death and despair. They represented the neglected vestiges of industrialization and urbanization – a surplus of workers, a deficit of jobs, and escalating unemployment. The editorial advised that seeking work in industrializing areas would be “fruitless” and warned of “scary” and dangerous times to come. Fear of economic hardship was expressed through a picture of the impoverished and the dead propagating in the untended peripheries of industry;

90 Janice Kim, 2009: 163.
91 Silsaenghwal 3, no.6 (June 1932): 23.
the juxtaposition between nature and machine produced a “strange fruit” of skulls. The editorial alerted readers against the “spoil” and “rot” of rapid industrialization, expressing fears of worse times to come.

With Japan’s acquisition of Manchuria in the early 1930s, certain sectors, such as the textile industry, saw a boom in female employment. Most people could not find jobs in factories, but rather than returning to the countryside, many took residence in and around industrializing areas. Women found alternative types of work around the industrial core with some becoming street vendors (nojŏn sangin) and peddlers (haengsang); many sought employment in the rapidly developing service sector; in hotel and restaurant service industries, as laundresses, motel cleaners, cooks, and waitresses in and around urbanizing areas. These out-growth enterprises to industrial development produced an alternative labour market that the presses believed signaled societal ruin.

The rising influx of female workers and the presumed rise of mudang in the city were considered related issues. The print media discussion about mudang had as much to do with the needs of colonial industrial labour force as it did with the changes that the presses perceived were occurring in the city through changes in the female labour population. New urban workers were looked down upon as they occupied what Henri Lefebvre refers to as an “indiscernible, intermediate space” between work (the factory, the farm) and leisure.

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92 I have borrowed this phrase from the title of a photograph and a song by the same name. Abel Meeropol wrote a poem about this photograph, in Appendix F, entitled, Strange Fruit. The poem was put to a musical score performed by Billie Holliday on her album Fine and Mellow, New York: Commodore Records, April 20, 1939. Beitler sold thousands of copies of this photograph, including reproductions in postcards. This photograph could have been the inspiration for this Silsaenghwal political cartoon. For a detailed discussion of this photograph see Chapter Six of James Madison, Lynching in the Heartland: Race and Memory in America, New York: Palgrave, 2001.
93 Janice Kim, 2009: 60.
(entertainment venues). Under colonial capitalism, “everyday life [was] subordinated to an extremely basic hierarchy of functions.” Women in the rising service industries occupied the “intermediate space” that was “opaque and impenetrable,” causing great consternation for the media. Throughout the 1920s and 30s service industries boomed alongside urban industrialization. Dancehalls became a part of Seoul’s material culture and a symbol of cosmopolitanism; liquor establishments, fine dining halls, pubs, and “prostitute bars” became more prolific in cities throughout the country. New types of entertainment venues were criticized for morally degenerating society.

Newspapers targeted women such as courtesans (kisaeng) and barmaids who occupied and serviced these new establishments. They attempted to illustrate their wrongfulness by attempting to show that women in the service industries were connected to mudang. A 1923 Tonga ilbo article commended a young men’s group in Pyongyang for singling out kisaeng and mudang organizations in order to “purge corrupted practices from modern society” asserting that “they cause a bad effect and poison this society.” A few days later Chosŏn ilbo stated that the youth group had drafted a plan to relocate kisaeng into the “outskirts of the city.” Another 1932 Tonga ilbo article expressed its consternation at mudang, kisaeng and barmaids’ collaboration deriding a “woman’s group” for putting on

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96 Henri Lefebvre, 2002: 129.
97 Henri Lefebvre, 2002: 131.
98 The Government General enforced laws over most of these establishments while it set less regulatory standards on traditional inns. Chu Yong-ha, “Chumak ū kündaejók chisok kwa ponhwai” (Modern continuance and differentiation of inns) Silch’ŏnminsokhaeyŏng’gu 11 (February 2008): 5-28.
100 Chosŏn ilbo 29 July 1939: 2.
101 Chosŏn ilbo 13 July 1923: 3.
102 Chosŏn ilbo 19 July 1923: 3.
“erotic pageants” for the public. The print media lambasted women who worked in public consumptive spaces of “leisure” and “pleasure.”

Women were stigmatized for working in urban service industries even though these jobs were the by-product of urban industrialization, a diversifying labour market, and the basis for capitalist development. Although these women were not immune to the “self-discipline” campaigns that promoted hyŏnmo yangch’ŏ, they were discriminated against as urban interlopers and shunned as social “poison.” The print media refused to accept new behaviour among these women by emphasizing that an old problem with mudang has not been “resolved.” “Modern society” and “new culture” were monopolized in the hands of the youth group. What Tonga ilbo dreaded was “increasing day by day” provided evidence to growing social networks and opportunities for women in a diversifying city.

With an urban labour market that seemed to be flooded with the rural poor, newspapers and journals expressed their particular anxieties about a female urban population that appeared to be growing disproportionately fast. A 1936 Tonga ilbo article believed that women were abandoning their rural “widowers” (holaebi) and “bachelors” (ch’onggak) for factory work, “exaggerating the situation of female rural exodus.” The presses believed likely candidates to succumb to superstition were rural women, as being among the larger group of “uneducated and ignorant labourers [muji mongmae han nodongjadŭl].” The presence of mudang in the cities was considered a manifestation of migrating rural women and their countryside residue in cities. In 1923, Tonga ilbo described women involved with

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103 Tonga ilbo 5 March 1932: 3. See also 13 July 1923: 3.
104 Chosŏn ilbo 21 July 1921; Tonga ilbo 13 July 1923: 3; Tonga ilbo 3 October 1929: 2; Tonga ilbo 29 October 1933.
105 Chosŏn ilbo 22 January 1926: 3.
106 Tonga ilbo 13 July 1923: 3.
108 Chosŏn ilbo 12 May 1939.
mudang as “ignorant and simple country wives” and “unreasonable people.” A 1933 Tonga ilbo article warned that mudang were “deceiving rural women.” Yet, their greater concern was that superstition was spreading to urban men. Chosŏn ilbo and Tonga ilbo repeatedly blamed mudang for creating a “confused world,” in an urban-centric environment which found “rural women” to be “un-scientific,” “superstitious,” and “antiquated.” The print media used mudang to highlight rising urban “popularity of wickedness,” expressing their concern that the female population was growing out of control.

In the 1930s, the notion that superstition was on the rise became more pronounced than it previously had been. An ongoing discursive technique to promote “science” and to play on the “rise” in “superstitious trends” intersected with the media’s accounts of a growing female urban population. A women’s journal, Urijip (Our House) stated in a 1932 article: “Nowadays superstitious trends are growing.” Claiming that “civilized, rural, urban... ignorant and learned people believe in it,” but “it is a fact that more women than men believe in it.” The journal warned against these “trends” that were “going around nowadays.” Growing superstition was revealed through reports on increasing mudang-related activities. Tonga ilbo suggested that the police should “exterminate the increasingly rampant mudang,” arguing that mudang were appearing all over the city and that they were becoming “more rampant on a daily basis.” Chosŏn ilbo was particularly engaged in mapping out the

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109 Tonga ilbo 24 March 1923: 3.
110 Tonga ilbo 24 June 1933.
111 Urijip 8 (Fall 1932): 12.
113 Akchil yuhaeng. Chosŏn ilbo 11 September 1938: 27.
114 Typical to the colonial discourse on mudang, a 1923 Tonga ilbo article reported that “female mu” (munyŏ) were on the rise, an indication that “culture” was “not progressing.” Tonga ilbo 24 March 1923:3
115 Tonga ilbo 3 March 1934: 6, 1 March 1939.
places around the country where mudang activities were on the rise. In a 1937 editorial, Chosŏn ilbo pointed out that the “activity of spirits” was “rampant” in Kanghwa, described a “throng of mudang” and “rampancy” in Inchŏn,” and claimed that their numbers in this city “have exploded these days.”\textsuperscript{116} The editorial called out districts that were a “hotbed [sogul] for mudang” and neighbourhoods that were “famous for its many mudang homes” to show an “urgent present situation” throughout the country.\textsuperscript{117} In South P’yŏngan Province, the paper reported on the “popularity of capricious evil in every neighbourhood as [superstition] gathers in every part of Kwangsan in Ōjung city. Originally there were a lot of superstitious acts but the recent cursed popularity has only given an opportunity for all munyŏ to haunt us in rapid increase.”\textsuperscript{118} The concept of “mudang rampancy” was not an ephemeral one, but one that evolved with urban industrialization.

The criticisms of rural women and mudang revealed writers’ concerns over women as buyers and consumers of new manufactured products. The media disapproved of unnecessary commodities which signaled waste and excess. A 1938 Chosŏn ilbo article expressed its repulsion at groups of mudang in Noryangjin who “put on white makeup and go around changing and endangering peoples’ natural lives [chayŏn saenghwal] and invade the real picture of the world and darken respectable homes.”\textsuperscript{119} The paper believed that these women, who wore makeup, colourful dresses, and performed for the public affected “common people’s minds.”\textsuperscript{120} Tonga ilbo noted that mudang were “made up and dressed in magnificent costumes” and that this was “especially enticing for impressionable young

\begin{footnotes}
\item[116] Chosŏn ilbo 8 July 1937: 2, 3 September 1939, 12 May, 1939, 3 September 1939.
\item[118] Chosŏn ilbo 11 September 1938: 27.
\item[119] Chosŏn ilbo 15 August 1938.
\item[120] Chosŏn ilbo 15 August 1938.
\end{footnotes}
people.”¹²¹ Read against the grain, mudang can be seen as showing an interest in current trends and fashion. Aesthetics was an important component of mudang livelihood in rituals and ceremonies which required them dress in ways that would appeal to their clients, guests as well as their spirits. For their ritual performances, they needed a wardrobe filled with numerous, expensive costumes and paraphernalia. Furthermore, those who could afford a ritual (kut) service revealed their own material means and were recognized as hosts of major events. The social nature of kut required mudang and their associates to appeal to an ever-changing community of consumers.

The 1932 Silsaenghwal editorial noted that a “trend” of following mudang was taking over the capital city and believed that rural women were reversing urban progress:

Provincial women would rather do ignorant and inexperienced things as we’ve entered twentieth century scientific civilization where tramcars and automobiles powered by electricity and gasoline speed down big streets and at night, everywhere, lights shine in houses with the introduction of electric lights. Yet it is deplorable that they don’t just prevent people from rural areas from doing superstitious things [such as venerating spirits or doing kut] but that these things are becoming the fashion in Seoul.¹²²

Commentaries such as this on the influx of rural women and the “fashionability” of superstition revealed an elitist reading of the uneven geo-social and economic developments of Korean cities. The editorial smeared “rural women who used to live in the provinces [chibang ŭi san sigol nyŏjadŭl]” as those who “excessively give out money and rice to mudang from night to dawn.” Their nighttime activities portrayed rural women as “in the dark” in regards to urbanity, placed in stark contrast to the progressive illuminated city. Although the city appeared modern from a distance, the editorial warned that “much superstition [was] still left” implying that some women were conducting rural-like activities

¹²¹ Tonga ilbo 22 May 1924: 3.
¹²² This editorial served as an introduction to the story of a ruined Seoul millionaire mentioned in Section I of this chapter. Kim Sun-tŭk, Silsaenghwal 3, no.6 (June 1932): 21-23.
within the privacy of their homes. These “superstitious” women were highlighted to remind readers that the modern, urban sanctuary was in danger of being reversed by provincialism.

**Conclusion**

Gender marked the personal and public boundaries creating internal divisions within the colonized space. Ann Laura Stoler finds that these internal divisions “developed out of competing economic and political agendas – conflicts over access to indigenous resources, frictions over appropriate methods for safeguarding [colonial] privilege and power, competing criteria for reproducing a colonial elite and for restricting its membership.” The discursive production of *mudang* was an “easily identifiable and discrete biological social entity; a “naturalized” community that helped writers form the very categories of “oppressor” and the “oppressed” to impose their presence and prerogative upon their space.” The transformed/invented logic and rhetoric for the continuation of gender discrimination were essential to structure a hierarchy and authority within colonized communities.

The colonial presses were a new platform from which Koreans pushed the limits of their agency and power. The print media engaged in a discourse around *mudang* to communicate the presence and boundaries of Korean civilization. Media writers “othered” these subjects in a utopic project to socially morphologize the Korean masses into modern urbanites. The discursive subject was formed out of the cohabitation of variously empowered Koreans and the meanings that these elites ascribed to concepts such as “rural,” “urban,” “female.” These writings were also “self-referential” and the third person narrative

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became a backdrop for the writers’ own reflections in a process to create exclusive, privileged membership by staging cities as inherently different from their hinterlands. A negative image-making practice helped to define modernists and others within the same colonized body of Korean society.

The anti-муданг discussion was also a way to temporally locate the margins and center of modernity. Муданг were a part of a larger discussion around a social economy that included dominant and contesting constructions of gendered labour, nationality, and imperial subject. The rhetoric which the Korean print media used to strengthen the nation conversely justified colonial capitalist development. These discursive productions of the modern were juxtaposed against subjects such as муданг and rural women who were made out to be primitive to showcase the process of uneven development between rural and urban spaces; to reinforce colonized elitism through demonstrations of differentiated progressive temporalities within the Korean population. The print media suggested that муданг should reside outside of cities, in the outskirts, the edges of the country, the farming villages, rural communities, agricultural districts, and regions removed from city centres.125 This was a politics of identity and power that articulated itself through space and was fundamentally about power asymmetries in space.

125 Tonga ilbo 24 June 1933.
CHAPTER FOUR

Making Scientific Mothers

INTRODUCTION

Women learned to read and, by extension, “how to read their position in society.”¹ In September 1920, the Government General organ, Maeil sinbo, employed the colonial era’s first female journalist to cover issues such as childbirth and childrearing, compelling women to produce and abide by discursively imposed principles of motherhood. From 1924 onwards, every major newspaper hired at least one female journalist to be on staff and to represent the interests of their female readers.² However, the population of female readers was disproportionately small in comparison to the numbers of female journalists and women’s journals during the colonial period.³ Although this wave of female media writers could have signaled a shift in social gender relations and in the production of discursive subjects, it was still largely a male-driven industry that catered to a privileged minority of readers.

This chapter, divided into three sections, is an extension of Chapter Three’s examination of the print media, with a focus on discursive strategies that were used to manage social behaviour through gendered images of feminine production and consumption. The first section positions colonial newspapers alongside women’s journals to show how the anti-mudang discourse was expanded to promote modern homemaking. Through women’s

¹ You-me Park, 1998: 207.
² Sin Sŏk-u at Chosŏn ilbo, Hŏ Chǒng-suk at Tonga ilbo, Hwang Sin-dŏk at Sidae ilbo, and Kim Myŏng-sun at Maeil sinbo. Pak Yong-kyu, 1997: 8, 9-11. You-me Pak also observes that female journalists had very short careers in newspapers and they were replaced every one to two years. You-me Park, 1998.
³ Yi Sŭng-yun, 2007: 331. In the 1800s, the Chosŏn state gained an interest in women’s education as a part of their Enlightenment policy but the first women’s schools in Korea were established by western missionaries. In 1884, Ehwa Girls School was the first of these schools. Upon colonization, Japan closed down many of these schools. From 1910-1917, the number of schools drastically decreased from 1,973 to 868 and steadily decreased throughout the rest of the colonial period. Yi Chŏng-hŭi, 2005.
journals, writers encouraged the support of colonial capitalist development by educating consumers of new commodity markets. Journalists focused on mudang goods and services and claimed that women’s solicitations of mudang were signs of inefficient household management. Discursive designs for ethical housekeeping represented privileged women as responsible household engineers and scientific managers and treated homemaking and domestic labour as a learned (read) skill. The “new” or “modern” woman ideology was self-ascribed by a small group of well-educated and well-read women who saw their work as a mission in social progress.

The second section examines how the print media encouraged people to change their views and values on reproduction, pregnancy and childbirth, funnelling unregulated practices towards licensed healthcare services. The need to expand the empire’s cheap labour base through biological reproduction was formed through a regime of ethical childbirth/child-rearing. This campaign to promote knowledge and ability in motherhood was made into a science where “infant welfare and domestic reformation [were] seen as part of a general extension of ‘technical rationality’ in the modern world.” While women were encouraged to change their thoughts and actions on caregiving and reproduction, newspapers rendered mudang-based, informal, communal, and kin-based knowledge systems as a social epidemic in order to compel women to shift their trust towards new medical and healthcare practices.

The third section looks at the effects of militarism on women as women’s bodies became primary considerations for the state. In the early 1930s, newspapers and journals

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4 Instruction manuals for women were not unique to the colonial period. They were produced throughout the Chosŏn era, to educate women on child development and other aspects of proper womanhood. According to Yang Jai Shin, mothers were given regular disciplinary instruction for children ages three to ten. Yang Jai Shin, “Assessment of Child Development According to Educational Books for Domestic Life during the Chosŏn Dynasty Period,” *Korean Journal of Child Studies* 16, no 1 (May 1995): 183-195.

supported the state’s new acquisition of Manchuria and implementation of a Rural Revitalization Campaign in Korea’s countryside as interventionary measures to assist rural women in production and reproduction. The state revamped the “good wife, wise mother” ideology through a new image of “militarized mothers” in preparation for the Pacific War. The print media was conjoined and compelled to participate in the ideology of enfranchising women in the representation of the empire’s preparation for war which occurred within prescriptive and traditionally conservative criteria of feminine subjectivity slogans in a seamless reinstatement of wartime hostilities as women’s household duties.

I. FEMININE CONSUMPTION

Colonial-era journals attempted to teach ethical consumption and lifestyle practices, reflecting a growing awareness of the purchasable choices people should make in order to attain a modern life. Products reinforced purchaser identities since print media scripts detailed the rationale behind the use of certain types of manufactured products. The print media informed readers of ways to use new material goods/technologies and attempted to ease readers’ anxieties about new commodities by framing goods and services in a familiar, everyday context. Partaking in these products made people into socially responsible consumers as journals intellectually, morally, and pragmatically justified new consumptive behaviour. What is more, through new product consumption, readers were given a sense of global citizenship, transforming mundane, everyday activities into actions that were considered moral and modern.

Colonial era journals were equipped with new vocabularies and concepts that created an exclusive circuit of knowledge over modern science and technology. *Kyŏnghyang*
chapchi (Capital Countryside Journal) attempted to educate people on how electricity worked in a 1924 column. It scoffed at “foolish people” who used “hearsay and superstitious sayings” to explain electricity and gave an example of such behaviour: “People think that the reason people are struck by lightning is because they have committed a great crime. People think that the reason objects are struck by lightning is because the lightning is chasing away or killing those evil spirits.” Then the column illustrated the properties of lightening with a story of a cat that had entered a deceased person’s house; as it walked past the corpse, the corpse moved, scaring everyone off. The column ridiculed people who did “not know the beginnings of physics and electrology” and explained that if enough static electricity was built up between the corpse and the cat’s fur, a “corpse may move [sich’e ka umjiginda].” The hypothesis that static electricity could move a human corpse could not be questioned when the cause was explained through new vocabulary such as “electrical discharge [pangjŏn]” and “positive/negative charge [yangjŏn’gi/ŭmjŏn’gi],” giving this “scientific” reason credence over people who spoke “without any basis.” Readers were offered the chance to become modern if they utilized the language and paradigms given to them, compelling them to read, speak, and act in ways that defined their identities.

After 1920, women participated in producing the public discourse through the print media. They were offered a chance to engage in social discussions of “womanly” issues. As “women’s issues” became a regular topic in the Korean colonial print media, female authorship also increased. Women began publishing journals as early as 1900, but their publications flourished from the mid-1920s through to 1940. Starting in the 1920s, female journalists were staffed in every major press, as token markers of gender egalitarianism and

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7 Pak Yong-kyu, 1997: 8. Yŏja chinam (Women’s Guide Book, 女子指南), founded in May 1908, may arguably be considered the first mass-print journal for women, although it did not staff female writers.
progressiveness. Writers actively discussed the configurations and the boundaries of proper woman-ness through bi-monthly popular women’s niche journals. Although female staff remained in publishing houses, Kenneth Wells finds that by the mid-1920s topics of gender were taken over by men and “diverted toward issues of ‘patriotic’ virtue and ‘national’ import” as men were “bereft of their own power to rule the nation, were hostile to any move by women that would affect the gender balance of power, something ‘modernity’ ostensibly offered women.” Women could not secure stable or fulfilling careers as journalists. Female journalists at any given publishing house were replaced on the average of once a year, making this a highly unstable industry for women. Women were forced to censor their writings to appease the male-dominated industry. A status quo form of social control and prescriptive knowledge was generated under feminine authorship, reinforcing patriarchal values through topics supposedly presented by and for women. Women were promoted as agents in the patriarchal discursive paradigm, through discussions of educated housewives and enlightened mothers who combined science and pragmatism.

Women participated in this discourse of feminine discipline that was put to use to “cure” the social maladies of industrial capitalism. Journals which catered to women dealt primarily with matters of housekeeping and child-rearing. These niche journals fed into a diversifying market of publications which catered to the medicalization and institutionalization of women’s household duties. A homemaker’s journal, Ahūi saenghwal (Child’s Life) described the health benefits of new products such as toothpaste and aspirin. Findings from a study that was conducted on children’s diet concluded that “especially foods

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8 Such as Sin kajong, Sin yaja, Sin yosong, and Yosong.
with cod liver oil aid in developing good teeth while on the flip side, those households that do not mix their grains produce calcium-deficient teeth which means that teeth can easily rot.”¹⁰ The article gave instructions and a daily regiment on oral hygiene, stipulating that “even small teeth must be brushed twice a day, and cleaned well.” A collage bordered the bottom of the page with a woman taking a shower, a glass of milk, a basket of fruit and a toothbrush in a glass cup, explicitly displaying the types of products women should use in their homes to ensure proper hygiene for their families.¹¹

Women were encouraged to participate in the construction and dissemination of journalistic advice revealing the emergence of scientific motherhood. Women’s niche journals raised problems with what were considered “old” practices in an attempt to transform women into modern homemakers. The same 1937 issue of Ahűi saenghwal declared that “sickness cannot be cured through superstition.”¹² A picture of a man in a lab coat stood behind a microscope, holding up a test tube in one hand and beaker in the other, reinforced the article’s message “in this age of developed science, we cannot lean on superstitions.” It claimed that the “ignorant [mongmaehan]” and “uncivilized [yamanin düč]” were not the only ones to “rely on superstition” and alerted that “even some people among the intellectual class [chisik kyegųp]” place “paper charms on their doors to avoid fatality.” Reasons to trust “pharmacists” were given with an illustration of how an “aspirin pill... can heal a headache,” creating a home caregiver-pharmacist dyad that connected families to modern medicine. Rationalizing the values behind old and new practices created a sense that the mother learned how to be in a collaborative partnership, albeit an unequal one, with scientists. The necessity for advice was a constant for savvy mothers in this student/teacher relation.

¹⁰ Ahűi saenghwal 12, no. 6 (June 1937): 20.
¹¹ Ahűi saenghwal 12, no. 6 (June 1937): 20.
¹² Ahűi saenghwal 12, no. 6 (June 1937): 21.
relationship. Women’s cooperation was actively sought and motherly expertise was validated as a learned skill.

In order to promote the new, the past was similarly disavowed in terms of traditional “ceremonies,” highlighted in the article’s message: “If you think you want to live a long life, you must stop acting superstitiously.” These judgments that questioned women’s methods for care-giving compelled women to use new medicines and hygienic products that supported the capitalist economy and steered women towards a campaign that proposed economic efficiency in the home. The assumption was that future generations would be formed through motherly consumer patterns, and that consumptive behaviour would be inherited by offspring, setting the course for multi-generational pursuit of ethical living through a mother’s proper spending habits.

The monthly journal Silsaenghwal attempted to create verisimilitude by mandating an “expertise of truth,” seeing its duty to expose “reality” and “sincerity” through its content.¹³ It used mudang to show wrongful producers/consumers in its definition of economic ethics, illustrating how wrongful consumption not only harmed the consumer but hindered society and the nation. For Silsaenghwal, people’s trust in “indigenous” goods and services such as those related to mudang, caused societal problems. Mudang and rural women did not figure into the regulatory systems of capital accumulation. The journal refused to acknowledge that mudang and their associates participated in the circulation of goods and commodities and saw them as a hindrance to capitalist development. Silsaenghwal’s “regime of truth” was deployed through “market governance” over the population as a strategy to legitimize itself

This monthly journal was the product of a women’s activist organization working in collaboration with larger nationalist organizations in a campaign for economic growth. *Silsaenghwal* one of a number of journals published by the Korean Production Movement (Chosŏn mulsan changnyŏhoe), which worked together with an auxiliary association known as the Women’s Association to Use Native Products (T’osan aeyong puinhoe) and had strong local financial backing in the early 1920s. These organizations gradually waned in popularity under more radical anti-capitalist leftist movements that criticized them for being politically moderate and elitist; this organization dissolved in the early 1930s and *Silsaenghwal* printed its last issue in 1932.

Reading between the lines of the above *Silsaenghwal* commentary shows that *mudang* were indeed involved in intricate, informal, urban socio-economic networks. *Mudang* worked on a referral-basis which required certain reputability to secure and maintain a client base. The public nature of their work and their reputations alone made it unlikely for them to make “hiding” a part of their practice. They were savvy in their business transactions, gave set prices and, during rough economic times, may have even made pre-arranged payment plans for their services. However, *Silsaenghwal* categorized those who exchanged money with *mudang* as inefficient, characterizing such people as irrational and unethical consumers. *Mudang*-related spending was made a gauge of consumer moral quality. Such people were

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15 Also excluded from this story is how the housewife likely sought out this particular *mudang* after consulting with people in her social support-network. Her consultants vouched that the housewife could safely invest in this particular *mudang* because of her history of credibility and capability to recover financial losses. The *mudang* gained some amount of fame from a track record of satisfied clients (especially when *mudang* did not advertise their services and relied on repeat or word-of-mouth customers).

16 *Silsaenghwa* depicted *mudang* as “hiding” from the police.
made to appear naturally weak and unresourceful by contrasting them against poor, frugal, and efficient people. In the following passage, the ethics of frugality was metaphorically described as brave and tenacious people:

People from icy countries live inside snow and ice and do not even know when it is cold. Just as people from warm spring hillsides would not be able to live through the cold if they were left in these icy countries, those who never had money could endure it if they had to live without it and would not find it difficult to live with the leftover money from a ruined wealthy home.\textsuperscript{17}

\textit{Silsaenghwal} saw \textit{mudang}-related transactions as environmentally instilled practices among feeble people. People’s dealings with \textit{mudang} were an indication of their overspending on unnecessary goods and services. They determined all \textit{mudang} services to be excessive and used them as a criterion for waste. These services were believed to be non-necessities and inhibitors to social well-being; societal welfare was thought to rest in the hands of regulated consumptive behaviour. Material and intangible desires for \textit{mudang} services were disregarded in this paradigm of ethical consumption to harness \textit{mudang}-related exchange.

The colonial-era presses largely confined their female staff to “women’s” topics but they also provided a rare opportunity for some women to become involved in broader issues. Women’s groups were able to exercise their political agency through groups that promoted the growth of capitalist industries. \textit{Silsaenghwal} is a prime example of this. The article on \textit{mudang} discussed above and in the previous chapter, authored by female journalist, Kim Sun-dŭk, was meant as a lesson for housewives, and addressed the auxiliary women’s association’s objectives. This journal assumed all its readers, regardless of their gender, to be knowledgeable about the global economy and to be educated consumers. \textit{Silsaenghwal} was not a typical woman’s journal in that it highlighted current affairs and stories on the economy while it targeted issues that it believed pertained to women. That its topics were

\textsuperscript{17} \textit{Silsaenghwal} 3, no. 6 (June 1932): 22.
not segregated or solely determined by the sex of its readers presented a vision of gender egalitarianism; however, the female-authored column mentioned above was largely indistinguishable from the newspaper editorials that also produced a negative discourse against mudang and “rural women,” using the same discriminatory device to promote modernity.

Similar to other journals of its day, Silsaenghwal acted as the forerunner to modernity by introducing new types of goods and services. For instance, the 1932 issue listed and described the prices of new agricultural products, their characteristics, and instructed readers on the beneficial aspects of their use.\(^{18}\) It also gave reports on public works and infrastructural projects such as the construction and improvement of international ports in Korea.\(^ {19}\) Text-less spaces were filled with pictures of children in school uniforms playing and illustrations of westernized home designs.\(^ {20}\) These stories and images supported elitist aspirations to be globally conscious consumers.

Women’s political circles gained inspiration from the new literature that was filtering into Korea. Western feminist literature, such as those of Ellen Key (1849-1926) and Alexandra Kollontai (1872-1952), which explored notions of “new women,” divorce, and “sexual freedom,” and that questioned the conventions of “motherhood” and “femininity, made appearances in the Korea’s print media from the late 1920s into the ‘30s. Their work was serialized in Tonga ilbo and Chosŏn ilbo, and was featured in journals including Pyŏlgŏn’gon (Different World), Samchŏlli (Three Thousand Ri), and Sin yŏsŏng (New

\(^{18}\) Silsaenghwal 3, no. 6 (June 1932): 26.
\(^{19}\) Silsaenghwal 3, no. 6 (June 1932): 27-28.
\(^{20}\) Silsaenghwal 3, no. 6 (June 1932): 24-25, 20.
Starting in the late 1920s, women gained an interest in socialist and communist movements, principally inspired by Kollontai’s socialist feminist writings and by Friedrich Engels’s writings on “prehistoric” society, housing, and community that allowed women to question traditional notions of family structure, patriarchy, and monogamy.

Advocates of radical politics, especially Marxists and communists, increasingly fell under the oppressive scrutiny of the “thought police” in the latter part of the colonial period. Some women migrated to northeast Asia to participate more freely in communist anti-imperial politics. Hyun Ok Park argues that Korean peasant women joined the communist party in Manchuria to be liberated of their gendered duties as wives and to avoid the increasing criticism in Korea that communism was ethically degenerative. In Manchuria, women witnessed how revolutionary goals were compromised by adopting conventional gender roles of women as child-bearers and familial care-givers. Even women who were actively involved in a communist revolution could not escape oppressive patriarchal systems that incorporated “traditional values” which endorsed a gendered division of labour in its governing principles. Ironically, female revolutionaries were able to mask their guerilla operations by embodying “traditional female” roles which authorities did not bother to question.

Newspapers pointed out women’s ethical degeneracy in order to oppose the “liberalizing” effects of women’s political activism. These effects were seen as related to the increasing divorce rate among Koreans, especially in the cities. In 1925, a woman’s journal,

21 Hong Ch’ang-su, “Sŏgŭ p’eminjŭm sasang ŭi kŭndaejŏk suyong yŏn’gu” (Study on the acceptance of modern western feminist thought), Sanghŏ hakpo 13 (August 2004): 317-62.
Sin yŏsŏng (New Woman) reported that Seoul courts were hearing between five to six divorce cases a day.\(^{25}\) A 1921 Chosŏn ilbo editorial accused mudang for causing a “trend” of ruining “chaste women,” creating “damage in no small amount,” and wasting the “economical efficiency [kyŏngjesŏng]” of households.\(^{26}\) The editorial admonished mudang for encouraging women to divorce their husbands:

The words that pass from the lips of mudang do not just generate serious poison; they are also connected in no small way to the moral damage of families. With cases of making misery out of happiness, they generate divorces among married couples. In women’s societies, they sing all kinds of sincere songs for their gods and all kinds of severely confused minds gain interest and welcome those ghosts. This is not the most serious evil in women’s society, but something that we must destroy. If munyŏ who loiter around women’s societies cannot altogether be awakened, they will infect rising women’s circles and will not be erasable.

By attacking mudang in a positivist affirmation of women’s purpose as “happy” homemakers, this editorial disregarded women’s ability to act on their own accord, to contribute to society or to find fulfillment away from their husbands and homes.

Some papers attacked the state’s “indigenization” of womanly domestic duties as “backwards” and in conflict with “contemporary” demands on women. Those who celebrated the “new women” applauded anti-marriage movements and encouraged more women to liberate themselves from their unhappy marriages, in pursuit of their own happiness. One of the first anti-marriage discussions occurred on May 10, 1920 when Yŏng-suk Hŏ wrote in the Tonga ilbo that the government should prohibit men who had sexual diseases from being able to marry.\(^{27}\) T. Jun Yoo finds that some of these women “justified

\(^{26}\) Chosŏn ilbo 21 July 1921.
\(^{27}\) In the same year in Japan, the Josei dōmei also presented a petition to, “support enactment of a law protecting women who marry men with venereal disease...” Barbara Molony, “Women’s Rights and the Japanese State, 1880-1925,” in Public Spheres, Private Lives in Modern Japan, 1600-1950, edited by Gail Lee Bernstein et. al., Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2005: 244.
divorce as the only recourse in a family system constructed to oppress women.”

Discussions that questioned the institution and values of marriage were fuelled by new literature on feminism and Marxism.

*Mudang* were configured as gender anomalies as a method to steer society towards hetero-normative behaviour. The print media reinforced these gendered norms by attaching un-feminine and un-womanly traits to their *mudang* subjects. *Mudang* were married and bound to their guardian spirits. They lived their lives in service to their spirits, which also determined the course of their lives. Whether or not *mudang* stayed single, got divorced, had sex, or gave birth were decisions that had to be weighed against the will of their anthropomorphic spirits. If guardian spirits did not want *mudang* to marry, *mudang* would not consider this their choice to be liberated from men, but rather, their fate to live alone with their spirits.

At the same time, newspapers were well aware of the close relationship that *mudang* had with women’s care giving and housekeeping duties. In other words, *mudang* provided services that catered to women’s social hetero-normative roles. *Mudang* worked in predominantly female circles providing aid for womanly work. Some *mudang* were known as good matchmakers or they were able to make matchmaker referrals. Mothers sought *mudang* out to find suitable marriage partners for their children. To sever these networks, a 1934 *Tonga ilbo* put forward an appeal to “exterminate *mudang* and *p’ansu*” and to “gather all fortune-tellers and matchmakers!” The paper grouped people who told fortunes through

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29 There are many books detailing *mudang* social trials for not being able to conform to heteronormative society. Perhaps the best known of these is Laurel Kendall’s, *The Life and Hard Times of a Korean Shaman: Of Tales and the Telling of Tales*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1988.
ancestral tablets (*sinsujŏm*) with those who told fortunes on marriages (*honinjŏm*).  

Another *Tonga ilbo* article from that year alerted that *mudang* were “begging money out of the pockets of ignorant people [*mujihan minjung*]” and urged the police to take action against all such people who worked in similar networks. All “new women” were accused of being “in the thick” of “secret collusion work” with *tan’gol* and *mudang*. *Mudang* were publicized as having close connections with other specialists who provided services for women’s work and were also trusted midwives.

*Mudang* were commonly asked to help families secure the birth of sons. Generally speaking, *mudang* were sought out to assist in any problems of family and home and were at the crux of securing women’s work, reinforcing women’s heteronormative duties as wives and mothers. *Mudang* were caught in the “new women” debate, in a “dichotomy between good, traditional women who are victims and bad, new women who are perpetrators of coquetry and falsehood.” Concepts about a “new woman” (*sinyŏsŏng*) phenomenon covered the pages of the print media. *Chosŏn ilbo* brushed off “new woman” together with *mudang* asking, “Can we not just ship them off to some island?” Journalists expressed their frustration at the difficulty in upholding “wise mother, good wife” (*hyŏnmo yangch’ŏ*) values under the “new woman” discourse.

Seemingly “un-scientific” household management was a major part of this *hyŏnmo yangch’ŏ* discussion. Newspapers used *mudang* to uphold this ideology. Stories of *mudang*

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32 Included in this list were “chŏmjaengi, sangjaengi, sajujaengi, chakmyŏngjaengi, etc.” *Tonga ilbo* report from Kwangju, 11 November 1933: 3.
33 *Chosŏn ilbo* 22 September 1938: 3.
34 *Tonga ilbo* 1 March 1939.
36 *Chosŏn ilbo* 22 September 1938: 3.
indicated that Koreans were living in an oppositionally “confused world.” For instance, a 1932 *Urijip* article encouraged housewives to embrace “scientific knowledge.” The journal listed the various types of superstitions that women believed in as those that related to child-rearing, disease, death, birth, and children’s future. Women were thought to follow superstition “out of the feeling of fear.” The article proposed that “the people who can eliminate this are parents who are educated and parents who believe in reason.” It discussed the “superstitious problems of the Korean family” listed among some widely held “false” beliefs, popular sayings such as, “If you play with grains, you will have an ugly wife,” to teach children not to play with their food. The article criticized such sayings for promoting “scientific” falsities. It claimed that the illegitimate notion “was created to stop children from doing certain things” but that “this kind of irrational superstitious faith has no relationship to science.” It went on to describe how such “superstition is harmful and useless.” In outlining the myth alongside the editorialized “truth,” the article relayed the function and inadvertently reinforced the importance of the original superstitious saying, thereby becoming a method to influence mothers to teach their children through rationality.

The journal believed, “parents, who are educated and who believe in reason are the ones who can eliminate these things.”

The ideology of *hyŏnmo yangch’ŏ* and exploitation of female menial labourers fell under harsh scrutiny. A *Tonga ilbo* column victimized women who suffered under their double-duties: “How could a woman with an absentee husband (who was working abroad or in jail) be expected to conduct age-old traditional rituals such as preparing food-stuff for

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38 *Urijip* 8 (Fall 1932): 12.
39 *Urijip* 8 (Fall 1932): 12-13, 32.
ancestor worship and other sacrificial ceremonies, especially if she herself was working thirteen hours in the fields or factory? To counter these criticisms, kajŏnghap became a new mechanism for social control, coalescing women’s wage-work and housekeeping as both skilled work. In the spring of 1923, an Oregon Agricultural University professor, Ava Milam (1884-1976), travelled to Korea and Japan to research foreign women’s education. Her development of “home economics” was adopted throughout the Japanese empire and became the primary public education curriculum for women in Korea from the 1920s on, second only to teaching the Japanese language. The colonial government issued textbooks for full-time female workers to attend night schools. In these night schools, they also espoused the positive principles of factory work. Women’s practices that were not grounded in the new discourse of science were treated as lacking skills and work. For instance, a 1939 Chosŏn ilbo article claimed that mudang were “swindling the sweat and blood of labourers [nodongja],” invoking the term, nodongja, to envision women’s household roles as forms of domestic service for society. The print media, embraced women’s domestic work as a “science,” treating housekeeping as a social discipline.

II. SCIENTIFIC MOTHERS

“Scientific motherhood” arose in colonial Korea as the print media encouraged women

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42 Chŏn Mi-gyŏng, “1920 30 nyŏndaes mosŏng tamnon’ ē kwanhan yŏn’ gu: ‘sinyŏsŏng’ ū e nat’an an ŏmŏni kyo yakul chungsimûro” (Research on the 1920s-30s “motherhood discourse”: the motherhood education of “sinyŏsŏng”) Han’guk kajŏng kwa kyo yakuk hakhoeji 17, no 2 (June 2005): 95-112.
43 Kim Chong-jin, “Kaehwagi ihu tokpon kyo gosŏ e nat’an an nodong tamnon ū pyŏn moyang sang” (Aspects of labour discourse that appeared in post-Enlightenment textbook readers) Han’guk ŏmunhak yŏn’ gu hakhoe 42 (February 2004): 75-78.
44 Chosŏn ilbo 12 May 1939: 3.
to embrace the technological changes of industrialization to assist in rearing children. The 1930s were the apex of western science based child-rearing. The ideal mother transitioned from being an intelligent evaluator of care to a more passive conduit of medical instructions. Literate urban middle-class mothers were trained to become accustomed to turning to doctors and nurses in the hospital, and to become aware of the strides that modern medicine had made in infant mortality and childhood development. The specific concerns have changed over time. A shift from maternal instincts to scientific motherhood has been a doctrine that has dominated child rearing, stemming from the institutionalization of western hospitals and pharmacies. A transition from mothers to doctors and scientists as the experts on child rearing was made apparent in the print media’s anti-

Chosŏn ilbo traced an investigative story of a heinous crime that was committed in the summer of 1932. The head of a child, of “breastfeeding” age, was found on the side of the road. Its body was nowhere to be found. The Sodaemun police, working on the case, suspected a missing mudang from Chukch’om-jŏng might be the culprit. After questioning people around the neighbourhood they were able to place the exact location of the mudang’s house. On the 6th of June, fifty men were dispatched to conduct the search and ransacked the house. In the kitchen, two bumps were spotted in the ground. They dug up two mysterious containers from it and handed them over to police headquarters for inspection. The following day officers found a suspicious child loitering about the house. Police officers found difficulty communicating with this child, who appeared “feeble-minded.” The officers were able to surmise that this child was ordered to deliver another child to the very mudang who was still at-large.

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45 This story first broke out in the presses on 2 June 1933.
The story took a strange turn once Tonga ilbo picked it up. On the 7th of June, the paper identified that the decapitated body belonged to the mudang’s husband. They stated that the body of a certain Mr. Pak was discovered with its head missing at Pak’s own funeral in Chukch’ŏm-jŏng. Two days later, Chosŏn ilbo stated that the Sŏdaemun police were on the hunt for three suspects: a mudang by the name of Ri, her son Pak Yong-dŏk, and an adopted daughter, Kyŏng-ok. They were thought to have fled to the eastern part of Kodonggye. The case had now switched to investigating the death of this mudang’s husband, Pak Chun-hwa. After contributing these insights into the case, Tonga ilbo dropped the story.

Chosŏn ilbo, however, found enough interest in this case to follow it nearly every day for two weeks. The police tirelessly questioned “mudang, p’ansu, chŏmjaengi, who [were] involved in similar superstitions” and on the 11th, they had found the motive for the crime. They believed that the mudang wanted to use the brain matter of a decapitated child in order to cure her patient’s “madness [albyŏng].” A fifteen or sixteen year old, one-eyed, beggar boy tipped-off the police and the mudang was incarcerated on the 15th. This boy claimed a Kim Tu-sik (who lived a few doors down from the mudang) solicited “misers [kkakjaengi dŭl]” to purchase “placenta [i’ae]” for her. The beggar boy recently learned that he happened to be one of the people making deliveries for this mudang. The police were in the midst of questioning Mudang Ri for the two items they had confiscated from her kitchen floor: a bloodied skirt and a clump of bloody cotton. Mudang Ri was claiming in her defence that the stain on the skirt was from her menstruation and that the cotton was soiled from her husband just before he died and yet, no explanation as to the conditions of the beheaded child or husband were given.

46 Tonga ilbo 7 June 1933: 2.
Terror and repulsion were invoked every day the story continued with a repetitive image of a baby’s headless body, haplessly tossed to the side of a road. A mudang had put “feeble-minded” children to work, to kidnap babies on her behalf, so that she could provide a service of cannibalism for deranged clients. With a scene of the adopted daughter Kyŏng-ok in a fit of tears, lying on the ground beside her mother’s cell, Chosŏn ilbo closed its report on this case. Loose strands, such as a baby’s missing body, a new-born mother and her placenta, a husband’s missing head, clients who wanted to consume human organs, were all left unresolved, cut off without consequence.\(^{47}\) For the paper, justice was served, even before legal deliberations on the mudang were made.

In the month that newspapers reported on the decapitation incident, Silsaenghwal released the issue that has been discussed in this and the last chapter.\(^{48}\) The issue also dedicated a column to educate the public on the problems of decapitation. It stated that there were decapitation incidents in Seoul and Chasŏng and wished to educate its readers that “human meat is never a cure for any illness.” It urged the public to “break down unscientific superstitions.” The article portrayed mudang as social terrors, living and working on the fringes of life where killing and death were mere hurdles in their desire to serve those who were mentally and morally vacant. Mudang were always already “predisposed to crime.” Through their neighbourhoods, their homes, their families and even their own bodies, mudang represented the epitome of the unsociable evil-doer, casting fear and chaos over the public.

Negative portrayals of mudang reinforced values in domesticity. As mentioned earlier, mudang practices made it difficult for some to adhere to conventional parameters of

\(^{47}\) Much speculation has been made on mudang beheading bodies for medicinal or spiritual purposes. James Gale believed that “decapitated bodies will serve as a preventative of evil doing.” James Gale, 1898: 244.

\(^{48}\) Silsaenghwal 3, no.6 (June 1932): 25-26.
womanhood, such as getting married and having children. *Mudang* adopted children and also adopted “spiritual daughters” to whom they passed on their trade. The media exaggerated *mudang* gendered abnormalities, making them “foolish mothers, bad wives,” the antithesis to the ideal *hyŏnmo yangch’ŏ*. Motherhood characteristics of “care” and “altruism” were juxtaposed against *mudang* in the media. *Mudang* were blamed for exploiting and killing children, and for taking money from parents for untended services.\(^{49}\)

Carelessness and selfishness set the discursive foundation to creating *mudang* inability to care. They were perceived as dysfunctional gender-benders incapable of “motherly love” and “wifely devotion” and were treated as dangerous to society and social morals.

Unscientific mothers were “women,” “country wives,” “widows” and their “neighbours” who were portrayed as believing in “old wives’ tales” and household remedies to care for their children.\(^{50}\) In this type of journalism maternal intuition and communal knowledge were considered insufficient for the task of giving birth and raising children as the print media pushed guiding principles of industrialization, particularly for people to trust and rely on institutionalized services and mechanized goods in their domestic lives. Women were encouraged to raise their children according to both scientific and technical principles. The presses of the 1920s and 30s repeated themes of failed “superstitious” child-rearing practices.\(^{51}\) “Housewives” were shown using “superstitious medicine” to heal their families, mired with *mudang* in not being able to cure their children.\(^{52}\)

\(^{49}\) *Tonga ilbo* 21 May 1931: 3; *Chosŏn ilbo* 7 May 1939: 7.

\(^{50}\) For “women” see *Tonga ilbo* 27 May 1921: 3. *Punyŏja* (married woman; lady; women and girls; womenfolk). *Tonga ilbo* 1 March 1939. Sometimes appeared as *punyŏ* (abbreviated form). *Tonga ilbo*, Jun. 24, 1933: 3. For “country wives” see *Tonga ilbo* 24 March 1923: 3 and 24 June 1933. For “widows” see *Tonga ilbo* 22 May 1924: 3. For “neighbours” see *Tonga ilbo* 9 April 1922: 3. For “old wives’ tales” see Ahŭi saenghwal 12, no. 6 (June 1937): 20.

\(^{51}\) *Tonga ilbo* 9 April 1922: 3.

\(^{52}\) *Tonga ilbo* 4 November 1932: 2; *Chosŏn ilbo* 21 May, 1939: 2; *Tonga ilbo* 21 May 1931: 3.
Discourses on superstitious practices were a part of the broader history of professionalization and medicalization in Korea. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Korea had faced a number of severe smallpox epidemics. The most favoured treatment for it was mudang-related care. A God of Smallpox existed within mudang pantheon to treat the disease. A 1938 Chosŏn ilbo article reported a story of a Pak Kŭn-č’i’l’s younger brother who suffered from smallpox for which his mother sought out a mudang.53 The story described how the mother had left her sick son to attend a mudang kut. The child died while his mother was away. As this story showed, even during the colonial period, smallpox kut were preferred and trusted over compulsory vaccinations.54 The article suggested that the mother should have been at her son’s bedside – her rightful station – but instead, she was “entangled” with a mudang. It implied that her son might not have died, had the mother properly attended to him. Discourses of dissuasion such as this newspaper story were disciplinary techniques to escort readers towards systematized health care.

These stories reveal that the ideal of scientific motherhood was not accessible to all and those who were not in-the-know produced “tragedy from ignorance.”55 Scientific motherhood depended on middle-class mothers who had access to institutionalized education and health care systems but treated exclusive access in these institutions as a common will based on rational thinking and sound beliefs. Mothers sought child-rearing advice from familiar and trusted people and places and drew from various sources for knowledge: print-media literature, female communities, local specialists, hospitals and pharmacies. Educated mothers were created under a vision of exclusivity, aware of the latest scientific research;

53 Chosŏn ilbo 11 September 1938: 27.
54 Kim Ok-ju, “Chosŏn malgi tuch’ang ŭi yuhaeng kwa mìngan ŭi taeŭng” (Smallpox epidemics and popular responses in the late Chosŏn Period) Ŭisahak 2, no 1 (July 1993): 38-58.
55 Tonga ilbo 22 November 1934.
they came to view physicians and experts as their partners and the ultimate authorities.

*Mudang* and their associates were often described as “crazy” and even pathological.56 Newspapers reported on *mudang* crimes “on the charge of murder or bodily harm.”57 A 1934 *Tonga ilbo* article found a *mudang* in Chosan Village of Changyŏng County had clubbed a mentally ill person to death in an attempt to exorcise the patient back to health.58 They reported on the *mudang*’s repertoire of “recited incantation and reckless beating claimed to cure illness.” A 1931 *Tonga ilbo* article reported on a *mudang* in Kyŏngbŏn Village of Hwanghae Province, who had a mentally ill son: “Whenever the mudang’s son went crazy, the mudang would sing songs.”59 It implied that this *mudang* either had little concern over her son’s mental health or that she was insane herself and that her son had inherited her mental condition. One day, the *mudang* found her mentally ill son stabbing himself in the neck but she could not stop him in time to save his life. Doubt was cast on whether or not the *mudang* herself might have also been mentally unstable herself. In her inability to cure or save her son, she held her son and wept, making her an accomplice to suicide. *Mudang* and their kin were seen as being prone to acts of insanity and mental illness.

Characterizations of mental instability became a “biological, heritable, variable basis of mental characteristics and the criteria of social worth” used to configure the public for proper biological reproduction.60 Disciplinary communities such as the print media promoted modern professions by, among other things, gaining a monopoly over a specialized set of

56 Recent scholars have commonly analyzed *mudang* for symptoms of mental illness. Sang-Bok Lee makes a very telling psychoneuroimmunological analysis of the *hanpoori* which he believes has over the past few decades been considered a part of the national tradition and an enactment of the plight of the Korean people. He attempts to give a scientific explanation for an entire nation’s psychological condition. Sang-Bok Lee, 1995: 105-119. See also Bou-Yong Rhi, “Mental Illness in its Confucian Context,” in *Confucianism and the Family*, edited by Walter Slote and George DeVos, Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998: 285-87.
57 Do-Hyun Han, 2000: 42.
58 *Tonga ilbo* 22 November 1934.
59 *Tonga ilbo* 21 May 1931: 3.
60 Nikolas Rose, 1999: xxix.
knowledge and the market in the services they offered. Journalistic discursive devices were mechanisms to create and manage social behaviour. The vocabulary of mental illness was used to debase people who associated with *mudang*. Nikolas Rose examines how the eugenic sciences developed around methods to target subjects “of degenerate constitution.”  

The discourse on mentally unstable *mudang* and their associates was largely a programme to regulate women’s domestic labour, namely in the forms of their reproductive functions and care-giving duties. Female indigenous health practices were de-legitimized through a modernizing discourse to advocate institutionalized practices and products.  

The Korean print media recognized that *mudang* were commonly requested as birthing attendants. Finding this a problem, newspapers attempted to discredit *mudang* by not only claiming that *mudang* were ineffective, but by claiming that they endangered people’s lives. These discussions were meant to steer women towards “registered” natal care specialists and hospitals. A 1921 *Chosŏn ilbo* editorial gave a description on the “customary” activities surrounding child birth: a pregnant woman went into labour. She began suffering from some complications in her labour at which point she ordered her family to bring a *mudang* to conduct a *kut* over the birth. Immediately, a group of “seven to eight *p’ansu* and four to five *mudang*” gathered in the north side of the main hall and began “praying for an easy delivery” (*sunsan hagi rŭl kido*). When they entered the room where the woman was in labour, the family members were mesmerized by the dancing *mudang* and *p’ansu*, and they lost sight of “nursing the patient” (*pyŏngja kanho*). The family members were spellbound and forgot the

61 Nikolas Rose, 1999: 139.
63 *Chosŏn ilbo* 21 July 1921.
critical task at hand. This story illustrated the severity of female immorality as women came into contact with *mudang* and obstructed women’s most vital domestic work—childbirth. Other than believing that childbirth was women’s most important duty as domestic labourers, the editorial posited a childbirth scenario among the challenges that the editorial saw as against proper natal care.

The editorial noted how *mudang* and *p’ansu*, “suddenly attack in this way in these particular conditions for delivery.” It clarified that women-in-labour commanded their family members to recruit *mudang* and *p’ansu* when “times were urgent” and warned that “there have been cases of death” from complicated labour when women “only entrust in *mudang* and *p’ansu* miracle prayers” and did not “immediately receive surgery from a doctor.” This editorial claimed that women and their families who did not receive “surgery under a doctor” were not only being “superstitious,” but also morally and socially irresponsible. Certain health practices, such as home-based births and unlicensed midwifery, were being made detrimental to women’s primary duty in reproduction. This editorial sought to steer women under ethical codes where decisions such as checking into a natal hospital determined “wise” and progressive behaviour.

More than dealing with notions of health and morality, birth-labour practices were connected to strategies to funnel the colonial population towards medical institutions. Sin Chang-gŏn finds that in the mid-1920s, the colonial government issued a licensing system to institutionalize and regulate the “traditional medicines” industry. The government attempted to co-opt and control the materials that were used for producing these medicines as well as
the process involved in making them. Sin Kyu-hwan further finds that the Government General of Korea took active measures to control and transfer the pharmaceutical industry in Korea away from “traditional medicine” towards a western pharmaceutical industry. The government’s 1913 “medical student ordinance” placed all non-western medical practitioners at a disadvantage. Those with the means to do so sought out western medical accreditation in order to practice traditional medicine while those without certification were forced to take their practices underground. While the colonial police was actively involved in regulating medical practices and other hygiene and civil order issues, press writers acted as authorities over unregulated practices such as kut and mudang work, negatively reinforcing readers to embrace state initiatives.

Mudang were described as obstructing women’s notion of “modern” medicine. Newspapers criminalized their services in an attempt to steer women towards mechanized goods and services, cautioning readers to look out for mudang “pretending to be doctors.”

A 1939 Chosŏn ilbo article disclosed the findings from an investigation conducted by an officer from the Hwap’yŏng unit in Inchŏn, Songrim-chŏng, where he found a “wicked” mudang, by the name of Pak Sun-pok, who tried to exorcise a woman after she had fallen ill

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64 Sin Chang-gŏn, “Kyŏngsŏng cheguk taehak e itsŏsŏ Hanyak yŏn’gu ŭi sŏngrip” (Institutionalization of traditional medicine in Keijō Imperial University) Sahoe wa yŏksa t’onggwŏn 76 (December 2007): 105-139.
67 Tonga ilbo 1 March 1939.
from childbirth. Mudang Pak told this woman that an “evil spirit needed to be driven out” through a kut to “release the spirit.” The presses believed that people’s preference for mudang over manufactured medicines was a major problem as noted in a 1935 Kyemyŏng sibo editorial: “When a superstitious believer comes down with an illness, despite their symptoms, usually they first plead and ask the mudang or p’ansu and, after that process, go to get medicine.” In similar vein, a 1933 Tonga ilbo article accused mudang of curing “false illnesses,” urging the public to “abandon listening and giving to mudang.”

Newspapers were not merely concerned with people seeking out mudang, but with people’s stray from “modern medicines.” They encouraged consumer loyalty in new industries to steer public behaviour in a direction that they saw as economically useful and modern.

T. Jun Yoo argues that the colonial government wished to boost Korean birthrates while eugenics groups including the Korean Eugenics Association (Chosŏn usaeng hyŏphoe) and the Health Movement Society (Bogŏn undongsa), formed in the early 1930s, cautioned against a pool of inferior species that were being created by uneducated and rural women’s “over-reproduction.” Eugenics groups debated over whether they should pursue “positive eugenics” (maximizing the meritorious stock) or “negative eugenics” (minimizing the propagation of undesirable strains). Rural women were seen as weak and sickly due to forced excessive reproduction that compounded urban concerns on calibrated production of the “racial stock of tomorrow.”

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68 Chosŏn ilbo 12 May 1939.
69 “She confessed to leaving after receiving money, rice, food, pen and ink.” Chosŏn ilbo 12 May 1939: 3.
71 Tonga ilbo 29 July 1933: 2.
73 T. Jun Yoo, 2005: 313.
74 T. Jun Yoo, 2005: 313.
75 T. Jun Yoo, 2005: 313.
countryside for ruining rural women’s reproductive health. They debated on fertility and the use of birth control, believing it necessary to reform the rural female population in order to selectively produce a better stock of children for the sake of all Koreans.

Newspapers and journals voiced legalistic modes of social control. Crime reports and social dangers produced narratives of authority that boasted the backing of the legal system. Crime was not merely a legalistic issue; it was a method to instill social normativity. Criminality was linked to popular understandings of the law as seen in a 1935 *Chosön ilbo* article which announced that the Kyŏnggi Provincial “Peace Preservation” office was instating thirteen “control measures” to “strictly punish” *mugyŏk* for conducting “common customs,” obstructing medical treatment for sick people, and for conducting exorcisms. The measures outlined that ritual locations must be appointed to specified locations and may not be done in private homes. They must not receive pay for services. They must be extremely quiet and all services must finish by 10:00pm. It also noted that the authorities were “devising a course of action to gradually convert these people’s “occupation.” People were being encouraged to participate in publically-funded institutions, to market their services/products, to mind noise curfews and to be licensed workers.

*Mudang* effects on moral mentality, behaviour, and activities were employed, transformed, and redeployed through a multiplicity of socio-political concerns to offer a modern landscape. This landscape was envisioned through social criticisms such as those about *mudang*, used to orient people toward new regulatory institutions like hospitals,

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76 Their “theory of power [gave] to the problem of right and violence, law and illegality, freedom and will, and especially the state and sovereignty.” Michel Foucault, 1990: 89.
77 Tani Barlow argues that sex and crime are “the two pertinent domains of government regulation... but they are also legalistic, normative and social.” Tani Barlow, “The Pornographic City,” in *Locating China: Space, Place and Popular Culture*, edited by Jim Wang, 190-209, New York: Routledge, 2005: 198.
78 *Chosön ilbo* 14 March 1935: 2. *Mugyŏk* is a Sino-compound term meaning female *mu* and male *paksu*. 
schools, banks, and factories which all required “a new imagining of a collective political subject, a ‘public’.” Mudang not only signified the places where unregulated events took place (black markets, people’s homes), but they also acted as a benchmark of unpredictable social trends and political climates (new consumer patterns, healthcare techniques). Unlicensed practitioners such as mudang, were treated as public “outcasts,” to streamline their behaviour towards recognizable regulated occupations.

Newspapers avowed people’s attendance to institutionalized health care was a sign of social progress. At the same time, their anti-mudang stories revealed people’s resistance to the state’s regulatory programmes in public health. A story of a family’s response to enforced detention of their daughter in an isolation hospital provides a glimpse into this form of resistance. In 1937, Chosŏn ilbo reported on a family’s attempt to rescue their daughter from the hospital. The reporter stated that the family called on a mudang to sneak into the isolation hospital (pibyŏngwŏn) in Kanghwa to conduct a secret “ritual” over their daughter, who was being detained for dysentery. The mudang attended to the girl, unbeknownst to the “authorities.” The paper demanded the hospital administration to “express a bit more sincerity” for a matter which the government office was not sufficiently shouldering blame. It made clear that unregulated practices such as mudang kut endangered proper treatment of patients and had no place in hospitals.

The article showed people actively resisting their detention and forced public isolation which was also a means to show the ineffectiveness of state-run institutions. People pursued

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80 Kyemyŏng sibô 15 (May 1935): 1. The print media echoed colonial policies to monitor and restrict the movement of people they wished to criminalize. “The police bureau of South Kyŏngsang Province…ordered Pusan police to reduce the number of Korean passengers to Japan by checking especially for alcoholics, drug addicts, or penniless floaters.” Soon Won Park, 1998: 49.
81 Chosŏn ilbo 8 July 1937: 2.
trusted medical procedures to the extent of breaking the law and under the risk of being reprimanded by the police. The paper did not discuss the conditions of the hospital system but did challenge its administration. Yunjae Park finds that “Japan wanted to manage an anti-epidemic system that aimed at centralization at the highest level, and the main axis was the police;” so they gave the police jurisdiction over anti-epidemic measures under the Law on the Prevention of Contagious Diseases, promulgated a few years after annexation.82

Pibyŏngwŏn were feared as destructive institutions created by the state to destroy the poor and the weak.83 They had a reputation for segregating patients according to race (Japanese and western patients were admitted into better hospitals); the Korean hospitals were often overcrowded, understaffed, underequipped and unsterile. Tonga ilbo noted that people died in these hospitals “without taking any remedy.”84 To avoid this fate, family members were hidden from the police upon signs of illness. With regard to isolation hospitals, newspapers indirectly implicated the state for causing people’s distrust in new medical systems. While they steadily supported systematized healthcare, they showed their distance from the state by making critiques of and suggestions to change existing practices.

The print media championed their legal and political expertise revealing how “policing as a public institution was taken over by private interests.”85 Newspapers and journals used the discursive technique of making requests and demands of the criminal and judicial systems, showcasing their own political agency. However, as Masaaki Aono concludes, their interpretation of law and criminality was often concocted. For instance, “policies regarding

83 Yunjae Park and Shin Dong-hwan, “Ilcheha sarip p’ibyŏngwŏn sŏllip undong yŏn’gu” (Research on the movement to establish a private isolation hospital during the late colonial period), Ŭisahak 7, no 1 (July 1998): 37-46.
84 Tonga ilbo 17 August 1920.
shamanism were concocted … to eliminate shamanism’s negative influence on progress in the medical field.”

Korean reporters and journalists most actively criminalized mudang involved in what they gleaned as immoral activities, as seen in a 1934 Tonga ilbo article that heralded “Kaesong office’s most pleasant recommendation to shutdown and prohibit hundreds of female mudang kut nori [ritual ceremonies] starting in July.”

It stipulated that there was to be a “10-day detention proceeding on mudang secretly doing kut.” In a later article, Tonga ilbo announced a “positive mudang regulation,” calling it a “special stipulation to strictly punish” people conducting “memorials, invoking spirits of the deceased and evil practices.”

III. MILITARY MOTHERS

In the 1930s, discussions on women explicitly pointed toward serving the interests of the Japanese empire. In the late 1930s, the Korean empire was enfolded under an increasingly fascistic regime to boost the country’s industrial production and to support Japan’s invasion of China. The ideological notions of the war period were meant to override former ideologies. For instance, emphasis was placed on “young men” (chŏngnyŏn) over principles of the modern elite; and “little nation” (sogungmin) countered the modern concept of children.

Under the new military mobilization campaign, notions of traditional women were also replaced with images and slogans of “woman on the home front,” “military mother,” and “woman of the rear guard.” These principles of women’s bodies in service for

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86 See Do-Hyun Han for his treatment of Aono’s work. Do-Hyun Han, 2000: 48.
87 Tonga ilbo 8 July 1934.
88 Tonga ilbo 14 March 1935: 2.
89 Differentiations were not clear and were contradictory, creating an identity crisis not only between colonizer/colonized, but between people in society. Kwŏn Myŏng-a, “Singminji kyŏnghŏm kwa yŏsŏng ŭi chŏng’ché esŏng: p’asŏjm ch’ejeha ŭi munhak, yŏsŏng, kukka” (Women’s identity and colonial experience: literature, women, nation under fascist formation) Han’guk kŭndae munhak yŏn’gu 6, no. 1 (April 2005): 71-114.
the war effort helped to boost female labour produced goods and ensured a continuous supply of cheap human resources.

In July 1931, a new Governor General, Ugaki Kazushige, began his tenure in Korea with policies to boost Japan’s new economic, political and military campaigns. In September 1931, Japan occupied Manchuria and erected the puppet state of Manchukuo. Large numbers of Koreans were encouraged to relocate to Manchuria. From this point until the end of the Second World War in 1945, Japan took increasingly aggressive measures to expand its overseas territories. Addressing the public concern that vast numbers of Korean peasants were being relocated into an inhospitable northern hinterland, a 1933 Choson ilbo article was quick to blame mudang for exploiting this crisis situation. It accused mudang of claiming that they were conducting a charity drive for their “fellow Manchurians,” but believed that they were swindling people out of their donations instead. The print media’s mission was to steer Koreans to foster a unified East Asia. Mudang were the media’s scapegoats, blamed for social discordance from the imperial mission.

By the 1930s, situations in the countryside had worsened with a greater concentration of land ownership, absentee owners, increasing numbers of tenant farmers, and slash and burn farming. Landowner/tenant disputes increased during this time indicating rural unrest. In 1932, the colonial government sponsored the Rural Revitalization Campaign (Nongch’on

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90 At the end of the 1920s approximately 400,000 Koreans were living in Manchuria.
92 Choson ilbo 24 January 1933: 7.
chinhủyng undong) in Korea and throughout the empire. This campaign was implemented in the aftermath of the Great Depression and lasted in Korea from 1932-1940. Legal measures that were issued to protect farming tenants also served to mobilize human resources in preparation for Japan’s total war throughout Asia. Policies were implemented as a way to align the empire’s rural populations for greater agricultural output, primarily to increase rice production. Through this campaign, the state mobilized local administrators throughout the country and had large-scale measures to evaluate the progress and rehabilitation of the countryside. Tonga ilbo was in favour of these new measures since they promised order and progress throughout Korea. In August 1933, it celebrated the Rural Revitalization Campaign for helping to oppress mudang related activities. It praised the Yongdŭngp’o police station for arresting 88 mudang and mentioned that the Rural Revitalization Association had broadcasted their efforts “to connect with oppressing superstition.” The campaign policies issued greater controls over the countryside and were highly centralized. The media approved of these policies to encourage rural self-sufficiency and witnessed their temporary alleviation in the rural crisis.

Most political groups believed that this rural crisis was a crisis for the nation (if not for the empire). Anti-capitalist (and by extension anti-imperial) groups believed that this rural crisis was a crisis for the nation (if not for the empire). Anti-capitalist (and by extension anti-imperial) groups believed that this rural crisis was a crisis for the nation (if not for the empire). Anti-capitalist (and by extension anti-imperial) groups believed that this rural crisis was a crisis for the nation (if not for the empire). Anti-capitalist (and by extension anti-imperial) groups believed that this rural crisis was a crisis for the nation (if not for the empire). Anti-capitalist (and by extension anti-imperial) groups believed that this rural crisis was a crisis for the nation (if not for the empire). Anti-capitalist (and by extension anti-imperial) groups believed that this rural crisis was a crisis for the nation (if not for the empire).
unrest indicated the need for a proletarian revolution, while political moderates saw the root of the problem based on a flaw in the Korean character.99 Unlike the class-based revolutionaries, these moderates gained the government’s support and colonial policies incorporated their call for a “rural revitalization.”100 This program promoted “self-reliance” and “self-sufficiency” through frugality and savings so that the peasant economy would not again be subject to the “market economy,” as it had been during the agricultural depression. However, the majority of peasants resolved their rural crisis through what Gi-Wook Shin considers “everyday forms of resistance.”101 Rural residents were mostly interested in securing their livelihood by resolving issues such as rent reduction, securing tenancy contracts, and agricultural product price inflation.

Women comprised nearly a third of the rural labour force and were an indispensable component of rural agricultural reform and production. At the same time, rural areas were known to have the highest rates of infant mortality, causing rural women to become the focus of discussions to secure the colonial human labour pool. Eugenics groups targeted poor, rural women in their efforts to “protect motherhood.”102 The 1930s colonial industrialization project mobilized the population for industrialized labour through a sexual stratification of workers in which reproduction ensured biological and social production by regenerating the bio-labour supply. The question of the birth rate was a matter of national importance,
particularly after 1930 when the expanding empire needed to increase its labour pool by promoting childbirth. The state was not merely invested in creating good mothers; they promoted home economics as a means to secure cottage industries which comprised a significant portion of the country’s total output. They were encouraged to join agricultural cooperatives (kongdong kyŏngjak) as a part of the Rural Revitalization Campaign.

Intellectuals regarded the rural crisis as much a spiritual and moral issue as it was an economic and social one and thus urged the restoration of moral strength by ushering rural women to promote virtues of diligence, frugality, social harmony, filial piety, and female chastity.\(^{103}\) The colonial state appropriated what it believed were embedded credit systems as a model for a rural credit union (siksan’gye) system.\(^{104}\) The siksan’gye was meant to centralize rural loans and banking systems and forbid informal lending systems (kye, a rotating credit system mostly comprised of, and operated by, unregulated members). The state attempted to foster a system of material exchange through assessments of local, traditional structures and succeeded in incorporating 50 percent of rural households from 1933-1937 and 80 percent from 1938-42.\(^{105}\) The siksan’gye forged together notions of micro credit, rural culture, and agricultural economy in a reactionary effort to closely monitor and control rural activities and resources.

In July 1937, the Japanese empire waged war against China. The last Government General of Korea (1937-45), led by Minami Jirō, instated policies for forced assimilation and war mobilization. In the following year, the Japanese Diet passed the National General Mobilization Law that “appropriated all human and material resources to serve the war

\(^{103}\) Gi-Wook Shin and Do-Hyun Han, 1999: 82.


\(^{105}\) Kim Min-ch’ö'l, 2008: 209.
The Japanese Imperial Army also began accepting Korean volunteers to which “seven hundred fifty thousand youth ‘volunteers’ mobilized to work in mines and factories.” The labour market and wages were also diversified for Koreans with an increased demand for workers. While mobilizing the colonies for the war, Japan also shut down all indigenous movements/institutions. In 1938, Korean language was abolished in all public schools and Japanese language was required for all public functions, including the securing of ration cards and public certification. In 1939, the Name Order was promulgated, pushing Koreans to register new Japanese style names to fully assimilate as Japanese imperial subjects.

Along with the expansion of the Japanese Empire, the subject positioning of Koreans in the empire also shifted according to war glorification propaganda. Notions of traditional women were replaced with images and slogans of “woman on the home front,” “military mother,” and “women of the rear guard.” Women writers of the late 1930s embraced these official images of “mothers of the militarized nation” in their novels and periodicals. Women were compelled to conserve materials and energy through the rationalization of housework and to be careful not to produce “insufficient housekeeping

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110 Chulwoo Lee finds that “the policy of assimilation was more strictly enforced in Taiwan than in Korea.” Chulwoo Lee, 1999: 28-29.
111 Kwŏn Myong-a, 2005. Chŏng Ho-sun studies the Government General’s Pacific War “militarized women” project by looking at the “motherly” characters that were a part of the Korean national theatre during the Pacific War. Chŏng Ho-sun, “Kungmin yŏn’gŭk e nat’anan mosŏng yŏn’gu: Song Yŏng ŭi sanp’ung, sinsaimdang ŭl chungsim ŭro” (Research on the emergence of motherhood in national theater: Song Yong’s Sanp’ung and Sinsaimdang). Ŭmun yŏn’gu 125 (March 2005): 319-43.
112 Kim Yang-sŏn, “Ilche malgi yŏsŏng chakkadŭl ŭi ch’in-II tamnon yŏn’gu” (Research on the pro-Japanese discourse of women writers in the late Japanese colonial era) Ŭmun yŏn’gu t’onggwŏn 127 (September 2005): 257-78.
[sallim sari].” Chosŏn ilbo were concerned that “ignorant rural women” and mudang continued to “uselessly waste the economy [kyŏngje rŭl hŏbi]” of the country.

Housewives were expected to engage in propaganda activities, contributing to the colonial state’s war. Instead of reproduction, all women were expected to abide by a key phrase of “domestic household scientific management” which focused on values in family, science and time management under which all women were expected to abide. A 1937 Ahŭi saenghwal column expected women to understand “this age of developed science” that produced “curative treatments.” If they followed “scientific” treatments, they would be able to cure illnesses “the first time around,” implying that pharmaceuticals were effective and efficient. “Scientific homemaking” was what determined prudent professional housewives (hyŏnmyŏnghan chŏnŏp chubu) and proper womanhood.

In the late 1930s, journalists closely aligned themselves with state initiatives. These reports voiced a seamless union with the state’s views on social order. They asserted a singular voice over the land to showcase their identities as upstanding imperial subjects. Kim Ch’i-sŏng wrote a column in “Our Village Report” (Uri tongri t’ongsin), for Chosŏn ilbo in 1938, where he discussed his attempt to report his mudang neighbour and her activities to his local police station. He was shocked at the audacity of the police in describing mudang work as a form of occupation. Kim lamented that the police recognized his “noisy” mudang neighbour for doing what the police officer referred to as her “work to make a living.” He met the officer’s request to “kindly meet them halfway” with

113 Chosŏn ilbo 3 September 1939
114 Chosŏn ilbo 20 June 1938: 3. See also T. Jun Yoo, 2005: 310.
116 Ahŭi saenghwal, 12, no. 6 (June 1937): 7-8. Chosŏn ilbo 3 September 1939. Brackets are mine.
117 Kim Ch’i-sŏng (金致誠).
118 Chosŏn ilbo 22 September, 1938: 3.
disbelief and called it “ludicrous,” sarcastically calling the officer a “wiseman.” Kim scoffed at the Korean police officer for having “sentiments” towards his neighbour, showing that Kim, the petty intellectual, was more officious than the local police. Korean journalists continued to diminish their distance from the state, bolstering regulatory systems of assimilation.

No matter the extent to which the Korean presses attempted to align themselves with the state, they would not succeed in satisfying the requirements for an increasingly fascistic empire that enabled conflicting practices of forced assimilation and discrimination over its colonies. After 1937, all types of Korean organizations were being forced to shut down. They were replaced with organizations set up by the Government General in which every Korean was obliged to associate. The prohibition of Korean language was extended across all sectors of society. Even while the majority of Koreans were coerced into adopting Japanese style names, they were also required to stipulate their non-Japanese identity. By 1940, Korean-language presses, except for the Government General organ, Maeil sinbo (Daily News), were systematically shut down.

CONCLUSION

Women were not mere victims of patriarchal discourse; they were proactive housewives and mothers who combined science and pragmatism. Unfortunately, only an elite group of women could participate in the discursive production of ideal femininity. By 1930, women comprised just 1.9 percent of Korea’s total reading population.119 These discussions were mostly of and for the urban middle class. However, these discussions

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119 By 1930, only 6.78 percent of Koreans entire population could read either Japanese or Korean hangul. Yi Sŏng-yun, 2007: 331.
showed that women’s cooperation was actively sought in the print media industry and motherly expertise was given new values by being treated as a learned skill. As seen through their journals, women’s groups were able to exercise their political agency through groups that promoted the growth of capitalist industries; an accepted avenue for women to channel their political activism, representing their contribution to the country and empire.

The discourses created by women further elaborated newspaper editorials on issues that pertained to women and superstition. Examples of this can be seen in women’s similar accusations of mudang in discussions of proper “housekeeping.” These stories inadvertently showed that mudang provided services which catered to women’s social hetero-normative roles and were part of the broader history of medical practice in Korea. Those who did not trust, or did not have the means to purchase prescription drugs, or attend reputable hospitals, inquired about local healthcare specialists and may have met their needs with or through mudang. Journalists attempted to break this cycle of traditional health practices by creating a discourse of dissuasion through horror stories of mudang insanity and murder.

Mudang subjects were also used to create a gendered discourse for industrialized labour in lieu of a heteronormative regime of differentiation to divide and naturalize groups along biologically determined categories such as “rural women,” “good wives,” and “wise mothers.” Mudang were a part of a larger discussion around a social economy that included dominant and contesting constructions of non-wage earning domestic labour as women’s work. Meanwhile, there were concerns about women’s conflicting duties in wage-work and house-work. “Home economics” became a pedagogical tool to counter these criticisms, by treating women’s wage-work and housekeeping as both skilled labour. The rhetoric that the

120 Chosón ilbo 3 September 1939.
Korean print media used to strengthen the nation through proper housekeeping also promoted colonial capitalist development. Value-laden assessments of old and new products and practices were a way for the print media to promote consumer awareness, a central component to modern living. Korean print media affirmed identities that were made under the force of colonialism, exercising their positions as Korean counter-colonial agents of reform, while they subscribed to colonially hegemonic notions of scientific modernity. Late colonial policies to strip colonial subjects of their national identities contradicted the state’s impulse to differentiate the metropole from the colonies during the mass mobilization period.

The colonial government endeavoured to maintain ethnic distinctions throughout its empire, and yet, certain policies such as religious acculturation were acceptable and necessary measures to attain cultural assimilation. As the next chapter will discuss, in 1935, towards the end of Ugaki Kazushige’s administration, the State Shinto policy was established in which all colonial subjects were “encouraged” to register with their local Shinto shrines and participate in official Shinto rituals. The colonial government gained an interest in Korean “shamanism studies” (musok), producing a linear narrative of shared primitive origins through the argument that a current Korean musok was a primitive form of modern Japanese Shinto in order to justify obligatory Shinto worship in Korea. Mudang subjects were formalized under the discipline of folklore studies to inform the vision and management of the Korean colony.

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122 Duk-whang Kim, 1988: 433.
123 Ch’oe Sŏk-yŏng, 1999.
CHAPTER FIVE

Masculinizing the Nation

INTRODUCTION

While Korean journalists stressed mudang social dysfunction in order to streamline gendered social practices, mudang were also being studied for their worth as historical artefacts. The mudang issue was mired in social and political contradictions between those who wished to eliminate them and those who wished to preserve them. Mudang-based discussions were used to compel people into social reform, steering people’s moral compass away from them in a gesture to strengthen the nation. While the Korean presses attempted to erase the social impact of mudang, scholars attempted to recreate and preserve them in their studies. The new colonial investigation of mudang as representatives of “Korean shamanism” overlooked the social currency of mudang work and the practical function of kut, and instead created remnants, fragmentary in varying degrees, of cryptic tales and gestures stripped of utility under the rhetoric of colonialism. The shamanism project largely overlooked ongoing social and political discussions that saw mudang as a problem for the very reason that people recognized mudang functionality. At the same time, shamanism studies was compatible with the capacious anti-mudang discourse because shamanism studies de-functionalized mudang; mudang were taken out of context from their contemporary environment, and studied as aesthetic artefacts and as relics of a prehistoric past.1 Francisco Orlando finds an object’s loss of function gains primary importance as the decay or ruin of the object signifies its long, eventful history. Appreciation was gained of mudang subjects once they were made into objects of ancient Korean history. The anti-mudang discourse was

1 Francisco Orlando, 2006: 8.
largely overlooked in Korean shamanism studies as mudang were de-functionalized by being detached from society to serve as indigenous Korean symbols.

The first Korean shamanism researchers privileged material representations of the ancient, and used historical archives as a basis to create an ethnocentric Korean history. Shamanism studies emerged under a burgeoning folklore studies in colonial Korea, in what Peter Pels describes as a “‘counterscience’ that dissolves our singular conceptions of humanity and thereby poses the most general questions about it.” Folklore studies’ general tendency was to locate “spirits” in faraway places. Scholars during the colonial period emphasized shamanism as a part of Korea’s ancient history. This discovery of the distant past became the faraway place by which Koreans could establish their modernity. Envisioning Korean national origins became a building block to modernize the country under colonialism. The material aspect of experiencing a “new” national beginning was part and parcel of the modernization process. A shamanism teleology was used to explain Korean cosmogony, placing shamanism on a slippery slope between fostering a nationalist identity and racializing the colonial subject population. The politics of indigenous studies were inexplicit and nebulous because Korean nationalists and Japanese colonialists shared the same kind of “conceptual vocabulary, themes in cultural representation and narrative strategies.” Colonial-era cultural scholars shared academic genealogies, were familiar with one another’s methods/theories, and largely borrowed, replicated, or reacted against the work of fellow scholars.

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3 Andre Schmid finds that “it was precisely their rootedness in the same range of modern discourses that led nationalists and colonialists to represent Korean culture in very similar ways, a congruency that eventually jeopardized the nationalist meanings of some of these shared representations.” Andre Schmid, 2002: 102.
This chapter is divided into four sections. The first section looks at the limits of state and colonial subject power and addresses a rare moment when *mudang* were being embraced as positive social agents. Administrators failed to eliminate *mudang*, and found more usefulness in sanctioning and monitoring *mudang* activities. Journalists observed the state’s allowances and criticized the contradictions inherent in colonial ruling ideology by making scathing reports on an anomalous organization called the “Worshipper’s Guild” (Sungsinin chohap). Newspaper criticisms of the state’s slogan of “cultural rule” enabled writers an opportunity to question the government’s capabilities and to express dismay at *mudang* resourcefulness and ability to work within the bounds of state institutions. Scrutinizing *mudang* involvement in Sungsinin chohap, the Korean presses announced that the government was annulling its promise to modernize Korea by permitting “unmodern” activities such as those conducted through these *mudang* organizations.

The second section is an examination of a nationalistic agenda that promoted shamanism in a way that overlooked the dominant anti- *mudang* discourse of social dysfunction. A new wave of shamanism studies emptied *mudang* of functionality and sanitized *mu* practice by disregarding the contemporary critique and by honing in on prehistorically mythical *mu* figures. This second section looks closely at the collective work on shamanism produced by Ch’oe Nam-sŏn and Yi Nŭng-hwa and discusses how these writers formed an ethnocentric history based on a shamanistic cosmogony.  

Ch’oe conducted a survey of western scholarship on global shamanism, concentrating on a stream of Siberian shamanism, which laid the foundational introduction for Yi’s work on Korean *musok*. Ch’oe challenged the Japanese Pan Asian discourse by incorporating a polygenetic

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4 Roger Janelli’s estimate that this period “saw a florescence of folklore studies” is followed here. He asserts: Folklore studies was “not pursued in intellectual isolation but rather as part of a broader movement known literally as the ‘Culture Movement’ (Munhwa undong).” Roger Janelli, “The Origins of Korean Folklore Scholarship” *Journal of American Folklore* 99 (1986): 30.
cultural “survival” model against Japan’s claim that Asia fell into a monogenetic socio-cultural evolution that was being advanced by Japan. Arguing that Korea had evolved from a completely different source – from Siberia – Ch’oe’s theory was relative and not absolute; the unequal development innate to the “survival” model was not overcome and paradoxically, the ethnocentric history led to the relativization of Korea.

Yi Nŭng-hwa’s work on Korean musok has garnered less attention by Korean historians, but was perhaps more significant than Ch’oe’s on this subject. The third section is a continuation of the second section, magnifying the different narrative of gendered shamanism that Ch’oe and Yi promoted to explain the rise and fall of the nation. Conducting a case study on Korea, Yi created an androcentric history of the nation, reacting against the notion that the nation was feminine by proposing a mythical male primogeniture, Tan’gun, as a representative of powerful male shamans who later in history fell from grace by “transforming” into women. Yi also reinforced the negative gendered assessment of mudang by using a historical gendered transition as the moment when the nation started its decline. Reinvigorating Korea’s lost glories was carried out in the hope that this would foster a national spirit and the remote chance that this ethnic identity could pave an alternative course towards modernity.

The fourth and last section of this chapter discusses how shamanism studies emerged under “folklore studies” (minsokhak) in the 1930s. The usurpation and devaluation of mu-related activities were “formulated as law-like, objective principles and thereby subordinated to the power of the [ethnographer’s] gaze.” Everyday practices such as mu-related activities were isolated from their everyday, inter-subjective context and treated as pure “facts” or “data.” This section reveals how mudang bodies served as living artefacts; their bodies

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Chapter Five  

became spaces and sites of consumption that fuelled the nation and the empire. This section looks at the ways in which new research technologies branded mudang. A new generation of ethnographers, such as Sŏng Sok-ha and Son Chin-t’ae, were involved in techniques that “captured” mudang as icons of Korean ethnicity. New technologies to capture the “folk” subject filtered into the print media, creating images of mu as a new “chic” aesthetic. In place of archives, ethnography and the act of recording became the principal mode of understanding Koreans.

I. THE SPIRIT WORSHIPPERS’ GUILD

The colonial government from 1910 onwards made a concerted effort to abolish mudang practices, namely mu rituals, ceremonies, and exorcisms by destroying their shrines, confiscating their paintings, breaking up their gatherings, and incarcerating them. However, the colonial police were unable to completely eradicate mudang. The colonial state shifted its strategies from eliminating to regulating mudang, particularly after 1919. Cho Hŭng-yun argues that the Japanese were unsuccessful at eliminating mudang activities from Korea because they were so pervasive. Instead, they worked at controlling and regulating them. Tonga ilbo highlighted these new sanctions, stating “the Government General’s cultural politics do not prohibit calling spirits, chanting sutras, calling mudang and p’ansu and doing kut.” Chosŏn ilbo announced in July 1920 that Kim T’ae-ik unveiled a “mysterious Sowi

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As Chapter One discussed, mudang regulations were enforced by the Chosŏn state from the seventeenth-century onwards. Mudang alliances were formed as early as the eighteenth-century and continued to evolve through the twentieth century.


Tonga ilbo 3 October 1929: 2.
Sungsin Church Guild.” Their bases spread throughout the country and their affiliations began to diversify in 1922 to the Sinri Church, then the Sŏngghwa Church, and the Yŏngsin Organization. Over sixty such groups formed throughout the colonial period. The government’s shift from elimination to regulation revealed the limits of colonial power and the agency of the colonized. The Korean presses asserted their views on proper governance in their reaction against the colonial cultural policies that they viewed were too lenient toward mudang.

Religion in general, but shamanism in particular, was a highly contentious issue during the colonial period. The governing principles outlined by colonial policies were meant to reinforce colonial assimilation and concepts of religion were the locus of intensely nationalistic discussion. Korean “shamanism studies” (musokhak) was funded by the Government General to persuade Koreans to embrace Shinto with their theory that shamanism was an ancient form of Shinto. The colonial state expedited the erection of the “Korean spiritual palace” (Chosŏn sin’gung) and created a new “National God” (kukhonsin, 國魂神) as a part of this “common ancestry discourse” (Ilsŏn tongjoron, 日鮮同祖論).

Examining how musok was amalgamated under Shinto shows that State Shinto was an

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11 Kukhonsin was created to appease those people who were angry at the proposition to worship Japanese Shinto gods, Amaterasu (天照大神) and Meiji Tenno (明治天皇). It also replaced the worship of the nationalistic Tan’gun (檀君). Kim Tae-ho, “1910-20nyŏndae Chosŏn ch’ŏngdokbu ŭi Chosŏn sin’gung kŏnrip kwa unyŏng” (Establishment and management of Korean shrines under the Government-General from 1910-20) Han’guk saron 50 (June 2004): 291-368. See also Ch’oe Sok-yŏng, 1997; 1999; 2005.
“invented tradition”; a “state religion fabricated by the modern Tenno regime.” Empire-building politicians embraced *musokhak* to reveal common origins between the colonized and the colonizer in order to legitimize Japan’s imperialistic ambitions.  

Cho Hŭng-yun finds that *mudang* improved their working conditions “by building a good relationship with the Japanese empire.” The colonial government followed practices in existence in the late Chosŏn era in regards to Sungsinin chohap and revised the policy on the guild to consider it a “folk religion” (*minjok chonggyo*), afforded the guild official licenses to organize, conduct fundraising, solicit private donations, diversify the guild’s operations, develop local offices throughout the peninsula, and to generate memberships.  

*Mudang* organizations registered with Shinto shrines and were allowed to do their work by joining licensed Sungsinin chohap associations. People were trained through this organization to work in “traditional” trades, issued exams for apprenticeships, granted licences to orchestrate large-scale grand rituals (*k’ŭn kut*) and allowed to work as *mudang*. It orchestrated cultural performances and attracted all types of audiences to their “avant-garde” theatre and musicals. Koreans and Japanese alike participated in all levels of the

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15 Cho Hŭng-yun, 2003: 212-213, 225. In 1897, Isabella Bishop noted on *mudang* and *p’ansu* “guilds which are the Trades Unions of Korea, and the Government has imposed registration on another class.” Bishop, 1970: 402.
16 Shinto was a minor practice in Korea for nearly three hundred years. The first Japanese Shinto shrine, the Kindo Shrine, was established in 1678 (the fourth year of Sukjong) in Pusan, Korea. The most popular Shinto sect in Korea was known as the Tenri Church. The Tenri denomination of Shinto gained the first substantial number of Korean converts in 1893 and it grew to nearly 80,000 members by the end of the colonial period. Duk-whang Kim, 1988: 431-34.
17 *Tonga ilbo* 24 March 1923: 3.
18 *Tonga ilbo* stated that the organization collected membership dues and “practice[d] drums, folk instruments (p’ungmul) and woodwinds to the extent of devil worship in an established theatre and raise the curtain on unmentionable ‘erotic pageant’ [erotek p’ejentu] performance and first wives go with husbands, many second wives go in all types of attire…” *Tonga ilbo* 5 March 1932: 3.
guild’s administration and high officials, local administrators, and intellectuals were among its members and audience. The government stamped its public performances as official cultural events.

Korean newspapers in the 1920s, used these cultural organizations to criticize Japan’s “cultural rule” (munhwa chŏngch’i) for “attempting to establish a new culture.”

19 Tonga ilbo stated whether or not it is a truth or a lie, the slogan munhwa chŏngch’i can be discovered daily through strange looking groups named Sowŏn Spirit Worshippers’ Guild [Sowŏn sungsin chohap].” Newspapers complained that Korean society was “not progressing” when the state would enable a “most backwards culture” by stating that these organizations were “being officially recognized by police.”

20 Chosŏn ilbo believed that the organization “got the approval” of the Japanese and that its “leaders [kanbu] are mostly Japanese people [Ilbonin].”

21 Tonga ilbo calculated that Sungsinin chohap was among 8,000 “mudang that belong to associations... throughout the country, controlled by the Japanese.”

22 A Christian youth group gathered in Pyongyang to discuss a “gradually expanding group of sungsinin” comprised of mudang, p’ansu and kisaeng.

23 A Tonga ilbo editorial responded by “shudder[ing] to think of the frightening evil... how many groups may be hidden from real society?”

24 The paper warned that this organization “causes a bad effect and poisons this society” and urged people “to eliminate these things.” Calling kut “very deeply rooted ordinary incidental customs,” the paper stated that it was “allowing the stagnation [ch’imch’e] of Chosŏn society and people’s laziness will also spread into the future.”

19 Tonga ilbo 22 May 1924: 3, 13 July 1923: 3.
20 Tonga ilbo 24 March 1923: 3, 11 February 1922: 3.
21 The paper also claimed that a Kim Rae-sin, who led Kyŏngsin kyohoe (“Church for the Reverence of God”) was also associating with the group. Chosŏn ilbo 18 October 1927.
22 Tonga ilbo 24 March 1923: 3.
23 Tonga ilbo 13 July 1923: 3.
24 Tonga ilbo 24 March 1923: 3
25 Tonga ilbo 3 October 1929: 2.
asked: “When the police repeatedly feign ignorance while looking at these common people, is this a manifestation of cultural rule?” Newspapers focused on the wrongful manifestations of the new “tolerance” policy.

*Mudang* represented the dangerous possibility of “becoming Japanese” with *mudang* history representing a linear trajectory of racial kinship. The Government General commissioned social scientists to research Korean shamanism and promoted its sponsorship of *mudang* identified organizations to help bolster the colonial imposition of Shinto and to effectively rule over the Korean colony. The Korean presses did not directly express their consternation over the assimilation initiative; instead, they argued that *mudang* were deceiving the state by acting as Shinto devotees. Newspapers showed how *mudang* registered at Shinto shrines and conducted *sinsa* worship to disguise what were deemed as wrongful activities. Sungsinnin were accused of having a close affiliation with Shinto, and for conducting “Sinsa worship.” This organization’s “thievery,” “criminality” and “social evils” made it clear to *Tonga ilbo* that “there are no authoritative controls” and the paper declared that the government “had the attitude to authorize such things!” *Tonga ilbo* chastised the Government General’s cultural policies for embracing people who were “calling spirits, chanting sutras, calling *mudang* and *p’ansu*, and doing *kut*.” It urged the Ministry of Police Affairs (Ch’ongdokpu kyŏngmuguk) to seriously reassess its statutes.

These reports made it apparent that some *mudang* were legitimized under colonial government’s religion policies. The government classified religions into two categories: sanctioned religions and quasi-religions, literally described as “organizations similar to religions.” All religions in Korea (Confucianism, Buddhism, Christianity, and new religions)

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26 *Tonga ilbo* 22 May 1924: 3.

27 State Shinto policies especially affected Christian principles of worship. These organizations were the most vocal of all churches against Shinto associations.

28 *Tonga ilbo* 3 October 1929: 2.
and all nominations or activities of religious organizations had first to be approved by the government. Religions as defined by the Government General included Buddhism and Christianity, while Shinto was differentiated as a state philosophy. The Bureau of Internal Affairs in the Government General supervised activities related to Shinto shrines, while Buddhism and Christianity were supervised by the Bureau of Academic Affairs. Two main streams existed in the religious debate under colonial rule. The first was a discourse that asserted that religion could “lead the development of civilization.” The second was a discourse that religion could edify people and help establish a national identity.

Do-Hyun Han finds that “religions other than those explicitly sanctioned (including shamanism) were under the control of the colonial police.” Without their involvement in guilds such as Sungsin-in chohap, mudang were subject to the colonial police jurisdiction. Organizing under officially recognized religions meant that mudang could be embraced by more liberal jurisdictions such as the Bureau of Internal Affairs or Academic Affairs. Considering that the Bureau of Police was the most oppressive jurisdiction, mudang organized Sungsin-in chohap to work under officially recognized religious groups or under Shinto whenever possible.

The Sungsin-in chohap was recognized by the government as a labour and “culture” union for those doing “traditional” work as mudang, p’ansu, chŏmjaengi, kisaeng, and

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29 The Japanese government “enacted many legal and institutional systems for controlling religion as the basis of colonial assimilation policies throughout the 1910s.” Kyutae Park, 2000: 78.
30 Kyutae Park, 2000: 84.
31 Kyutae Park, 2000: 84. See also Wi Jo Kang, Religion and Politics in Korea under the Japanese Rule, New York; Ontario: Edwin Mellen Press, 1987. This controversy was halted in 1931 when Governor General Ugaki Kazushige shut down several cultural organizations including Sungsin-in chohap. Many of its members were believed to have joined other colonially sanctioned organizations such as the Tenri Church, which was allowed to operate throughout the colonial period.
32 Do-Hyun Han, 2000: 47.
33 Do-Hyun Han, 2000: 47.
hwarang. Newspapers articulated their dismay over the Shinto policy by pointing out that mudang were among Shinto associates. The line of reasoning was that Shinto (also known as Sinsa) practice was supposedly an expression of modern loyalties to the empire. The government supported Sinsa, not as a religion, but as a social “custom” and a political philosophy. How then, could the government tolerate an organization comprised of mudang such as the Sungsinin chohap into its fold? It was clear to the presses that the state encouraged Koreans to identify with mudang as representatives of Korean culture. Fiercely arguing that promoting activities such as mudang kut inhibited modernity, the presses saw mudang practices as shameful indigenes and refused to celebrate this type of indigeneity due to the slippery slope between musok and Shinto that threatened to justify colonial assimilation. Korean newspapers pushed people to disown their associations with mudang and to embrace modernity as a means to strengthen the nation.

II. CH’OE NAM-SÖN’S ETHNOCENTRIC SHAMANISM

Two scholars had a different take on mudang’s potential impact on Korean people. Ch’oe Nam-sön (1890-1957) and Yi Nŭng-hwa (1869-1945) used mudang to produce an ethnically based history of the Korean nation which elided the print media’s depiction of mudang as a contemporary social dysfunction. These two scholars de-functionalized mudang as non-social subjects by circumventing criticisms of superstition and mudang social spiritual belief system altogether. In his lengthy introduction to Yi’s study, Ch’oe traced a stream of Siberian shamanism studies to prove Korea’s distinct and distant origins from Japan. In so doing, Ch’oe rejected the assimilationist theory that Korean shamanism was a primitive form

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34 Hwarang was listed among mudang associates. Tonga ilbo 22 May 1924: 3; Chosŏn ilbo 5 July 1938.
35 In 1925, Korean Christians denied it as idolatry while “the government insisted that Sinsa was not a religion but rather a courtesy to ancestors and the state.” Kyutae Park, 2000: 70-80.
of Japanese Shinto and questioned any ancestral connection between the two countries – an overt expression of anti-colonial nationalism. Ch’oe and Yi dealt with shamanism as a form of indigenous theism (sin’gyo, 神敎), using musok as a device to engage in a discussion more closely aligned with the institutionalization of religions under colonialism. Ch’oe and Yi spun the journalistic discussion on mudang to promote a musok discourse that was permissible under the colonial state but that also attempted to extricate Korean history from colonialist endeavors.

In 1910, the Government General established the Chosŏn History Compilation Committee (Chosŏnsa p’yŏnch’an wiwŏnhoe) to oversee the production of Korean history in which leading Korean scholars including Yi Nŭng-hwa (from 1922-38) and Ch’oe Nam-sŏn (from 1928-36) were commissioned to participate. This committee’s mission was to compile a massive archival project entitled Chosŏnsa (Choson History). The 4,950 pages of the 35 volume series were chronologically separated into six sets in which three volumes were dedicated to the Three Kingdoms period (57 B.C.–A.D. 668), one volume to the Unified Silla (668-935), seven volumes to the Koryŏ Dynasty (935-1392), ten volumes to the early Chosŏn Dynasty (Kings T’aejo to Sŏnjo, 1393-1608), ten volumes to the mid Chosŏn (Kings Kwanghae to Chŏngjo, 1608-1800), and four volumes were dedicated to the late Chosŏn (Kings Sunjo to Kojong, 1800-1907). Chosŏnsa was criticized for shortening Korean history by beginning with the Three Kingdoms period and by glossing over the events after the 1895 Sino-Japanese war. The bulk of the archival research established a beginning with the Koryŏ

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36 “At this time, Korean shamanism formed around the governing concept of sin’gyo.” Seong-Nae Kim, “Han’guk ŭi syamŏnjŭm kaenyŏm hyŏngsŏng kwa chŏngae” (Development and foundation of the basic concept of Korean shamanism) Han’guk syamŏnjŭm hakkŏe, Seoul: Syamŏnjŭm yŏn’gu, 2003: 87. The term sin’gyo is not to be mistaken for the more commonly known “信敎,” meaning religious belief; religion; faith.

37 Among the Korean scholars who participated in the committee were Hong Hŭi (洪憲), Sin Sŏk-ho (申奭鎬) and Yi Pyŏng-do (李丙燾).
Dynasty (918-1392) onward neglected to provide sufficient attention to the pre-Koryŏ period. Seong-Nae Kim finds that through this type of primary text-based research, shamanism research developed as “intellectual nationalist self-consciousness” under colonialism. Enabled by the colonial research project, Korean scholars used court records as a mode of privileging a textually-based historiography of ancient Korea.38

Beyond the Chosŏnsa p’yŏnch’an wiwŏnhoe, Ch’oe and Yi published extensive independent historical essays on Korea. In 1927, these two scholars produced the first major treatment of Korean “shamanism studies” (musokhak, 巫俗學). An entire issue of Kyemyŏng sibo (Enlightenment Bulletin) was dedicated to shamanism studies as a contribution to Korea’s “ancient literature” (kogyŏ munhŏn, 古敎文獻) and was broken up into two sections. The first section was written by Ch’oe Nam-sŏn who provided a broad overview of Siberian shamanism. Ch’oe was trained in the Chinese classics and was well versed in western anthropology. He went to Japan twice to advance his studies. When he returned to Korea the second time after studying at Waseda University, he was actively engaged in the Patriotic Enlightenment Movement. He was responsible for drafting the Korean Declaration of Independence, which landed him in prison for two years. Ch’oe was deterred from nationalist projects as he continued to advance the language reform movement, publishing widely on Korean literature, history and culture.

The most notable characteristic of Ch’oe’s essay, “Sarman’gyo ch’aki” (Records on shamanism, 薩滿敎箚記) was that it was the most comprehensive study of shamanism studies in Korea to date.39 The essay explored the etymological possibilities behind the word

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Chapter Five  

syaamón, looking at the meaning behind the concept, its various practices, and the gender differences between practitioners.\textsuperscript{40} Then, each practitioner was described according to their epistemologies, sacred articles, types of ceremonies and social status within a shamanism hierarchy. Ch’oe also provided an overview of the types of shamanism practices around the world and discussed the dominant scholastic theories that informed shamanism studies.

Ch’oe did not simply reproduce Japanese colonial scholarship on Korean shamanism; he made an important gesture to indigenize and nationalize shamanism in a way that subtly confounded the Japanese pan-Asian model through a critique of Japanese academic genealogy. Ch’oe looked at Korean shamanism through a polygenetic framework of a cultural “survival,” to revive an ancient masculine national subject that was based on Siberia, not Japan.\textsuperscript{41} In the beginning of his essay, he laid out the common perception that shamanism was a universal phenomenon:

All of the ancient peoples of Asia, from the southern parts (Ainu), Japan, Ryukyu, Chosŏn, Manchuria, Mongolia, through Central Asia extending out to Eastern Europe (Eur-Asia) – (stemming from the North East division of Siberia, extending to the eastern end of the Paekryŏng Strait to the western end to the Scandinavian border), lay the basis of spirit worship, through animism. It is commonly popular for a diviner (or shaman doctor) to do a job that is a kind of primordial religion (natural religion, religious sorcery, ancient faith). This is what scholars call the religion of shamanism.\textsuperscript{42}

Although he pointed out that many scholars believed the world shared a primordial spiritual history, Ch’oe was quick to distinguish the practice of Korean shamanism from western and Japanese imperial paradigms.\textsuperscript{43} Noting on western academic genealogical influences over

\textsuperscript{40} The term, 萨満 is transliterated to replicate the sound of “shaman.” Ch’oe transliterated this term into han’gul as 샤아먼(syaamón) and in a few places as 샤만 (syaman).

\textsuperscript{41} This framework stems from Edward Tylor, who believed that cultural survival was a phenomenon of modernity as a “survival and a revival of savage thought, which the general tendency of civilization and science has been to discard.” Peter Pels, 2003: 256. Tylor further believed that “spiritualism was a ‘survival’ that should not find believers among the middle and upper classes, only among the lower.” Peter Pels, 2003: 257.

\textsuperscript{42} Ch’oe Nam-sŏn, Kyemyŏng sibo 19 (1927): 1-3.

\textsuperscript{43} Native Korean shamanism studies was descendant from late nineteenth-century Japanese anthropology under the British (namely Tylor) tradition. Ch’oe Sŏk-yŏng, 1999: 167-69. Ch’oe Nam-sŏn studied under Ryūzō Torii who also learned under Tylor in England. Ch’oe utilized Torii’s evolutionary shamanism model to draft an ethno-national history rooted in Siberia.
Japanese shamanism studies, he considered Edward B. Tylor’s universalism theory to explain the academic genealogy that portrayed Korean shamanism as a part of a global pattern of early human societies. Then Ch’oe criticized, “the shamanism research of northwest Asia follows the influence of all of Tylor’s animism theories and they misuse the word spirit.” Ch’oe was making a critique that is today still held against Tylor’s use of spirits to “signify studies of the ‘rest’ rather than the West” so that Ch’oe could distinguish his native “spirit” project as a legitimate form of scholarship. Ch’oe gave a brief overview of various theories on a shamanism phenomenon which was extended as far west as the Scandinavian border, and incorporating a Finnish derivative theory that was also in circulation at the time, rendering shamanism a universally common denominator. Tylor’s theories on primitive animism were slighted here for their lack of particularism; that they did not adequately reflect the case of ancient Korea. This line of thought was excoriated for being a Christian-centric interpretation of shamanism. Ch’oe declared, “It is difficult to explain the etymology of indigenous religions by using nomenclatures such as those under Christianity,” pointing out the globally imperializing force of Christian empiricism. By casting doubt on Tylor’s “totalizing classification of species, objects, customs, and stages of evolution,” Ch’oe also indirectly attacked Japan’s anthropological genealogy which stemmed from and replicated western, Christian imperialistic models.

The anti-colonial nationalism project on shamanism was made possible and shaped by a Japanese colonialism and western imperialism. Ch’oe’s study was a “derivative discourse”

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44 Peter Pels finds that “Tylor’s presumed ‘psychic unity of mankind’ represented armchair ‘elite science and philosophy.’ Peter Pels, 2003: 243-244.
45 Ch’oe Nam-sŏn, 1927: 3.
47 He believed that this information could only be found by looking back in ancient texts going as far back as Paekche to illustrate the uniqueness of Korean shamanism.
48 Ch’oe Nam-sŏn’s preface, 1927: 1.
49 Peter Pels, 2003: 254.
that was “dependent upon the coloniser’s gift of language/ideas.” While he scrutinized Japanese academic genealogy, Ch’oe also relied on western sources and simulated a western genealogy for Korean shamanism. His version of Korean shamanism traced back to a stream of studies in Siberian shamanism established under a German scholar by the name of Wilhelm Radloff (1837-1918) who conducted the first comprehensive research on Siberian shamanism, which “greatly affected western perceptions of Siberian shamanism.” Radloff lamented how the Altaics hid their shamanic practices away from the gaze and study of foreigners such as himself, and was forced to resort to second-hand sources for his writings on shamanic practices. He was a shamanism sympathizer in devotion to Siberian studies and was posthumously accused by the Soviet Union for being an “Orientalist.”

Any mention of Radloff was conspicuously missing from Ch’oe’s survey as he honed in on a particular group of Siberian specialists who argued that the shamanism that was found among certain tribes in Siberia was the only type of spiritual practice that should be considered shamanism. In other words, these scholars argued that if shamanism exists as an analytical category, it is exclusive to Siberia. Enticed by this logic, Ch’oe borrowed extensively from a work by Maria Antonina Czaplicka (1886-1921) entitled, *Aboriginal Siberia: a Study in Social Anthropology* (1914). Although Czaplicka conducted two major ethnographic assignments in Siberia, her work has been criticized for being produced mainly through armchair research. In that sense, her method was similar to that of Radloff.

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53 Czaplicka was a Polish scholar and a contemporary of Branislow Malinowski. With a doctorate in Social Anthropology (one of only two in the world at the time), she taught anthropology at Oxford University. Ch’oe did not specifically cite his references but the bulk of his essay were taken directly from Czaplicka’s 1914 work.
54 Andrei A. Znamenski, 2007: 99. Czaplicka also borrowed from earlier works on Siberia by Krasseninnikoff, Steller, and Wrangel.
Czaplicka promoted a Siberian particularism model based on a work by Dorzhi Banzarovich Banzarov (1822-1855). Banzarov was an ethnographer of Buryat descent, who was best known for his Master’s dissertation on *The Black Belief System of the Mongols* (1846).\(^{55}\) Banzarov was very critical of the eighteenth-century writers who tended to group all North Asian groups together under a generic shamanism.\(^{56}\) He argued that shamanism was not universal, but rather, particular to one ethnic cluster in Mongolia. Banzarov was the first Russian to write about Buryat Mongols in 1848. Devoting his work to distinguishing Lamaism as a form of Buryat shamanism that was distinct from Buddhism, he fought against the Russian Imperial administration’s use of Buddhism as an umbrella category for people in northern Siberia.\(^{57}\) Banzarov believed that people and their customs were derived from their natural, local environment. He stressed the importance of “indigenous perspective” to uncover local particularities in shamanism studies.

Ch’oe promoted a stream of Siberian shamanism that replaced “Tylorism” with a form of “Banzarovism” – a specific type of westernized scholarship that could prove autonomous national origins by highlighting Korean male shamans. Adopting Banzarov’s three categories of male shamans established in Siberian shamanism studies, Ch’oe claimed that Korean shamans were either “priests” (*saje*), “medicine-men” (*ŭimu*) or “prophets” (*yeŏnja*).\(^{58}\) He stated: “It is common for a diviner (or shaman doctor) to do a job that is a kind of primordial religion (natural religion, religious sorcery, ancient faith)” and “the

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56 “Banzarov wrote that it was a regrettable attempt to construct a generalized picture of Siberian shamanism by mixing the beliefs and mythologies of Turks, Finns, Mongols, and other peoples... Banzarov stressed that for research purposes it was more interesting to single out the shamanism of a particular group ‘with those nuances and details which must have been found among each people’.” Andrei A. Znamenski, 2007: 19.
58 Ch’oe Nam-sŏn, 1927: 8.
Chosŏn mudang is similar to a holy man or a priest.” Ch’oe was claiming here that the original “Chosŏn mudang” was a spiritual leader in Korea’s ancient practice rebuking Tylor’s theory that assumed a universal primordial animism with a Siberian-esque Korean shamanism.

Ch’oe carefully laid out a gender premise to Korean particularism and indigeneity by honing in on a distinction between “paleo” (ku, 舊) and “neo” (sin, 新) Siberians according to the predominance of female versus male shamans. He stated that “most researchers believe that original practitioners were of the female gender” and that this continues to be a female-based practice, and then clarified that women, “had power, but these maidens were limited in their superior rank and they lost their power after they gave birth.” In short, it was because only women who have never given birth were considered clean and pure. The gender transition among spiritual diviners was described as a natural evolution where people started to turn against women because of the short tenure of their “virginal” lives. The historical transition was described as the “luck of the times” when shamanistic power shifted in the “opposite direction” towards men, pushing women towards formerly male duties of ceremonial “assistants.” He claimed that ceremonies became increasingly “specialized” due to “worldly progress” and that more authority was needed to conduct things such as ceremonial speeches. Spiritual necessities became too “difficult” for women to fulfill, causing men to take up these roles.

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59 Ch’oe Nam-sŏn, 1927: 2.
60 Ch’oe Nam-sŏn, 1927: 40.
61 Ch’oe Nam-sŏn, 1927: 12.
62 Ch’oe Nam-sŏn, 1927: 12.
63 Ch’oe Nam-sŏn, 1927: 12.
64 Ch’oe Nam-sŏn, 1927: 12.
Ch’oe, in a section entitled, “Gender transformations of shamans” described how Siberian shamans engaged in transgendered practice, using the feminization of men to signal the nation’s demise. Men fell into spiritual illness for which they had no other cure than to cross-dress and change their gender. These men, “by order of the spirits,” entered into homosexual marriages (recognized as a spiritually heterosexual coupling), dressed, behaved, and were addressed as the transformed sex. Under the guidance of the spirits, they abandoned their male duties, and quickly mastered women’s household/communal work. These “soft men” (male shamans transitioned to female) were permitted into “female-only spheres.” For instance, men were not admitted into places where women gave birth; however, “soft men” played a central role during these times as midwives to women before, during, and after labour. These men were not only socially permitted to behave as women; they were allowed to lead homosexual lives.

Banzarov may have been Ch’oe’s inspiration for replicating a Siberian model of male shaman “priests,” but his understanding of shamanistic gender transgression was borrowed from the archives of an American expedition. Ch’oe claimed: “There was much on these developments in the 1755 writings of Kurasenin Nikov but, the point is that those records of normal “homosexualism” and what was “transgendering” (sangi, 相異) derived from shaman inspiration.” Without citing their work on gender transgression, Ch’oe summarized the works of Russian revolutionaries, Bogoras and Jochelson, two politically exiled ethnographers and their wives who were recruited by the American Museum of Natural

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65 Ch’oe Nam-sŏn, 1927: 13.
66 Ch’oe Nam-sŏn, 1927: 11-12.
History to participate in the Jesup North Pacific Expedition (1897-1902). The famous American anthropologist, Franz Boas, was the “lynchpin” for this massive project for which this region of Siberia was a primary research objective. Under Franz Boas’ direction, the expedition was meant to uncover the connections between of North American and Asian “natives” via the Bering Strait connection. Ch’oe Nam-sŏn outlined the areas that these ethnographers covered: “As to the people of Siberia, the “change of sex” is found chiefly among Palaeo-Siberians, namely the Chukchee, Koryak, Kamchadal, and Asiatic Eskimo.” These ethnographers pathologized Siberian shamanism by identifying “abnormal” practices such as “cross-dressing.” Waldemar Bogoras wrote extensively on a transgendering phenomenon in a series of essays he entitled “The Chukchee” for Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition (1904-1909). After Bogoras’ publication, it was widely accepted that Siberian shamans were psychologically dysfunctional. Ch’oe followed Bogoras’ logic that these transgendered shamans were “ill.” Not only was their pre-transition an indication that they were ill, but after their transition, they continued to be described as “patients.” Ch’oe described this as a “curious phenomenon, a mystical change of sex” and as a “sexual perversion.” He stated that more male than female shamans changed their gender but that this varied depending on region, “In regards to the supposed evolution of the shaman from

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69 Although this was the term that Ch’oe used, nothing in his or any other Siberian shamanism scholarship indicated that these shamans underwent genital reassignment surgery in order to “fully” transition. Ch’oe Nam-sŏn, 1927: 12.
70 Waldemar Bogoras, volume 7.
72 Ch’oe Nam-sŏn, 1927: 13.
73 Ch’oe Nam-sŏn, 1927: 11-12.
female to male, there is no certain knowledge and one can only conjecture. The different views of the origin of shamanism naturally affect the theory that shamans were originally female.\textsuperscript{74} More importantly, Ch’oe stressed that the predominance of “soft men” (male shamans transitioned to female) and their “feminine habits” was a relatively recent phenomenon.

Some scholars have argued that Ch’oe’s work was colonialist, and helped to further the designs of colonial rule. These arguments consider Ch’oe’s Japanese academic background and recognize his career working for the colonial government. However, Ch’oe unquestionably contributed to nationalizing Korean history and culture through his ethnocentric analysis of topics such as shamanism.\textsuperscript{75} Ch’oe’s writings were politically radical in accentuating Korea’s distance from Japan and in some cases intended to prove that Korea had superior civilization to Japan.\textsuperscript{76} These claims are better realized if Ch’oe’s work can be seen collectively alongside Yi’s essay.

III. MASCULINIZING THE NATION – YI NŬNG-HWA’S NOSTALGIC RETURN

Ch’oe’s observations on northern Siberian shamanism were used as a comparative case study to understand Yi Nŭng-hwa’s survey of Korean shamanism. This version of a shamanistic history revealed a majestic male-shaman based national tradition that was used

\textsuperscript{74} Ch’oe Nam-sŏn, 1927: 12.
\textsuperscript{75} Jongsung Yang also finds that Ch’oe was among the Korean folklore scholars who “concentrated on Korean shamanism (a religion indigenous to Korea) out of nationalistic purposes, viewing shamanism as a purely indigenous Korean religion and synonymous with concepts of national heritage.” Jongsung Yang, 2003: 16.
to explain the nation’s demise. *Musok* was a device to render a masculine primordial nation, to signal the nation’s downfall, and to explain the colonial outcome. Male shamanistic figures were posited as the predecessors to *mudang* and the feminine predominance in this practice implied the end of shamanism’s spiritual efficacy and the coetaneous decline of the nation’s political prowess. These men created a model of understanding Korean shamanism as a patrilineal tradition, attempting to trump Japan’s “common ancestry discourse” (*Ilson tongjoron*).

Yi Nŭng-hwa was the larger contributor to this *Kyemyŏng sibo* issue on shamanism studies.77 Similar to Ch’oe, Yi was active in developing Korean studies but Yi was lesser known than his colleague.78 He was trained in the Chinese classics and was proficient in five languages. In 1895, he began a long career in government, starting as a junior official for the Chosŏn Ministry of Trade and Industry. In 1907, he became a committee member of the National Script Research Center (*Kungmun yŏng’uso*). Among his extensive publications, he is perhaps best known for his contribution to Buddhist scholarship.79 Early on in his

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79 I have subdivided his major bodies of work into categories to give a sense of his subjects of interest. Among his works in religion are: *Chosŏn pulgyo t’ongsa* (Collected history of Korean Buddhism, 朝鮮佛教通史, 1918), *Chosŏn sin’gyo wŏnnyugo* (Treatise on the origins of Korean Protestantism, 朝鮮新敎源流考), *Choson kidokkyo kŭp oegyosa* (History of diplomatic relations through Korean Christianity, 朝鮮基督教及外交史, 1928), *Chosŏn sinhwago* (Treatise on Korean myths, 朝鮮神話考). In Korean philosophy are: *Chosŏn yugyoji yangmyŏnghak* (Korean Confucianism doctrines of Wang Yangming, 朝鮮儒敎之陽明學), *Chosŏn yuhak kŭp yuhak sasangsa* (History of Confucian thought through Korean Confucianism, 朝鮮儒學及儒學思想史), and *Chosŏn toggyo sa* (History of Korean Taoism, 朝鮮道教史, 1959). Among his works related to customs are: *Chosŏn sangje yesoksa* (Daily Korean mourning ritual salutation, 朝鮮喪制禮俗事), *Chosŏn yŏsokko* (Treatise on Korean female customs, 朝鮮女俗考, 1926), *Chosŏn haeŏhwasa* (History of Korean kisaeng, 朝鮮解語花史,
career, he established the Hansŏng Buddhist literature school.\(^8\) In 1915, he also founded the Buddhism Revitalization Association (Pulgyo chinhŭnghoe).\(^8\)

By the time Yi Nŭng-hwa wrote “Chosŏn musokko” in 1927, shamanism (musok) was widely accepted as a facet of ancient Korean history and a symbol of the Korean ethnic nation. In a chapter entitled, “The Origins of Korean Musok,” Yi echoed this trend, “These days, researching the origins of ancient Korean religious teachings, the spiritual history of the Korean people, and the changing conditions of Korean society cannot be done without looking at musok.”\(^8\) Musok forged the origins of an ethnically-based historiography with the Tan’gun Ruler (Tan’gun wanggŏm, 檀君王儉) as the founder of the nation:

It was said that Hwan-ung the God of Heaven and the Tan’gun Ruler were spirits that came down from the heavens and that they were humans who had divinity. In the olden days, shamans received the people’s respect because they made sacrifices to the heavens and worshipped the spirits. Accordingly, Silla Kings’ titles reflected this and in Koguryŏ, their titles became those of master shamans.\(^8\)

Andre Schmid finds that the foundation myth of Tan’gun reinforced patrilineal family records and created “a genealogy for the Korean people that, when combined with the type of martial historical figures promoted as national heroes, offered a masculine conception of the nation.”\(^8\) Scholars have discussed the Tan’gun origin story for hundreds of years. Yi Ik, the famous reform scholar from the seventeenth-century, explored the sacred geography of

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1927). Among his works related to other state matters are: Ijokyŏngsong sije (Kyŏngsŏng municipality of Chosŏn), Choson ūiyak paltalsa (History of the development of Korean medicine), and Chosŏn sahoea (History of Korean society).

\(^8\) Yi Chae-hŏn, 2007: 12-15. Jonathon Best finds that Yi Nŭng-hwa’s Chosŏn pulgyo t’ŏngsa has the only existing primary source material on a Paekche Buddhist monastery, Mirŭkpulgwang-sa which Best sees as problematic in proving that Koreans held pivotal original tenets of Maitreya Buddha. Jonathan W. Best, 1991: 152-54.


\(^8\) For a detailed account of his contribution to Buddhism studies, see Yi Chae-hŏn, 2007.


\(^8\) Unlike his accounts of dynastic histories, Yi does not make references to sources where these Tan’gun legends may have originated. Yi Nŭng-hwa, 1991: 10. It has since been proven that these sources do not exist.

\(^8\) Andre Schmid, 2002: 16-17.
Paektu Mountain and surrounding environs as the birthplace of Tan’gun.\textsuperscript{85} Yi Nŭng-hwa utilized the cultural “survival” model to link the Tan’gun primogeniture to an original shamanistic worship, grounding contemporary mu practice to an organic and autonomous Korean nation.

Cosmogonic myths established the foundation of a national historical narrative that also intended to reverse the negative nation or non-nation images formed under colonialism. Ch’oe Nam-sŏn established the origins of the nation with his Tan’gunnon (\textit{Treatise on Tan’gun}), which “succeeded in bringing attention to the shamanistic tradition hidden in ancient Korean mythology and consequently helped establish Tan’gun as a supreme symbol of Korea’s cultural and historical heritage.”\textsuperscript{86} Writings on Tan’gun became a popular historiographical theme and Ch’oe Nam-sŏn became “the most frequently cited scholar of Tan’gun studies in the colonial era.”\textsuperscript{87} He was criticized for this project which some scholars argued “did not have any basis in history” and “was just an imaginary creation” by Iryŏn, a thirteenth-century Buddhist monk who authored \textit{Samguk yusa}. In his defence, Ch’oe criticized Japanese scholars for taking similar liberties on ancient texts to make claims about the founding of the Japanese nation.\textsuperscript{88} Japanese criticisms of Ch’oe also failed to recognize the wealth of Korean Confucian reform scholar interests in Tan’gun from the eighteenth-century onward. Ch’oe’s and Yi’s interest in the shamanistic roots of Tan’gun resembled Yi Ik’s eighteenth-century essay on the relationship between Tan’gun and ŭimu in that they all

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{85} Yi Ik, 2002: 54-57.
\end{itemize}
promoted *mu*-based roots to Korean cosmogony.\textsuperscript{89} *Mu* “ceremonial worship” (*much’uk sinsa*, 巫祝神事) was cemented as the “ancient custom” of the “Tan’gun religion” (*Tan’gun sin’gyo*,檀君神敎) as the only indigenous religion of Korea.\textsuperscript{90}

Yi distinguished a form of Korean *musok* which was indigenous and autonomous by showing that Silla and Koguryŏ king titles were direct lineages stemming from the “Tan’gun Ruler” who was supposedly the founder of the nation and Korea’s *samu*.\textsuperscript{91} *Musok* was placed in contrast to “foreign religions” such as Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism, creating an autonomous spiritual and cultural origin for Korea. Yi based his origination theory on his archives, but his sources proved that other religions were interested in *mudang* more than it proved that *musok* was indigenous. For instance, Yi referenced *Koryŏsa* accounts of Buddhist texts to prove the origins of the term *mudang* and to claim *mudang* originality.\textsuperscript{92} To support his theory on the origins of male *mu* (*paksa*), he referred to the use of the term in the Taoist *Book of Changes*.\textsuperscript{93} Overlooking this problem of sources, Yi followed Banzarov’s rejection of unified Asian religions to argue that “as foreign religions became mixed with our own customs, the religious sects quarreled over which was greater in the world such that our own customs [musok] were socially boycotted and were not allowed to be on equal standing.”\textsuperscript{94} Inspired by Banzarov, Yi represented the native informant who could authoritatively claim that no other religious/spiritual tradition preceded *musok*. For Yi, *musok* did not show that Korea was Asian; it signified that Korea was unique.

\textsuperscript{89} Volume One of Yi Ik’s *Sŏngho sasŏl* gave historical accounts of Tan’gun’s relationship to *ŭimu* (another term for *mu*)\textsuperscript{99} and Silla history. Yi Ik, 2002: 57-59.
\textsuperscript{90} Yi Nŭng-hwa, 1991: 10.
\textsuperscript{91} As discussed in Chapter One of this dissertation. Yi Nŭng-hwa, 1991: 10.
\textsuperscript{94} Yi Nŭng-hwa, 1991: 11.
Western and Japanese scholars following the Tylor tradition, not only considered shamanism a phenomenon shared by colonized “natives” around the world, they also considered it a primitive expression of social stratification. The pervasive assumption in shamanism studies was that shamanism was primarily a patriarchal practice led by male clan/village/tribal leaders. As discussed throughout this dissertation, many writers were mystified by the notion that the majority of Siberian and Korean shamans were women, believing that these regions were overrun by effeminate indigenous practices. Yi declared a gendered national identity in his study of *musok* as Korea’s “survival culture.” While many scholars who were looking at the universal phenomenon of shamanism did not question whether the seemingly anomalous female-based practice in Korea was a form of shamanism, Ch’oe and Yi proposed that Siberia and Korea shared authentic shamanistic roots.

Shamanism was a project to prove the impossible: that Koreans had spontaneously emergent and nationally autonomous ethnic origins. Ch’oe provided a myriad of etymological theories and inconsistently attached multiple meanings to the term “shamanism,” displaying the convolution of the concept. Similar to Ch’oe, Yi also attempted to challenge the appropriation of this western ethnographic term by relying on indigenous terms such as *mugyŏk* and recently invented terms such as *musok* to serve as equivalents to foreign terms, “shaman” and “shamanism.” Yi traced the etymological origins behind these

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96 See the works of all early religious anthropologists such as Edward Tylor. For a critique of this, see Andrei A. Znamenski, 2007.
97 Ryūzō Torii also commented in the first Japanese thesis on Korean shamanism that these practitioners were predominantly women.
terms as a basis to assert the indigeneity of shamanism in Korea. Yi made brief statements on pre-Chosŏn “shamanism history” (musa, 巫史) which were largely based on conjecture. For instance, Yi was able to “infer” that “Paekche musok is similar to that of Koguryŏ,” qualifying such a statement with: “Accordingly, when looking at the existence of Koguryŏ mudang story of “ghosts” (hogoe, 狐怪) and mudang’s work to release “spiritual remorse” (kwich’am, 龜讖) also in Paekche, it is possible to see that they have come out of the same lineage.” The majority of his investigation into musok “origins” (yurae, 由來) was based on Chosŏn era documents with no archival evidence to support his proposed origin theory. Although Ch’oe critiqued the global emergence of shamanism studies, Yi did not extend the critique to question the concept or emergence of musok in the Korean context.

Defining the various names for musok practitioners was important for Yi, but he stopped short of examining musok as an analytical category. Through the bulk of his text, Yi routinely utilized the term mudang as an all-inclusive representation of mu emphasizing that most mu throughout Korea were women. Special attention was paid to the gendered categories for various types of mu. Yi broke down the term male and female mu (mugyŏk, 巫覡) by clarifying, “in our language… men are called kyŏk and women are called mu,” establishing mugyŏk as an umbrella term that represented both genders of the practice. Yi claimed that Korean mu “origin” resembled the custom where an actual woman made

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99 He used the term sarman (薩滿) and incorporated the term samu to fuse Siberian nomenclature with Chinese script. Yi Nŭng-hwa, 1991: 13.
102 The term, mugyŏk, implies both mudang and paksu. Ch’oe made almost exactly the same comment at the start of his essay. Yi Nŭng-hwa, 1991: 14; 12.
sacrifices to the spirits in the shrine.” The term “shrine” (dang, 堂) was the suffix to the indigenous Korean term mudang, referring specifically to female practitioners. The gender was often made explicit as “female mu” (yŏmu, 女巫), stipulating that some female practitioners were also referred to as mansin (萬神). Outlining the various types of female mu showed that women were the primary practitioners of musok.

A closer investigation on the varieties of male mu was conducted to establish the glories of ancient Silla: “In 1918, the public was astounded by the discovery of the Silla tombs… No indigenous objects of such splendid workmanship, refined detail, or variety had previously been discovered in the Korean peninsula.” Yi was among a number of Korean scholars who found inspiration from the possibility that Silla held Korea’s ancient golden era, using this to create a nationalist history. Male mu (nammu, 男巫) were synonymously called “sorcerers” (paksu, 博數) and “flower boys” (hwarang, 花郞) in Yi’s treatise. Unlike the a-historical comments on female mu, Yi located “original” male mu through Silla dynastic records, claiming that most male mu flourished during this era. He looked particularly at the glories of hwarang and “doctor” (paksa, 博士), believing that paksu originated from paksa.

In the Silla kukki (Records of the Silla, 新羅國記), hwarang were revered for their beauty,

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106 The term hwarang came from an elite youth core that was hand selected by the Silla court. Historically, they were also called 郎徒, 國仙, 永郞, 述郞, and 南郞, but Yi stated that they were currently most commonly called hwarang. Yi Nūng-hwa, 1991: 14-15.
military/artistic skills, and distinguished class. The *Samguk sagi* (*Records of the Three Kingdoms*, 三國史記) recorded a finding from a Chinese source, *Xinluo guoji* (*History of Silla* by Cheng Linghu) where it stated: “Attractive sons from among the noble people were selected and dolled up with cosmetics (*bunjang*) [sic] and adornments (*sik*). They call them *hwarang* and all the people of the country revere and serve them.”

Silla-era *hwarang* were centered in an andocentric history, as splendid warriors represented the height of Korean national prestige.

Records of Confucian criticisms of *mudang* were used to explain how *hwarang* fell from grace under the Chosŏn dynasty. In 1471, Sŏngjong’s court officials suspected *hwarang* of engaging in illicit behaviour similar to female *mu*. These records revealed that some Confucian officials wished to eliminate *mu* practice by portraying their actions as misdeeds. Yi noted that the downfall trend was echoed in a derogatory term, “female *hwarang*” (*hwarangnyŏ*, 花郞女) that was in circulation in the country’s northwestern provinces. Court records from February 1503 reported that people in Ch’ungch’ŏng, Chŏlla and Kyŏngsang Provinces were recruiting a particular type of male *mu* (*nangjung*, 郎中) principally to conduct ancestor rituals for their families. Provincial governors struggled to eradicate these types of practices (recognized as *ŭmsa*) with little success. It was rumored that *nangjung* were disguising themselves as women in order to come and go between noble

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homes. The court closely monitored noble families to ensure that they complied with state Confucian practices. Yi’s findings here showed that, similar to mudang, hwarang (also known as nangjung) were popular among the pre-modern elites but they fell in disfavor under Chosŏn’s Confucian administration. Yi concluded that these former male “darlings” of Silla fell from grace because of their association with shamans under the orthodox Confucian state. Ostensibly, the hwarang downfall was a critique of state Confucianism, as if to say that the Chosŏn dynasty sealed its fate by prioritizing a foreign (Chinese Confucianism) ruling ideology as its own.

Looking at the significance of colonial research on hwarang may help us understand the colonial phenomenon whereby these historically indigenous figures became feminized and “shamanized.” Contrasting Korea’s downfall in the Chosŏn era, the Silla era was depicted as the height of Korea’s historical strength and glory. Male mudang of the Silla, called ch’ach’aung (次次雄), were considered “venerable elders” (chonjang, 尊長) at the top of Silla social hierarchy. A trend to uncover the richness of Korean history through Silla resurfaced among colonial era scholars who gained inspiration from Chosŏn era writings on ancient Korean history. In the late sixteenth-century, Yi Su-kwang compiled an extensive account of ancient Korean history where he claimed that hwarang were a group of beautiful young men who originally held divine power during the Silla. At the end of the nineteenth-century, Sin Ch’ae-ho also dealt with hwarang in his production of an ethnic history that glorified Silla. Sheila Miyoshi Jager argues that Sin “resurrected” a glorious Korean past based on “an aggressive, militaristic and imperialistic nation” and that he

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Some scholars have critiqued the sensationalism that was created around *hwarang*. Richard McBride finds that between 1933-45, Pak Chong-hwa (1889-1962), uncovered and translated a set of ancient historical manuscripts entitled, *Hwarang segi* (*Records of Hwarang*) and argues that *hwarang* work became a major research trend in the 1930s and 40s alongside research on “native songs” (*hyangga*).\footnote{Richard McBride, 2005: 239.} However, based on major discrepancies found between these collected translations and the original Silla records, McBride argues that Pak Chong-hwa’s *Hwarang segi* must have been fabricated “drafts of a historical fiction” and “a work-in-progress during the colonial period.”\footnote{Richard McBride, 2005: 238.} McBride makes a passing yet important observation about their female impersonation in relation to shamans:

> The selection of attractive young men and their wearing of ornaments and fine clothing are tantalizingly, yet perhaps misleadingly, similar to the present-day Korean practice of male shamans donning female clothing. May we presume that cross-dressing made them suitable and more desirable vessels worthy of possession by male shamanic gods? While compelling, this interpretation is excessive because nowhere are *hwarang* said to be possessed by either male or female gods.\footnote{Richard McBride, 2005: 234-35.}

Dedicated to uncovering the limits of Pak Chong-hwa’s research, McBride trivializes the cross-dressing phenomenon as an a-historical misrepresentation of *hwarang* that he believes is currently in fashion. Nevertheless, Yi uncovered documents of male *mu* cross-dressers in Chosŏn dynastic records; he documented a 1513 record\footnote{The eighth year of Chungjong.} from the Chŏlla Provincial
Government that discussed yangjung (兩中, similar to nangjung above as another term for hwarang):

There are stories about men and women lustfully intermingling and acting lewdly in all sorts of ways, making people that hear about it afraid, and they slap themselves laughing in pleasure. Once in a while, a young man, who hasn’t yet grown a beard, will change into a woman’s clothes and put on makeup and come and go from people’s houses and in the dark of night, sit among the female shamans (yŏmu) in the shrine chambers and then seize the opportunity to trick someone’s wife or daughter. However, this evidence is secret and is difficult to expose.119

This record shows that hwarang cross-dressers gained access to women’s quarters from where men were otherwise forbidden. Yi’s work exposes how hwarang were known to engage in these practices even five hundred years ago.

McBride’s disbelief in a history of male cross-dressers is informed by his observation on a contemporary trend to exoticize hwarang, erasing any possibility of cross-dressing’s historical functionality. McBride nods at the important association between hwarang and shamans, but he does not explain why hwarang were cross-dressing, nor why they “became women’ to interact with shamans? His speculation does not encompass how/why hwarang were shamanized. Yi’s account of the provincial government report begs the question: what were the possible motives for female mu? Why were these women interested in dressing boys up in their muŏp? It appeared that mu embraced attractive adolescent boys, not as men, but as fellow female mu. Following this logic, female mu made-up “flower boys,” not in a degenerate conspiracy to “ruin” virtuous women, but rather, to lure courtly women to female mu services. If young men, beautified into women, pleased the spirits, hosts and observers, then they aided those venerating the spirits. In other words, it is reasonable to assume that

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119 Yi Nûng-hwa, 1991: 17. Yi Nûng-hwa’s musok research borrowed from a number of studies on hwarang that were already published by the time of his treatise in 1927 ( including in his own writings in Chibong yusŏl, 芝峰類泄; Chŏng Yak-yŏng’s Aŏn kakpi, 雅言覺非; and Yi Kyu-kyŏng’s Muyŏk pŏnjûngsŏl, 巫覡辨證說) showing that this was a popular topic throughout the 1920s as well.
female *mu* appreciated the ritualistic utility of feminized, young, male physical beauty.\(^{120}\)

These aesthetically altered *yangjung* provided a professional service for female *mu*.

Instead of showing female *mu* as accomplices to under-age sexual offenses, the historical narrative begs the possibility that multifarious homo-social practices existed “on the ground” in the early sixteenth-century in a way that was incongruous to state ideology. McBride rebukes what he sees as a popular misconception that *hwarang* engaged in ‘perverse sexual relations, such as more powerful *hwarang* coercing the wives of the weak or social inferiors into having sex and the cuckoldling of the Silla king” in activities he interprets as “practically pornographic and certainly unseemly.”\(^{121}\) The fact that sixteenth-century court records documented attractive boys dressed-up as beautiful women in female *mu* circles causes one to pause rather than dismiss the possibility that *hwarang* were transsexual *mu* in Korean history.\(^{122}\) If these young men were masquerading as women and only temporarily hiding their gender in order to conduct illicit heterosexual acts, then this was hardly a transgression of heterosexuality. What is clear from the provincial government document is that regardless of what types of activities occurred among young men, wives, and daughters, it was made illicit, sexual, and “perverse” because men were privately fraternizing with women. Furthermore, the very fact that such a practice was documented for the court shows that the state was interested in, more than it was successful at, segregating social activities according to gendered spheres.

On another level, Yi’s use of this report can be seen as his efforts to create a nationalist teleology of the nation, leading up to its colonized demise. Yi emphasized that “the common

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122 It should be noted here that while McBride does not believe *hwarang* had any associations with “shamans,” he accepts shamanism as an organic characteristic of Korea. McBride’s argument is being discussed here based on the assumption that he would also not question whether or not *yŏmu* were shamans.
custom these days to call the male *mu* a hwarang holds a different meaning from what the term originally meant,” speaking against what he felt was a misconception of *hwarang* as always having been “one and the same [tongil]” with *mudang*. 123 The corrective being offered here was that *hwarang* were once masculine, marginalizing the historical significance of women by placing female *mu* behind glorious “pre-historical” male figures in order to create a sweeping trajectory back to masculine *mu* origins. 124 He asked people to take notice of a previously unknown glorious past where *hwarang* were young male elites who were chosen for the Silla courts; holding their beautiful male physique and delicate dress in high esteem, Yi credited ancient Korean culture for having such aesthetic appreciations. 125

*Hwarang* transgendered activity marked a temporal shift when the nation entered its emasculated decline, to refute the popular colonial images of Korea as timelessly feminine.

Ch’oe and Yi’s collaborative research on cross-dressing Siberian shamans and Korean *hwarang* was intended to show that Siberia’s and Korea’s feminine/gender transgressive shamanistic customs were relatively recent, paralleling their historical trajectories. By highlighting these regional commonalities, Ch’oe and Yi were also able to pre-historically merge Korea with Siberia, away from Japan.

Negative associations between *hwarang* and women were extended from Chosŏn history into Yi’s contemporary Korean society. Yi, in his essay, stated that in southern provinces, male *mu* were called *hwarang* while in the northwest provinces, *hwarang* female associates were colloquially referred to as “vulgar prostitutes” (*ch’önhan ch’anggi*) and “playgirls” (*yunyŏ*). Muddling this gendered origin story further, Yi believed that these

123 “…the handsome men during the Silla, who were singled out for their appearance, were carefully examined, and were gathered together to observe their behaviour were called *hwarang*. At that time, they were also called *nangdo* (郎徒), *kuksan* (國仙), *yŏngrang* (永郞), *sulrang* (述郞), and *namrang* (南郞) as well.” Yi Nŭng-hwa, 1991: 15. *Chosŏn ilbo* 5 July 1938. See also *Tonga ilbo* 22 May 1924: 3.
124 Even Ch’oe Nam-sŏn defined *mu* as inherently male by describing them as priests.
associations with female *hwarang* derived from the legend of the original *hwarang* who were actually beautiful court entertainers known as “original flowers” (*wŏnhwa, 源花*). As evidence for this, he cites the case of a leading courtesan, Chunjŏng (俊貞), who murdered her fellow *wŏnhwa*, Nammo (南毛), because she was jealous of Nammo’s beauty. The value of *hwarang* was degraded based on their associations with women, namely, with female *mu*.

As discussed in Chapter One, neo-Confucian scholars from as early as the sixteenth-century focused on the female gender in *muŏp*, but court records into the late eighteenth-century recorded incidents of male diviners as equally, if not more prevalent, in the courts. Likewise, Yi found that dating as far back as the Silla, *hwarang* were frequently invited to entertain the King and the royal court with their skills in shaman music, dance, and theatre. Additionally, male *mu* entertained the courts throughout the Chosŏn Dynasty. Ch’oe Nam-sŏn similarly attempted to nationalize the *hwarang* subject in his vision of a pre-Chosŏn Korean past. Yi furthered Ch’oe’s notion that the Korean people stemmed from a long line of male-based shamanism. Yi brought this gendered subject to the fore by drafting a unique, ancient, and male-centered spiritual history. Masculinizing male *mu* as “doctor” (*paksa, 博士*), “sorcerer” (*paksu, 博數*), “grand one” (*kwangdae, 廣大*), and “technician”
(chaein, 才人) functioned to serve the purposes of nation-building. In contrast to Walraven’s claim that male diviners declined in the late Chosŏn, Yi maintained that male diviners never lost their favor in Chosŏn courts.

Yi introduced male mu figures, using the cultural “survival” model, not so much to eradicate mudang, but to revive an ancient masculine national subject. These stories on transgendered male mu did more than show sexually transgressive men in Korean history. They created a new vision of explain the pre-feminine history of the Korean nation. Judith Butler gained inspiration from Nietzsche, who said, “there is no ‘being’ behind doing, effecting, becoming; ‘the doer’ is merely a diction added to the deed – the deed is everything.” From Nietzsche, Butler extrapolates that “there is no gender identity behind the expressions of gender; that identity is performatively constituted by the very ‘expressions’ that are said to be its results.” The “facticity” of transgendered Korean shamans resided in the writers’ hindsight into a prehistorical past where the transformation of male genitalia was “literalized” through the castration of a primordial masculine spirit. Placing focus on the acts conducted by transgendered Chukchi shamans and the gendered evolution of Korean nammu maintained and even magnified social heteronormative values. These stories of transgendered acts enabled an imaginative reflection on what may have preceded the historical transition. These gendered transitions suggested that there was a previously overlooked moment when Korean indigenous mu practices were normatively patriarchal and masculine.

132 Butler explains how the sexed surface of the body is a necessary sign of naturalized identity and desire: “...the general strategy of literalization as a form of forgetfulness, which, in the case of a literalized sexual anatomy, ‘forgets’ the imaginary... But the literalization of anatomy not only proves nothing, but it is a literalizing restriction of pleasure in the very organ that is championed as the sign of masculine identity.” Judith Butler, 1990: 71.
Differentiations should be made between the positive values placed on ancient male *mu*, such as *ch’ach’aung* and *hwarang* and negative values placed on post-Silla, feminized and female *mu*. In the majority of cases where *mudang* appeared in Yi’s court records, the historical intention of those records was to compel the state to support *anti-mudang* incentives. For instance, Yi used a 1482 Ministry of Justice record to show a legal initiative to “increase punishment [*ch’ŏbol*]” against female *mu* described as *hwarang yunyŏ* and *yŏmu.*¹³³ In Yi’s estimate, their female gender determined *mu*’s deteriorated value showing that the anti-*mudang* discourse was at the heart of his study which spoke against *muŏp* as a female-based practice under the Chosŏn. More specifically, the archives that made positive or neutral assessments of *mu* were shown in a way that erased female practitioners and revealed a copasetic relationship between *mu* and the state. For example, Yi listed the numerous times between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries when *mugyŏk* were invited into the Koryŏ court to conduct “rain prayers” (*tou*, 禱雨) discussing a history of un-gendered *mu* embraced by the state.¹³⁴ In a sense, Yi’s history was expressly a historically linear evaluation of Korea’s patriarchal governing ideologies.

Undermining Yi’s own emphasis on the origins of Korean shamanism based on male *mu*, he dedicated the remainder of his treatise to tracing the Korean dynastic records of female *mu*. Yi found an abundance of court records where kings, queens, and royal families officially solicited female *mu* (interchangeably referred to as *yŏmu*, *munyŏ* and *mudang*) to enter the courts for various official services. Yi’s opening commentary notwithstanding, the male figures (which he declared were central to Korean history) hardly appeared in his

For Ch’oe Nam-sŏn and Yi Nŭng-hwa, romantic reflections on ancient Korea and aversion to mudang were critiques of the cost of modernity. It was their attempt to salvage the nation from the trappings of the colonial temporal trajectory, one they hoped to reverse by reviving a glorious, ancient Korean past in order to propel Koreans towards a better future. These scholars attempted to overcome the negative racial images of feminine subjects such as yŏmu and feminized subjects such as hwarang yunyŏ by centering male figures from the distant past as representatives of the nation.

The research conducted on Ch’oe and Yi’s shamanism project used a cultural “survival” model based on gender to draft a patriarchal premodern Korean state and to craft a patrilineal narrative of Korean ethnic history. Their shamanism project established a counter-colonial discourse that spoke against Japan’s feminization of Koreans as a weaker, less-developed cousin to the Japanese race, and that also repudiated Japan’s monogenetic pan-Asian theory by positioning Korean origins geographically away from Japan. Ultimately, Ch’oe and Yi “sought to glorify Korea’s past by elevating Korea’s historical position above that of Japan or China, thus confounding Japanese scholars’ negative views of Korean history.”

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135 Even in a chapter he dedicates to muguŏk, he does not discuss the male counterpart, and instead, only describes mudang. Yi Nŭng-hwa, 1991: 12; 135-48.
136 See also James Grayson, “Female Mountain Spirits in Korea: A Neglected Tradition” Asian Folklore Studies 55 (1996): 119-34; Keith Howard, “Why Should Korean Shamans Be Women?” in Papers of the British Association for Korean Studies. 1 (1991): 75-96; Kim Yun-sung, 2001: 130; Boudewijn Walraven’s 1999 article in Culture and the State in Late Chosŏn Korea, 160-198; Yun Nan-ji, Musok kwa yŏsŏng e kwanhan Hyon’gu (Japanese research on shamanism and women), Masters thesis, Seoul: Ihwa yŏja taehakk’yo taehakwŏn, 1978. Aside from scant sketches made here on Yi’s writing on women, a thorough investigation on Yi’s concept of gender has not been made. Yi also published Chosŏn yŏsŏkko (“Treatise on Korean female customs”) and Chosŏn haeŏhwasa (“History of Korean kisaeng) at the same time that he published this treatise on Korean shamanism revealing his interest at the time in studying women in Korean history and culture. A comparative analysis between these two publications would be interesting but not within the scope of this project.
multiple and simultaneous cultural diffusions.\textsuperscript{138}

Ch’oe and Yi’s accounts of Siberian shamanism and Korean \textit{musok} were meant to be a contribution to an ethnocentric history, but their study was embedded in the colonial logic of masculine modernity. The political messiness of their work was also apparent in the ways in which they used gendered values to represent Korean origins, development, and progress. They both wrestled between what they saw as positive and negative, conventional and transgressive gendered behaviour. Ch’oe’s Siberian shamanism survey and Yi’s \textit{musok} history pointed towards the anomalous position that Korean indigenous subjects had in relation to the inherently colonial/imperial nature of the study. The gender indistinctness exemplified in Yi’s work on \textit{hwarang}, signalled a Banzarov-like struggle for “native” colonized nationalists to work under the auspices of a colonial enterprise.

\section*{IV. Institutionalization of Folklore}

Korean “shamanism” came into vogue in the late 1920s as witnessed by Ch’oe Nam-sŏn and Yi Nŭng-hwa’s 1927 shamanism publication. Korean shamanism gained currency in the 1930s as the state promoted “rural” studies and as scholars generated interest in Korean “folklore studies.” Nevertheless, the anti-\textit{mudang} discussion perpetuated throughout the colonial print media in ways that seemed to contradict the scholastic appreciation of \textit{musok}. \textit{Mudang} were used to represent an ethnocentric Korean history while they were shunned for being unmodern, providing justification for colonial rule. Differing values and judgements restlessly situated \textit{mudang} in a nascent Korean “folklore studies” (\textit{minsokhak}) in the 1930s.

A year after Ch’oe and Yi published their shamanism edition in \textit{Kyemŏng sibo}, these two men were appointed to the Committee on the Investigation of Korean Antiquities in 1928.

\begin{footnote}
\textsuperscript{138} Chizuko T. Allen finds that Ch’oe Nam-sŏn was influenced by Liang Qichao’s Social Darwinism, which also had an impact on Sin Ch’ae-ho’s historiography. Chizuko T. Allen, 1990: 889-90.
\end{footnote}
They were the only two Koreans to serve on this committee of over fifty commissioned Japanese researchers. In the 1930s, the East Asia Research Institute (Tōa kenkyūjo) was established. Through this institution, research on Korean shamanism proliferated. The Government General also funneled more research monies for universities and scholastic associations in order to conduct extensive studies on rural culture establishing “peasants” (nongmin, 農民) and “farming villages” (nongch’ŏn, 農村) as academic research categories.

The forefather of Japanese “folklore studies” (minzoku gaku) and Korea, Yanagita Kunio, believed “that an economic revival was vital to the development of the nation, and that an understanding of rural villages required an understanding of peasants (chomin).” From the 1930s into the 40s, the Government General showcased their findings through “staged folklore” performances representing Korean culture and promoted a dual function for the Rural Revitalization Campaign to define and enumerate the conditions of the countryside in order to effectively mobilize an anti-superstition movement. Measures were taken to regulate and control reforms of the countryside and to protect these reforms against mudang effects. Korean folklorists were concerned that these government campaign “attacks” on superstition suppressed and erased traditional practices and yet folklorists did not reject or question how the campaign proposed to drive modernization.

In an attempt to preserve Korean tradition, scholars gained an interest in shamanism studies under Korean “folklore studies” (minsokhak). Folklorists legitimized minsokhak

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139 Choi In-Hak, 1988: 77.
141 Do-Hyun Han, 2000: 45.
by claiming that “new culture” first required an understanding of Korea’s “old culture.”

Roger Janelli finds that the “more recent discussions of the history of Korean folklore scholarship… treat the second and third decades of the twentieth century as the era in which modern folklore scholarship began.”

A wave of new scholarship researching late Chosŏn era writings of Confucian reform thought emerged in the 1930s to inform the subjects that were embraced as “Korean Studies” (Chosŏnhak). Korean newspapers also began to acknowledge the contributions Chosŏnhak scholars were making to the country’s national history and culture, introducing and defining the field for readers. A 1938 Chosŏn ilbo article echoed Ch’oe and Yi’s work by locating hwarang through a noble Korean indigenous history. Then in 1940, Chosŏn ilbo gave an overview of “research on Korean shamanism studies.” While newspapers stopped short of approving mudang activity, they did create a space to celebrate musok as an academic category. In this vein, mudang were embraced in 1930s academic circles as worthy study subjects.

143 While many scholars have argued that Japan was merely “imitating” westerners through their ethnologies, the argument made here is that their work was cumulative – based on works from various racial/political sources as outlined throughout this chapter. For western imitation, see Sŏ Hong-kwan and Sin Chwa-sŏp, “Ilbon injongnon kwa Chosŏnin” (Japanese ethnology and Koreans) Taehan úisa hakhoe 8, no. 1 (July 1999): 59-68.


147 Chosŏn ilbo 5 July 1938. Chosŏn ilbo, a newspaper that prided itself on promoting traditional Korean culture and on sponsoring exhibitions of Korean art is one such example.

New academic associations were created to establish shamanism as a part *minsokhak*. The Korean Folklore Society (*Chosŏn minsok hakhoe*) was founded in 1932 by ethnographer, Song Sŏk-ha (1904-1948). A couple years later, the Chindan Society (Chindan hakhoe) and *Chindan hakpo (Journal of the Chindan Historical Society)* were created, featuring Korean ethnologies and ethnographic research. *Chosŏnhak* was properly recognized in 1934, when the Society for Studies of Korean History and Culture (Undan hakhoe) was established.¹⁴⁹ Folklorists actively published on Korean topics in these new academic presses. In 1935, folklorist Son Chin-t’ae (1900 - ?) published a treatise on Korean mountain spirits and ancient Korean spirituality in *Chindan hakpo*, resembling Ch’oe Nam-sŏn’s 1927 introductory essay on shamanism.¹⁵⁰ Although Son had worked with Ch’oe and Yi through various associations, he himself was less interested in conducting archival research to uncover Korean origins. Instead, he expressed an interest in recording ethnographic records of *mu*, particularly oral traditions of origin myths. For instance, in 1930, Son published an ethnography on “the myth of the flower contest,” a Korean ethnocentric cosmogony, as told in 1923, by a *mudang*.¹⁵¹ *Chosŏnhak* scholars also published their findings in newspapers. Song Sŏk-ha was interested in promoting public performances as a means of educating people on Korea. To this effect, he wrote a column for *Tonga ilbo* where he gave accounts of public performances that were deemed a part of Korean culture and tradition.¹⁵² Scholastic publications such as these helped establish shamanism in a new Korean indigenous studies

¹⁵⁰ “An organisation founded in 1934 to study the culture of Korea and neighbouring areas (which were assumed to have once been part of the Korean cultural area).” Boudewijn Walraven’s 1999 chapter in book *Anthropology and Colonialism in Asia and Oceania*, 232.
¹⁵¹ To reinforce the intersection between *mu* and Buddhism, this story centered around the actions of a Buddhist pantheon of bodhisattvas. Son Chin-t’ae, *Chōsen shinka ihen* (Gleanings from shamanistic songs in Korea), Tokyo: Kyōdo Kenkyūsha, 1930: 1-12.
In the 1930s, the techniques used by the print media to capture mudang subjects also proliferated. Equipped with new developments in photography, sound recording and data collecting, colonized subjects became the living artifacts of a primordial and indigenous species. Print technologies, designs, popular script, modern verse, plate-glass photography and other devices for live recording showcased and represented Korean-ness. Popular industries from theatre companies (such as Sungsinin chohap) to publishing houses (such as Chogwang below) revealed the ideological superfluousness and the material currency of mudang. A good example of how new media techniques invented images of mudang can be seen in a November 1935 inaugural issue of the journal, *Light of Chosón* (Chogwang). The journal opened with a photo insert of several untitled images in its first several pages. Decoratively laid out photographs of beautiful women in traditional costume were presented without a written explanation to justify their content. These images were meant to tantalize the reader’s gaze, promising something different with each new page.

Among these pages was a series of studio photographs of women in mudang costumes, posed in various kut dance postures. In Appendix G, two models stand facing each other; they look strikingly similar in physique, costume, and pose as they replicate a mu knife dance. Their poses are nearly mirrored opposites; each hand grasping a knife and raising the left arm. A pair of identical figures appears to be mimicking a mudang kut without musical or audience accompaniment; these are tell-tale signs that this was not meant to appear as an actual kut, but rather a symbol of it. The purpose of these studio photographs was to abstract

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155 *Chogwang* 1 no. 1 (November 1935): 23.
the ordinary, revealing the aesthetic appeal of mimicry to imaginatively distort the familiar. Above the photo is a poetic description of *kut* to bring a silent and still action into life. It speaks to the “busy” and incessant act of the ritual. The loud cries and drumbeats are heard in the “urgent” work these women must do. The mental image of a ritual “frenzy” is juxtaposed against a printed image of a serene and manicured pose. The photograph is set into the corner of a collage of poetic verse, and graphically designed borders, further imparting the subjects in the photograph as visual objects.

*Chogwang* was able to exoticize and necessitate “common” Korean customs into a cultivated and respectable image/act. *Mu* was a “thing” that could be donned as a symbol of contemporary fashion and grace. The ordinary was appropriated into “high culture” to entice distinguished readers. Where once *mu* custom were considered the bane of society, they were made extraordinary through antiseptic, “conspicuous consumptive” practices such as subscribing to *Chogwang*, a contemporary lifestyle magazine.\(^\text{156}\) The “everyday” was appropriated and rendered into artifices – still images of costumed models on the pages of a new leisure magazine.

Newspapers and journals operated semi-autonomously from the state but spoke about and on behalf of the state in the ways they used *mudang* to address issues of state and society. Simultaneous to announcing achievements in Korean studies, journalists blamed *mudang*, the very subjects of shamanism studies for hindering “science.”\(^\text{157}\) Boudewijn Walraven finds that ethnological research was “subservient to the interests of the colonial power” but it may not have been practically useful to “legitimise colonial domination and weaken Korean

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\(^\text{157}\) *Urijip* 8 (Fall 1932): 12-13, 32.
cultural identity.” The print media reacted to these concerns as expressed in a 1932 *Urijip* article which used traditional folktales – the very kind of material that Korean and Japanese ethnologists gathered and analyzed for their studies – as a basis to criticize the “current superstitious” conditions of Korean society. Whether they were scholars or journalists, writers assumed the role of scientific colonial experts utilizing technologies of calculation and enumeration to assert their authority to unpredicted ends.

In 1934, seven years after Ch’oe and Yi featured their shamanism issue, *Kyemyŏng sibo* declared a mandate to get “rid of mudang” from the nation. The journal joined the movement “to exterminate superstition” through mudang. The article condemned mudang for “starving” the country out of its “precious” resources by calculating that “there are 18,000 mudang in Chosŏn” and “Chosŏn’s mudang consume 180,000 sŏk of rice: statistics from one year.” The article considered how many schools could be built from the money that could be saved if mudang did not exist and reasoned that it was crucial to eliminate those people who “indiscriminately throw away rice here and there” during the national rice-shortage crisis. The following year, the journal found that the reason Koreans continued to follow mudang was because the majority of Koreans were illiterate and warned against the dangers of accepting “inferior” types of knowledge: “If the only damage caused by superstition is loss of material, then there is no need to worry. However, we should be worried because it causes scientific civilization from developing and even affects people’s lives.” *Kyemyŏng sibo* positioned itself away from its former appreciation of mu to support a discursively prevalent rejection of mudang. This mudang reversal signalled that intellectuals were interested in

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158 Boudewijn Walraven’s 1999 chapter in book *Anthropology and Colonialism in Asia and Oceania*, 236.
159 *Urijip* 8 (Fall 1932): 12-13, 32.
160 *Kyemyŏng sibo* 6 (July 1934).
161 *Kyemyŏng sibo* 15 (May 1935).
162 This article borrowed statistics found in the *Asahi shinbun*. *Kyemyŏng sibo* 6 (July 1934): 6.
mudang primarily as socially active beings and were troubled by the social recognition of their work.

Kyemyong sibo’s seemingly dramatic turnaround to recreate the pervasive anti-mudang discourse did not necessarily represent a conflicting position on these discursive subjects. In her proposal on methods to challenge colonialism, Ania Loomba points out how “arbitrary effect was born out of both dispossession and privilege: a dichotomy which also informed anti-colonial nationalism.” Colonial-era journalists and scholars were “privileged in all ways except in their independence from the colonial power: they were ‘simultaneously a colonial community and an upper class’.” It should be recalled that in 1927, Ch’oe Nam-sŏn laid out mudang belief systems, clarifying their name and their role in the following way: “the people who wipe out calamity and bring blessings are called ‘shamans’,” and went on to clarify that “Shaman,” “Samman” and “Sharman” are all “names for mudang in the Manchu language” of which the Korean tradition most closely resembled. Ch’oe defined mudang spirituality and social function by reminiscing on an invented Korean society that had no connection to the anti-mudang discourse, appeared oblivious to the social critiques of his contemporaries, and completely removed from the social realities of mudang themselves. As a result, Ch’oe’s later movement against mudang “superstition” may have appeared to contradict his original claims and objectives in regards to mudang but this transition was consistent with the elitist social critique common to the print media. On the other hand, Yi Nŭng-hwa’s 1927 musa teleology relied on sources that called on mudang extermination and the negative undertones of these archives slipped into his own historical analysis. Mudang could only be appreciated if they resided as inanimate artefacts and abstract mythical figures

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166 Ch’oe identified “Shaman,” “Samman” and “Sharman” as being of the same type of people. Ch’oe Nam-sŏn, 1927: 2.
of the undocumented past. When they were rendered as social agents, mudang were singled out for representing the socio-economic margins of society alongside poor, uneducated, rural women and made the catalysts for colonization.

CONCLUSION

Korean studies had mixed effects for the Korean nationalist movement under colonialism. Challenging the state’s assimilation ideology, scholars set their sights away from the Japanese archipelago, and replanted their roots in continental Asia, using shamanism as a prerequisite to claim Korea’s ancient historical origins and evolution. Shamanism studies were tenuously situated in colonial politics as these studies were increasingly perceived as tools to identify foreign territories as less-advanced societies. Those who did not support these new configurations of a shamanistic Korean history argued that the state was tokenizing mudang in its gesture to celebrate “difference,” and criticized that ethnically-based histories were not “scientific” and “could not be expected to offer any framework to overcome colonial reality.”

167 Shamanism may be scrutinized for epistemologically deriving from imperial and colonial knowledge systems while it also instigated an indigenous studies’ movement to counter the erasure of Korean distinctiveness as pan-Asian imperial subjects.

The development of Korean shamanism studies reveals how the predicaments of colonialism prompted nationalistic sentiments. The Korean presses dreaded and promoted Korean racialization as they oscillated from wanting to erase mudang as racial markers of Korean unmodernness and reify Korean pre-modern history as indigenous studies

167 Paek Nam-un, a Marxist socialist intellectual of the colonial period, particularly opposed this “Tan’gun nationalism” that “ethnic nationalists” such as Sin Ch’ae-ho, Yi Kwang-su, Ch’oe Nam-sŏn and Yi Nŭng-hwa supported. Gi-Wook Shin, Ethnic Nationalism in Korea: Genealogy, Politics, and Legacy, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006: 75-76.
achievements. The print media’s movement to ostracize mudang or support Chosŏnhak were not just attempts to criminalize individuals or to embalm history, but were verbalized desires for sovereign identity. The Korean print media attempted to challenge the colonizing effects of racism by pushing for a mudang-free Korea while attempting to resist the effects of assimilation by persistently enunciating differences between Japanese and Koreans.

Newspaper and journal nonfiction writing was meant to produce a discussion, untethered by the consciously aesthetic requirements of imaginative prose, poetry, and fiction and yet the discourse utilized creative devices of persuasion. The Korean print media was entrenched in colonial epistemological fractures and ethical contradictions. This chapter sought to create a space for these contradictions, complicities, and fractures in the Korean resistance to colonialism.

Writers dealing with shamanism offered something more than ruminations on the effects of colonization; they offered the possibility of a nostalgic return to a pre-colonial nation. Ch’oe and Yi envisioned a Korean past that would speak against the print media’s narrative that Korea was weak and unmodern. The shamanism narrative could not be separated from its colonial context; the narrative operated from within and reacted against negative images of the lost nation. Ch’oe and Yi’s work was superceded by Akiba Takashi and Akamatsu Chijō’s Chōsen fuzoku no kenkyū (Research on Korean Shamanism), published in two volumes in 1932 and 1938. These later publications went on to become

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168 Kyemyŏng sibo example provided earlier in this chapter is one such instance. Another example can be seen in a Chosŏn ilbo article that reviewed the achievements made in musokhak. Chosŏn ilbo 12 February 1940: 4.

169 Namhee Lee also argues, “Most historical narratives [of Korea] also presented modernity as ‘truncated,’ ‘reactionary,’ and ‘imposed.’ All of modern Korean history was thus marked by negativity: colonialism, foreign interventions, civil war, socialist authoritarianism in the North, the equally authoritarian military dictatorship in the South, and the continuing confrontation between them.” Namhee Lee, The Making of Minjung: Democracy and the Politics of Representation in South Korea, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007: 3.

170 By the time《朝鮮 巫俗の 研究》was published, Korean “traditional arts” had been exhibited under the Japanese government for nearly thirty years. Torii Ryūzō was the first anthropologist to focus heavily on
the best-known research on Korean shamanism from the colonial period. “Live” subjects and their corresponding field data presented subjects in their original form and became what Walter Benjamin described as “the prerequisite to the concept of authenticity.” Technical recordings, particularly in the form of photography, accompanied with an extensive catalog of oral recordings showcased accomplishments in ethnology and ethnography and presented 
mudang in their original form. The original as the present form gained authority over the original in the ancient or primogeniture form.

The approach taken to examine Korean shamanism in the 1930s emphasized live bodies, actions, and words as “raw material” over histories and archives, differentiating works such as those of Son Chin-t’ae from that of Ch’oe Nam-sŏn and Yi Nŭng-hwa. Documenting field observations and oral interviews became a common way of collecting “raw material” and the primary research method for conducting Korean shamanism studies. Musokhak was further established as a part of colonial folklore studies while the historical narrative of musok continued to enable a nationalist spirit. Korean shamanism became a source for tradition and a living artefact linked to the putative Korean racial origins. Musok became the subject needed to simultaneously produce, preserve, and extinguish the “un-modern.”

The ability of shamanism scholars’ to “see historically” was among their greatest accomplishments. Kim Seong-nae claims that these scholars catapulted their efforts to steer their countrymen on the path towards modern patriotism through a new self-awareness. Through the historical lens they were able to “see anew” and this was their contribution to

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establishing a counter-discourse. Cultural studies such as *musokhak* may not have been revolutionary, yet such work made unmistakable temporal comments on the nation and its condition as a colony. Not only did these nationalists write scholastic work for their elite compatriots, many of them ran campaigns to determine a Korea-focused public education system as a means to instill a popular nationalism. These cultural nationalists’ work on shamanism laid the foundation for an “indigenous spirituality” and had a profound impact on the post-colonial formation of South Korean identity.173

172 Michael Taussig, *Shamanism, Colonialism, and the Wild Man: A Study in Terror and Healing*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987: 8. If nothing else, these scholars established a national consciousness within elite circles and scholars continue to rely heavily on their work to understand Korean colonial history.

The end of Japanese colonialism in Korea was marked by the end of the Second World War. By this time, Koreans comprised a third of Japan’s entire industrial labour force, with many working in the “harshest” industries and most dangerous war-time environments.\(^1\) Nearly 16 percent of Korea’s total population was living outside of Korea when the war ended. On August 6 and 9, 1945, the U.S. detonated atomic bombs over Hiroshima and Nagasaki. On 15 August 1945, less than a week after the second bomb was dropped, Japan announced its unconditional surrender bringing an abrupt end to the Second World War and thirty-five years of Korean colonization. The ruler of Japan, Hirohito, continued his reign as emperor as a part of Japan’s unconditional surrender to the allied forces.\(^2\) Nearly two million people were repatriated to Korea, but millions more remained displaced throughout Asia, finding themselves as subjects of a dissolved empire.\(^3\) Claims for Korean citizenship were compounded by the social instability of deterritorialization.\(^4\)

The end of Japanese colonialism was met with an era of continued hardship and


\(^2\) “Although Japan suffered comprehensive military defeat and occupation in 1945, the dominant official ideology of the consanguineous family-state continued, somewhat transformed, in hegemonic narratives of Japanese uniqueness as a *tan’itsu minzoku* or homogenous nation… One strand of such popular theorizing on Japanese uniqueness… focused specifically on the links between character and blood-type that had been prominent in scientific discourse of the 1920s and 1930s.” Richard Siddle, *Race, Resistance and the Ainu of Japan*, London: Routledge, 1996: 18-19.

\(^3\) John G. Hodge, Lieutenant General, “Our Mission in Korea,” in a manual entitled, *Korea*, published by Troop Information & Education Section Headquarters XXIV Corps, city and year unknown: iv. Estimated time of publication is between 1947-48. According to Park, “although Japanese rule had prompted the emigration of about 20 percent of the total Korean population, neither Korea nor China concluded international treaties or passed national resolutions to make it possible or easier for former immigrants to return to Korea.” Hyun Ok Park, 2005: 234.

\(^4\) Hyun Ok Park finds that for Koreans in Manchuria, “The moment of liberation from the Japanese in 1945 was overshadowed by violence… assaults, lootings, and new round of displacement once again exposed the dream of Koreans for a stable social life as unsustainable. The violence signified the arbitrary nature of the social relations that were consolidated through a patchwork of colonial laws and policies but instantly vanished when the forces sustaining them disappeared.” Hyun Ok Park, 2005: 231.
devastation for Koreans. Autonomous governmental structures were mobilized in the weeks following the end of the war, but they were quickly assumed and controlled under foreign “trusteeship,” dashing Korea’s hopes for sovereignty and liberation (*haebang*). A few days before Japan announced its surrender, the U.S. began “unilateral and hasty” plans to separate the Korean peninsula along the 38th latitudinal line, to contain Soviet advancements in the region, meting out the country to international rivals. From 1945-48, the U.S. replaced the Japanese colonial government with a U.S. military government in Korea. The commander of the U.S. Military Government in Korea (USAMGIK), John Hodge explained to his troops that the “mission in Korea” was to remove “the yoke of tyranny and despotism from the less fortunate of the peoples of the world... long under Japanese rule, oppression and exploitation.” Soviet versus U.S. antagonism escalated into a proxy war on the Korean peninsula. After nearly eight years of military conflict an armistice agreement was signed on 27 July 1953, establishing a demilitarized zone (DMZ) that separated northern from southern Korea along the 38th parallel, notoriously making Korea among the longest-standing Cold-War divided territories in the world.

When the presses were reopened in 1945, the media and press laws that were issued under colonialism were also carried over into this period of U.S. occupation. The movement to eradicate *mudang* steadily continued in the post-1945 Korean presses. Shamanism studies

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5 “American officials consulted no Koreans in coming to this decision, nor did they ask the opinions of the British or the Chinese, both of whom were to take a part in a planned *trusteeship* for Korea.” Bruce Cumings, 1997: 187.

6 Bruce Cumings, 1997: 185.

7 John Hodge, “Our Mission in Korea,” in *Korea*, published by Troop Information & Education Section Headquarters XXIV Corps, city and year unknown, iii.

8 The military actions that took place between 1950-1953 have been called a “police action” and a “Korean conflict” by the U.S. at the time (see *New York Times* 1 July 1950) and has been commonly recognized in South Korea as the 6.25 War (upholding the controversial claim that North Korea instigated the war on 25 June 1950). Today, it is commonly referred to it as the “Korean War” (韓國戰爭).

was stunted during this period, but among the many legacies of Korean neo-Confucian and Japanese colonial rule, the anti-‐mudang discourse continued to fill the pages of post-1945 Korean newspapers.\textsuperscript{10} In August 1949, \textit{Tonga ilbo} announced how the Chief of the Preservation of Public Peace Department was enforcing the registration of mudang.\textsuperscript{11} The editorial alerted that there was a “sudden” and “rampant” increase of these people. In February 1950, on the eve of the official declaration of a Korean War, \textit{Chubo (The Weekly Bulletin)} also printed a familiar public announcement for people to participate in a movement “to destroy superstition” over the upcoming Lunar New Year holiday week.\textsuperscript{12} The bulletin urged people to spend a week getting rid of mudang and chŏmjaengi, stating that these types of “superstitious” practitioners would “be made to take their own initiatives to change their occupations.” A few interesting notes about this bulletin was that mudang were apparently ghettoized into specific areas in each district and several “superstitious” organizations such as the Sungsinin chohap continued to exist at this time. Duk-whang Kim finds that even after the colonial period, mudang were allowed to register as official “exorcists” for the South Korean state and in accredited places of worship; the ongoing push to eliminate mudang was still not successful.\textsuperscript{13}

The mudang discourse and the mission to define indigenous subjects did not cease with Japanese colonialism. With the United States military occupation of Korea, American anthropologists were commissioned to help administer America’s new Cold-War territories. Shamanism was revived in the postcolonial era as a symbol of an ethnically homogenous

\textsuperscript{10} With one possible exception: Akiba Takashi was perhaps the most prolific writer of his generation; he continued to have a very active publishing career on shamanism and folklore throughout the mass mobilization period. Chu Yong-ha, 2006: 334-346.

\textsuperscript{11} \textit{Tonga ilbo} 30 August 1949.

\textsuperscript{12} \textit{Chubo} 45 (February 1950): 32.

\textsuperscript{13} Duk-whang Kim, 1988: 433.
population and to legitimize state rule as indigenous government. American and Soviet Cold War regimes recharged their social science fields with research on shamanism to understand post-war territories. An education manual, entitled *Korea*, was issued to the U.S. Corps stationed in Korea just before the Korean War “to acquaint the American soldier with Korea and her people.” Among its introductory topics, the manual explained: “Of the Korean religions, Shamanism or Spirit Worship is the most ancient, its introduction among the Korean people have been lost in the gloom of prehistoric times.” These types of estimates of foreign territories were acquired through the assistance of anthropologists who actively aided U.S. post-war deployments. Ruth Fulton Benedict (1887-1948), a famous American anthropologist worked together with her mentor, Franz Boaz, for the U.S. Defense Department, to produce a textbook on the indigenous people of deterritorialized areas after the Second World War. Felix M. Keesing (1902-1961) wrote an essay on the “Applied Anthropology in Colonial Administration” for the Defence Department, detailing how anthropologists were needed in the wake of the “cataclysm of the Second World War.” Keesing blamed German and especially Japanese conquests for disrupting “the historic continuity of imperial control” around the world and asserted that anthropology was needed

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16 John Hodge: 76. Shamanism was categorized under “demonism” in this manual, pages 73-80.
18 He began his career with the U.S. Office of Strategic Services in 1942 where he lectured to high ranking naval officers on South Pacific culture. In 1946, he became Associate Director of the Stanford School of Naval Administration, where he trained personnel headed for the Japanese-occupied South Pacific. Felix Keesing, “Applied Anthropology in Colonial Administration” in *The Science of Man in the World Crisis*, edited by Ralph Linton, New York: Columbia University Press, 1945: 374.
for “efficient administration” over the Pacific area, “especially the adjustment of the so-called ‘native’ or indigenous populations to modern civilization.”  He believed that colonialism was necessary because “primitives… for their own self-respect and protection must adjust their lives progressively to modern world conditions.”

Among the experts on world shamanism emerging out of the Cold-War era, Mircea Eliade figured most prominently and continues to have a lasting effect on South Korean shamanism. Ronald Hutton challenges Mircea Eliade’s credibility as the “most celebrated western expert upon shamanism to write in the twentieth century” by arguing that Eliade’s shamanism theories were driven by American Cold War interests. Eliade’s pro-American studies reflected “the abiding strength of the American preoccupation with culture” and shamanism as a universal template of new post-war Allied territories. Eliade’s “dogmas” were “free-floating” and “static,” representing “ancient, fundamental, universal and ancestral” notions of shamanism which had already been rejected by most anthropologists for lacking any specificity to local practices or particular histories. The reductive theories on the “archaism” of world shamanisms that Eliade promoted “avoided associating particular varieties of shamanism or forms of shamanic practice with the peculiarities of political and

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19 Felix Keesing, 1945: 374, 373.
20 Felix Keesing, 1945: 392.
21 Im Chae-hae utilizes an Eliadean model to interpret the performative functions of kut (ritual). Im Chae-hae, “Minsok munhwa e kalmuri toen cheüi üi chôngch’esông kwa munhwa ch’angjoryŏk” (The identity of ritual and the creative power of culture in viewing folk culture) in Silch’ŏn minsok hakkoe 10 (August 2007): 5-56. Eliade’s model of the primitive “archetype” is also commonly utilized in Korean shamanism studies. Cho Hyŏn-sŏl’s discussion on Korean creation myth according to an Eliadean universal model of primitive societies is a good example of this. Cho Hyŏn-sŏl, “Han’guk ch’angsesinhwa e nat’anan in’gan kwa chayŏn üi munje” (The emergence of the human and nature problem in Korean creation myth) Han’gugŏ munhak yŏn’gu hakkoe 41 (August 2003): 255-69.
22 Gloria Flaherty, 1992: 4; Ronald Hutton, 2001: 54. Hutton believes that “Eliade was personally a mortal enemy of the Soviet Union.” Ronald Hutton, 2001: 120.
social environments.” At the onset of the Cold War, Eliade revived the universal shamanism theory and re-introduced the notion that Siberia held the last vestiges of original shamanism. With “no agreement as to what it actually was,” Mircea Eliade made shamanism an inversion of western rationalism and reminded post-war American and Western European scholars that shamanism was pervasive in all unindustrialized countries.

In South Korea, shamanism studies and indigenous symbols in mudang were all but forgotten under Syngman Rhee’s first republic government (1948-60). Rhee aggressively embarked on a campaign against people suspected of leftist political leanings, purging all publications on the “folk” for traces of communism. There was little tolerance for folk-based explorations under his administration and very little was published in this field during his office. Then under Park Chung Hee’s administration (1961-1979), shamanism studies was reinvigorated. Park’s government promoted folklore studies as a part of the social and economic reform campaign. Under a New Village Movement, researchers were encouraged to conduct research on “rural” life. Scholars such as Vladimir Tikhonov argue that Park “modelled Korean economic revitalization programs after colonial models.” The South Korean Ministry of Information and Culture together with the Cultural and Anthropological Society of Korea engaged in a decade-long project to assemble a

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26 “Shamanism (whatever it was) was primarily associated with simple hunting and gathering societies. This... sat oddly with the apparent prevalence of practices which most scholars called shamanism in agrarian economies such as those of the Koreans and several South Asian ethnic groups.” Ronald Hutton, 2001: 124-26.
27 An exception to this was Yi Hae-Yŏng and An Chŏng-mo’s co-authored textbook entitled Illyuhak kaeron (Survey of anthropology), published in 1958. It covered the major subjects of study and the most famous U.S. anthropologists at the time. This textbook also covered devoted a chapter to primitive religion and shamanism. Yi Hae-yŏng and An Chŏng-mo, Illyuhak (Anthropology), Seoul: P’yŏnghwag t’ang’in soajeusik hoesa, 1958: 143-55.
29 Modelled after the colonial Rural Revitalization Campaign.
Comprehensive Report and Survey of Korean Folklore, published in 1969, which also incorporated extant work on shamanism studies.31

Scholars of the 1960s chose to abandon the singular corollary of mudang and moved to conduct more sophisticated studies of regional practices.32 Regionally-based research undeniably revolved around urban-centric politics which constituted a history and geography of colonial inheritances. Cheju, South Korea’s largest island was discovered as having “authentic” practices and as a result, research on this island was published extensively from the 1960s onward. Cheju Island was considered a pristine space, untouched by the experiences of cross-cultural contact, from which authentic agency and resistance were assumed to emanate. The wave of Cheju scholarship established this island’s identity as a different space, removed from the modern ethnic identity of the mainland.33 It may be no coincidence that the very place that was targeted as a hotbed of communism was then turned into a South Korean cultural frontier through shamanism studies.34 Regional practices such as those found on Cheju were used to develop state policy.

32 The trend after the 1960s has been to study Cheju Island shamanism as Cheju was considered the new hinterland of Korea where “pure” shamanism continued to exist. From the 1960s onward, Hyŏn Yong-jun wrote the most prolifically on Cheju Island shamanism. Hyŏn Yong-jun, “Chejudo tang sinhwa ko (A study of Cheju Island shrine myths) Chejudo 3, 1962; Hyŏn Yong-jun, “Musok sinhwa ponp’uri ŭi hyŏngsŏng (Formation of Ponp’uri in spirit myths) Kugŏ kunmunhak 26, Seoul: Kugŏ kunmun hakhoe, 1963; Hyŏn Yong-jun, “Chejudo musokko (Study of Cheju Island shamanism) Chejudo 10, 1963; Hyŏn Yong-jun, “Chejudo ŭi mujŏm pop (Cheju Island shaman fortunetelling policies) Chejudo 12, 1963; Hyŏn Yong-jun, “Chejudo musin ŭi sóngkkyyŏk kwa sin’ tong (Genealogy and characteristics of Cheju Island shaman spirits) Chejudo 17, 1964; Hyŏn Yong-jun, Chejudo musok charyo sajŏn (Dictionary of Materials on Cheju Island Shamanism), Seoul: Sin’gu munhwasa , 1980.
34 In her study of Cheju village kut, Seong-Nae Kim interprets the 1958 South Korean Cold-War rollback initiative as an unpublicized “genocide” and massacre against Koreans on Cheju Island. Seong-Nae Kim, 1989.
In 1969, family-based practices were streamlined under the Family Ritual Code, in order for the state to regulate inheritance rights and familial properties. Revised into the Family Ritual Law in 1973, the revision declared, “this law on family ritual, by sweeping away all empty formalities and ostentation and rationalizing ceremonial procedure, aims to suppress wastefulness and build a sound, wholesome society.” In actuality, the law was enforced through punishments of violations and similar laws have continued to be instated throughout South Korean history.35

Also to promote the rural labour community for radical economic reforms, mudang were hand-picked and categorized as “intangible cultural assets” (muhyŏng munhwaje) to conduct state-sponsored ceremonies. This assets system was a process by which “objective culture” was supposedly organized for people to be officially recognized as living artefacts, referring to the way in which practices and ritual no longer stemmed from these individuals alone, but were migrated into the bodies of government catalogue. Hong T’ae-han argues that the process of uniformity has endangered many types of ritual practices and has created an oppressive hierarchy among these specialists.36 Through this system, a very limited number of people were chosen as legitimate practitioners, further disenfranchising other types of ritual specialists.

Studies on shamanism diversified throughout the 1970s as Korean folklore studies drew the interest of university campuses and “blossomed into a broad-based popular culture which drew its idioms from the traditions of downtrodden peasants and outcast shamans.

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35 The law was “abolished on 8 February 1999 and replaced by the Law to Establish and Uphold Wholesome Family Rites, which is still in effect today.” Sukman Jang, 2001: 111.
36 One of Hong’s main arguments is that once a person is recognized as a cultural asset, they retain that title and its privileges for life – regardless of their abilities or contributions to their community. Hong T’ae-han, “Han’guk musok kwa muhyŏng munhwaje (Intangible cultural assets system and Korean musok)” Han’guk musokhak 9 (February 2005): 131-149.
minjung, or ‘masses’)."³⁷ Laurel Kendall reflects how the “once déclassé art form” was later revelled by people in all walks of life.³⁸ Folklore scholarship underwent a “boom” in the 1980s, when the custom of “ritualized” protest became increasingly popular as expressions of political resistance against oppressive state initiatives.³⁹ Chungmoo Choi looks at the rise of “people’s theatre” (madanguk) which incorporated elements of “folk theatre and shamanic ritual” for grassroots political mobilization.⁴⁰ Choi finds that this theatre “constantly remembers the people’s history or social memory as a part of discourse.”⁴¹ Madanguk has become a method of performing a public narrative of problematized realities, of marginalized people, as an expression of political protest. Allegorical icons have been created out of madanguk, which has been criticized as “the act of self-abnegation, to embody the people that it represents.”⁴² The appropriation of these folk motifs has been criticized among political activist groups for not being grounded in “reality” and for being self-serving representations. Grassroots activists’ and the state’s appropriations of mudang kut have ironically helped to establish shamanism as a pinnacle characteristic of Korean folk. Political resisters and the South Korean state found ways to mobilize and act through Korean shamanism.⁴³ The processes by which notions of the self were defined, articulated, and negotiated under colonialism have informed post-colonial expressions. The South Korean

³⁹ Roger Janelli, 1986: 24. Laurel Kendall reflects on the shift in public attitude towards shamanism in Korea. In her earlier work, she was “exasperated, when the very existence of shamans was denied by many urban and middle class Koreans… These attitudes have been less prevalent since the 1980s, when shaman rituals gained popular appeal and media attention as celebrations of national culture.” Laurel Kendall, 1996: 17.
⁴⁰ Guk as “theatre” is used to replace the spiritual connotation of kut as “ritual” with a secular emphasis on re-enacting social issues as a part of public political expression.
⁴¹ Chungmoo Choi, 1993: 92.
⁴² Chungmoo Choi, 1993: 98.
⁴³ Some of these political resistance groups that utilize mudang images and rituals as a part of their protest include student activists and agricultural labourers. See Namhee Lee, 2007. The types of post-colonial movements in North Korea may only be speculated since researchers of U.S. Allied countries have been denied access to North Korea ever since the country’s division.
state endorsed shamanism ceremonies to represent an indigenous nation. Meanwhile, subordinated groups also reclaimed and valorized “pre-colonial” identities that were already explored under colonialism as expressions of resistance to state-enforced policies. The very cultural motifs created by and for the state were appropriated in assertions of indigenous folk identity.

\section*{Healing the Present of the Past}

This dissertation has focused on one particular discursive subject – the \textit{mudang} – to highlight the irony and fallibility of characterizing indigenous identity. Through a discussion of \textit{mudang}-related literature before and during the colonial era, it has been possible to see how quotidian practices of the “folk” had a lasting and perplexing impression on regimes of power. \textit{Mudang} embodied the material and imaginary realms of the Korean race, nation, and empire but not everything that took place under colonialism was dictated by a national or imperial objective. \textit{Mudang} were spatio-temporally deterritorialized individuals who lived among, and continually adapted their practices according to, the needs and desires of their communities and themselves, despite legal or communal impositions posed against them.

Buying into the global phenomenon of a universally shared primordial epistemology precedes and evades much of the writing on Korean shamanism and writings involved in constructing and identifying shamanisms around the world. Shamanism as an analytical category has had the ability to create a vision to analyze and rationalize various aspects of Korea under its scope. In a universalizing effort for capitalist accumulation, shamanism has been used to link countries of vast differences together, from Taiwan to Manchuria, Mongolia to Siberia, the Americas to Australia, under the common tag of “indigenous”
communities. With no clear set definition of what shamanism means, these territories have all been celebrated as places of “indigenous” traditions, glossing over their histories of colonial conquest and exploitation. With these current issues in mind, this dissertation has attempted to highlight the historical processes that have generated the Korean shamanism phenomenon in reaction to the Eliadean-style, Siberian-based universalizing discourse.\(^{44}\)

What is clear is that a kind of “symbolic violence” over everyday practices and the forms of mundane rationality that produced “indigenes” during the colonial period were appropriated in contemporary South Korean political activism as “synthesizing agents of knowledge” which were “always already a posture of domination.”\(^{45}\) The violence extended beyond a rhetorical one; Korean intellectuals, using newspapers as a platform for their political activism, consistently reported to have *mudang* hunted down, incarcerated, beaten, ostracized, and destroyed; to de-humanize and humiliate *mudang* without rebuttals or retractions.

Contemporary use of *mudang* and *kut* has not reconciled the inheritance of an elitist anti-*mudang* discourse.

Acknowledging the history of violence enabled by the discursive genesis of *mudang* may be a stepping stone to de-colonizing South Korea of its colonial legacies. Examining the history of Korea’s shamanism discourse may encourage people to identify and criticize the emblems of colonization and help expose the contemporary pattern of colonial injustices around the world. In short, shamanism studies had the potential to destroy the communities they meant to represent. Ch’oeNam-sŏn’s desire to connect Korean history to Siberian shamanism was sparked by a pioneer in Siberian fieldwork, Dorzhi Banzarovitch Banzarov,

\(^{44}\) Im Chae-hae criticizes the use of the Eliadean model of archetype (原型) in South Korea’s current muhyŏng munhwaje. Im Chae-hae, 2007.

who was a rare scholar at a time when participant observation was not yet considered a popular anthropological method. Banzarov had lived most his life in a Buryat tribe that he made the subject of his 1846 opus, *The Black Belief System of the Mongols*. This work gained much attention from anthropologists around the world and, due to its acclaim, Banzarov was urged to pursue his academic career in the U.S. After several years in the U.S., he returned to Buryat to find that his tribe considered him a traitor for “smuggling” their secrets, methods, and sacred objects for the enemy.\(^{46}\) He was unsuccessful at reconciling his “betrayal” against his tribe and was no longer welcome in Buryat. He also found it equally difficult to attain “white academic” status as a Buryat native and left academia a defeated man. Banzarov drank himself to death at the age of thirty-three.\(^{47}\) In recent years, he has been made into a regional hero, with monuments and institutions erected in his honour throughout Buryat. The historical shift in attitude towards shamanism studies and communities’ desires to enter into a global indigenous network causes one to wonder if Banzarov set himself too far apart from the community of his time, as Michael Taussig describes: “to sell his soul to the devil for wealth that is not only useless but the harbinger of despair, destruction, and death.”\(^{48}\) This “contract with the devil” was an indictment of Eurocentric knowledge systems, one in which Banzarov compromised the interest, integrity, and endangered the sovereignty of the Buryat people. In making Banzarov a national icon, the devil’s contract has been rewritten by the post-colonial state, denying a reason for Banzarov’s demise and masking the injustices of shamanism as a colonialist enterprise.

Ch’oe Nam-sŏn and Yi Nŭng hwa’s writings on shamanism did less to threaten their contemporary community of cosmopolitan, urban intellectuals. They did not write on behalf

\(^{46}\) Gloria Flaherty, 1992: 44.

\(^{47}\) Andrei A. Znamenski, 2007: 9.

\(^{48}\) Michael Taussig, 1980: xii.
of the shaman community; the shaman community that Ch’oe and Yi meant to represent only existed in the recesses of their distant past. Ch’oe and Yi’s stories blurred signs of indigenous presence in communities throughout Korea and obscured the oppressive movements that attempted to eliminate indigenous practices. The colonial-era ethnocentric history project may also be read as having been made up of extensive exercises in improvisation. The discursive production of the ancient space was analogous to historical dramas as allegories of the writers’ colonial environment. The genius behind mudang resilience was in their similar intentional disengagement from the print media discourse. Because mudang did not self-identify, they were untraceable.49 On the one hand, since 1945, the space kut occupied, in a real and metaphorical sense, has had researchers focusing on the ritual space (kuttang) as an instrument for social suppression and hegemony and indigenous regeneration and survival, on the other.

In the context of the practice of heritage assessment, powerful colonizing discourses determined kut spaces. Shamanism research has evolved to highlighting mudang voices, encouraging them to participate in their official representations. The nationally-severed South Korean state produced a narrative that liberation was a “gift of the allied forces” which excluded Koreans from contributing to the liberation process itself and confounded the notion of national agency: “Such a narrative has deligitimated [sic] the Koreans as valid agents of both nation-building and the subsequent military and economic dependence on the Cold War superpowers.”50 Official shamanism groups have had the unenviable task of restoring a specific type of South Korean history to validate the individual and large-scale

49 In this sense, the ethnographic project to locate and record field subjects and their actions endangered the lives and livelihood of those subjects; once they were identified, they could be more readily controlled.
50 Chungmoo Choi, 1993: 80.
trauma Koreans have experienced at the hands of both colonial and postcolonial states.51

Today, *mansin* upset the derogatory images of *mudang* through their *kut* which encompasses their life’s work to repair past damages and to prevent future atrocities. They acquiesce and question the colonial and post-war governments with counter-narratives of mourning and memory, performing daily acts of resistance. *Kut* validates historical tragedies and successes through a process that Seong-Nae Kim refers to as a “politics of memory.”52 *Mansin* produce a coherent and resolvable past, a collective memory that offsets a long history of tokenism, de-humanization, and victimization; they unravel unaccounted stories, question their colonial past, and experiment with potential resolutions.53

The *kut* space (*kuttang*) has become a regional, transnational, colonized and colonizing site. As a high-profile public space, the “grand ritual” (*k’un kut*) recreates indigenous culture, history, and contemporary realities. *Mansin* as indigenous symbols of the nation have the potential to represent national dispossession and colonization. The continual recreation of *kut*-based histories should not merely seek to preserve key aspects of South Korean indigenous culture, but also set out to destabilize notions of indigenousness, nation, and colonialism. Through tactical interventions in the dominant discourse of anti-colonialism, *kut* could become an important site of historical reconciliation. Unlike formalized, patriarchal, institutions such as *k’un kut*, state monuments, churches, shrines or temples, communal *kut* are organized and run by women, typically at the request of female clients. *Mansin* are professional story-tellers, commemorating those who have not been

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51 These groups include shamans in the intangible cultural assets system. Unregistered practitioners may also have high-profile recognition in real and online communities.
recognized through male-centred memorials; they are “noise-makers” who publically mourn repressed histories under the patriarchal state; their “chants” and “clamour” encourage a dialogue that unsettle state ideologies.

Among the institutions the South Korean state adopted from the colonial period was the exploitation of women’s bodies. During the colonial period, women’s bodies were inventoried and trafficked as war supplies in a systematic operation of sexual slavery for the Japanese imperial army. The type of logic through which women’s bodies were seen as war supplies, enabled the exploitation and killing of thousands of young women in the recently widely publicized “comfort women” system. Under the Japanese occupation, women’s bodies were smuggled, tagged, shipped, cleaned, and deposited around the frontiers of military combat. How many women were used in this way and how many died under the “comfort system” is impossible to determine as records were destroyed, bodies were eliminated, and those more fortunate fled into hiding. The systematized exploitation of women’s bodies have indicted modern nation-states by showing how the state encourages systemic injustices against women to prevail, with practices such as South Korea’s gender disparity and discrimination in labour practices to the sex trade market for the U.S. allied South Korean military compound.

54 For a detailed discussion on how the South Korean government has inherited the colonial system of human labour exploitation in the sex labour market, see Katherine Moon, Sex among Allies: Military Prostitution in U.S.-Korea Relations, New York: Columbia University Press, 1997.
55 Katherine Moon estimates that approximately 200,000 women were used as “comfort women” for the Japanese imperial army. Katherine Moon, 1997: 15-16.
56 One major debate around the comfort women issue revolves around wage labour, where some historians argue that if women were given money in exchange for the use of their bodies, this indicated that they were wage workers. Whatever non-living wages that may have been given, it does not discount the fact that these women were routinely deceived, shipped abroad, imprisoned against their will, and forced to provide sex for the imperial army. With or without money, these women were not able to purchase their way out of the “comfort system.”
Mansin not only mediate the past with the present to cure inherited traumas, they are also interventionists, often combating ongoing violence against women. Since the “comfort woman” controversy has been made internationally public, some former comfort women have made their histories public. Over sixty years have passed since the fall of the Japanese empire and many others have died with their untold stories as national histories continue to validate patriarchal causes. Grassroots communities gather yearly to acknowledge and collectively reconcile this historical atrocity, as seen in the annual commemoration to the “souls of comfort women.”

Through the “comfort women” kut, a lost history continues to be revived and experienced for the first time; described by Chungmoo Choi as a “supratemporality of history.” Observers and participants experience history in “real time” and authenticate the event through an interactive performance. From a “comfort woman” kut, spiritual cries to avenge colonizers in the present tense may simultaneously target what has already happened in the colonial past while hinting towards unresolved issues (the strained relationship between South Korea and Japan). Kut reminds its participants of the cost of colonialism and militarism while it provides possibilities to break from ongoing systemic oppression.

Kut is not necessarily something that needs to be critiqued for the fallibility of memory, forgery of personification or for historical authentication. Few historians have questioned the use of newspapers and media publications to reconstruct the past although, in their

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58 This term “comfort woman” comes from the Japanese word ianfu as a derogatory term for women who became sexual slaves for the imperial army. The term has been reclaimed by recent activists fighting for reparations. 59 The photograph and detailed account in Appendix H through J show the thirteenth annual kut at Seoul Tongbu Women’s Development Center. 60 Chungmoo Choi, 1993: 95. 61 Honsin represent the bodies of dead comfort women and the kuttang metonymically links North and South Korea into a unified pre-war nation. 62 The effects of militarization produces systemic violence against women and children as seen in these individual life stories of abuse and killing of girls during the colonial period. See Appendix J.
construction, these sources get selected, shaped, and filtered through particular bias in ways not dissimilar to a performance. Unlike colonial newspapers, the discourse produced by *kut* is directed and produced by women, enabling a dialogue about history that would otherwise be determined by those who wished them silenced. *Kut* produces communal memory, forms and negotiates the lessons of history. By welcoming people to revisit and experience an unresolved, unforgiven past, *kut* makes the past current and continually offers the possibility for alternative histories to be remembered. Through *kut*, spirits of dead comfort women descend into live bodies acting out the horror of their pasts, casting their experiences into a shared historical consciousness by conversing with the living. Tragedies are re-experienced by ritual participants, offering catharsis and historical resolve.63

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63 In the Appendix H photograph, white sheets of paper (*honsin*) are posted in a ritual shrine. Each sheet has a woman’s name painted onto it, representing the spiritual embodiment of a deceased comfort woman. Observers place white flowers on the main shrine to pay their respects to these spirits, to honour their lives and to acknowledge their past experiences of injustice.
APPENDIX A: SIN YUN-BOK’S “MUNYŏ SINMU”
APPENDIX B: KING KOJONG IN ROYAL PRUSSION ATTIRE, 1898
Generally speaking, people of some countries world-wide have confused and foolish habits from an unenlightened era. There are very few people as severely confused as Koreans. Now we’ll deal with some kinds of confused Koreans. As descendants of fortune-tellers, people are very foolish for deciding to pray to their ancestors’ bones in order to assess good and bad fortune in their lives through mudang and p’ansu kut and for believing in divinations about the nation’s fortune. All of these things have cultivated eternal harm to our nation and people.

In regards to social groups, there is a pro-Japanese group among people that act this way, holding the largest number of members and being very powerful. In the end, the circumstances cannot be controlled because the history of the group is totally confusing. This pro-Japanese group tells the world that they are a reform group. The Yusin group also does this but all of their history is confusing. Isn’t this pitiful and stifling? If we look at the evidence, the Tonghak group is the head of these groups. Before the start of the Kabo reform, they declared that they were rejecting the west and protecting the nation and its people. They do marvellous things like make water stream out of the barrel of a gun and get rid of difficulty. They have swept across the nation and have reached a million people. From this, the East Asian war broke out and neighbouring countries lost their harmony with each other and our country fell into a life of misery. This created a year of confusion and caused extraordinary calamity.

For ten years after the Kabo, the pro-Japanese group slowly grew and spread everywhere. People cannot boldly go against their limitations so that these confused people generally give one ryang today in order to gain a hundred ryang the next day. If they give a hundred ryang today, they hope to gain ten thousand ryang the next day. All the governors from the Ministry of Police are in this group. Regular members strongly believe this and they unreservedly donate their cows, houses, and estates to this group. By funding them with their belongings, millions of people supply the acts of certain people like Mr. Son, Mr. Lee, and Mr. Song. These vacant people are all like dogs chasing after the chicken. In this confused year, several hundred thousand families were left wandering around. When these members contribute to the Japanese for them to fight their war, their efforts to ship them army supplies tightens their own lifestyles. While our people were diligently working in military duties, we believed that we would receive a great prize from the Japanese when they declared the Ŭlsa Treaty manifesto. The whole country is pointing fingers at these people and the world is laughing. People have never been killed by threats. Mr. Song gains power through the hundreds of thousands of people’s lives that are lost. This proves to be the reason why people are confused about our comprehensive history.

Alas, all of mankind has received their freedom from their God-given nature for their own livelihood. But, you should believe in your own strength to diligently keep your individual rights and not to be deprived from enjoying happiness in society. Before, Korean people from the uncivilized era had unreasonable logic and foolish habits to believe in lies. These days, when someone breaks his arm, he cannot but think of how to fix it. So, we should think again. As mentioned above, do you believe and have hope in these people or are you disbelieving and unhopeful? Common Korean people should open their minds and believe in their own strengths and act on their duties not to believe in other people’s lies. In this way, confused sorts should be cautious and urgently correct their wrongdoings so that our people can become civilized in the twentieth century.
## APPENDIX D: FACTORY LABOUR IN COLONIAL KOREA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of Factories</th>
<th>Number of Workers</th>
<th>Number of Men</th>
<th>Number of Women</th>
<th>Ratio of Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>14,575</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td>1,900</td>
<td>48,705</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>2,087</td>
<td>55,279</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>4,238</td>
<td>80,375</td>
<td>70,281</td>
<td>17,465</td>
<td>25.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>4,261</td>
<td>101,943</td>
<td>83,900</td>
<td>28,288</td>
<td>33.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>4,613</td>
<td>106,781</td>
<td>86,419</td>
<td>27,657</td>
<td>32.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>5,635</td>
<td>168,771</td>
<td>135,797</td>
<td>45,082</td>
<td>33.2</td>
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<td>1937</td>
<td>6,298</td>
<td>207,002</td>
<td>166,709</td>
<td>53,753</td>
<td>32.2</td>
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<td>1940</td>
<td>7,242</td>
<td>270,439</td>
<td>230,688</td>
<td>73,202</td>
<td>31.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

APPENDIX E: “PUL KYŎNGGI ŬI YŎLMAE [FRUITS OF THE DEPRESSION]”
*SILSAENGHWAL* 3, NO.6 (JUNE 1932): 23

APPENDIX F: HANGING OF THOMAS SHIPP AND ABRAM SMITH
PHOTOGRAPHED BY LAWRENCE BEITLER, MARION, INDIANA, 7 AUGUST, 1930
APPENDIX G: CHOGWANG 1 NO. 1 (NOVEMBER 1935): 23
APPENDIX H: HONSIN AT HAEWŎN CHINHON KUT
PHOTOGRAPHED BY MEROSE HWANG
SEOUL TONGBU WOMEN’S DEVELOPMENT CENTER, 29 NOVEMBER, 2003
APPENDIX I: PROVINCIAL BANNERS AT *HAEWŎN CHINHON KUT*
PHOTOGRAPHED BY MEROSE HWANG
SEOUL TONGBU WOMEN’S DEVELOPMENT CENTER, 29 NOVEMBER, 2003
APPENDIX J: ACCOUNT OF HAEWŌN CHINHON KUT, BY MEROSE HWANG
SEOUL TONGBU WOMEN’S DEVELOPMENT CENTER, 29 NOVEMBER, 2003

It was wintertime, and yet inside the auditorium, the air was hot and musty from a sea of people – old and young women, children, and a smattering of men sat, packed next to one another on the floor. People appeared oblivious to the heat and odour of bodies sweating through winter clothing as they watched, cried, laughed, and were transported to a past most had never experienced before. The ritual commemoration, covered by twenty-five mansin and their assistants, was covered by national broadcasts and lasted for over four hours on the afternoon of November 29, 2003.

A memorial wall was set up in the front of the auditorium, with a long table of ritual paraphernalia, piled with white cloth. These long strips of cloth were used to create the long journey away from the physical ritual to the spiritual resting place. Ritual food was ornately piled to please the spirits and welcome them to feast. From the descent of one comfort woman’s spirit to the next, their stories grew in tragedy, detail, and length. The spiritual “descent” of one in particular emerged violently, after an unusually long invitation. The assistants were afraid for the mansin’s life, some tried to “bring her back,” while others sat weeping in fear. After a precarious several minutes in which the mansin laid unresponsively on the floor, the comfort woman finally emerged. The spirit of a scared little girl appeared through the large mansin’s body. She jumped back from the audience, apparently confused of where she was. She spanned the room for signs of familiarity and then locked her gaze a pile of food placed on a ritual table. The girl cried that she hungry, and a few people responded by encouraging her to eat. She looked around fearfully and then ran to the table; shoving food into her mouth, hardly chewing as she devoured enormous pears, apples, and oranges. She appeared much too young to be a “comfort woman.” A wave of emotion took over the auditorium and the audience broke into an ocean of tears as they watched this ravenous child gorging in ways that did not seem humanly possible. Some people in the audience asked her to slow down, that she could eat all she wanted. After some time, she returned to the stage to stare at the wall of names. She demanded to know why her name was missing from the wall. The ritual assistants apologized profusely for overlooking her and stated that they did not know who she was.

The girl fell still and began to sob that she was cold. At this point a small elderly woman from the audience gave her a coat and led her back to the stage. The elderly woman tried to calm the girl down by telling the girl that she was among friends. Engaging in small talk to coax her, the elderly woman asked the girl where she was stationed. The girl replied, “Manju.” The elderly woman responded in surprise, that she herself was also stationed there; that she understood the girl’s pain. Now that the girl had eaten her fill and was given warm clothes, the elderly woman and others on the stage urged the young spirit to go back in peace. The girl abruptly stopped the woman, demanding, “Why do you talk down to me? I am older than you!” The audience broke from their sobs and began hollering with laughter as the elderly woman apologized for her foolish blunder.

One, more subdued “comfort woman” stood still, speaking to the audience in a monologue that strayed from her experience to the colonial situation. At one point she exclaimed, “We must avenge those bastard Japanese and save our country!” The spirit summoned the eight provinces of the peninsula. She pointed to eight large red banners posted around the auditorium, each inscribed with a province to represent the entire Korean peninsula with a large ritual table beneath them (see Appendix J). Expressions turned from grief and sorrow to anger. Some audience members responded by yelling, “Bastard Japanese!” The spirit cried to avenge the colonizers.

As questions flooded my mind, I began to feel conspicuously out of place: in the 1930s and ‘40s, did poor, abused, illiterate girls from the countryside blame Japanese imperialists for their condition? Did they blame their families, the neighbourhood police, themselves? Why were these women so vulnerable in the first place? Did these girls believe the Japanese empire was raping and killing them? Did they experience imperial soldiers (most of whom were likely Korean) as their enemies? Why did most of the “comfort” survivors never make it back home? What happened to
these sex camps after the war? What is the relationship between the comfort stations and the current “rest and relaxation” camps for U.S. troops? I didn’t understand how this script of revenge and the perpetuation of a colonial dichotomy figured into this community’s historical resolve. As my questions and doubts increased, I started feeling out of place, and feared being an outsider, feared being caught for my intrusion.

I edged my way to the restroom and opened the door to a wall of thick smoke. Five or six elderly women coiffed in tight perms, thick gold jewellery and track suits were sucking back smoke from long, thin cigarettes, cajoling each other and cursing various parts of the performance outside. They seemed to know some of the mansin, referring to them by their nicknames and chatted away unfazed by the emotional rally occurring just outside the restroom doors. They quickly spotted me and stared me down for eavesdropping at which point, I swiftly stepped into a toilet stall hoping to catch more of their gossip but to no avail. They put out their butts and filed out, leaving me in a smoked-out restroom, alone and confounded by these disaggregate events.
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