

CHOSŎN LITERATI'S UNDERSTANDING OF 'WESTERN LEARNING' IN THE 19TH CENTURY BASED ON KANG HOBU'S *SANGBONGNOK*

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Introduction

While the Chosŏn dynasty's first contacts with *Sŏhak* (西學, Western Learning) occurred in the 17th century, it was during the 18th century that such exchanges began to be greatly invigorated. Such contacts with Western Learning were mainly carried out through the regular visits to Qing carried out by the *yŏnhaengsa* (燕行使, royal envoys to the Qing dynasty). To this end, the main window of exchange proved to be the Catholic churches situated in Beijing. These Catholic churches served as the epicentre for the conveying of modern scientific civilization and religion, with missionaries at the forefront of this movement. As this represented a habitual stop on their diplomatic course, royal envoys to Beijing during the 18th century were expected to regularly visit these Catholic churches, where they would have encountered Western civilization. These envoys were able to come into contact with various aspects of modern Western civilization such as astronomy, the calendar system, Western paintings, as well as alarm clocks, organs, fountain pens, matches, glasses, cigars, snake stone, bitter Chinese melon, wine, sponge cake, and automata devices.¹

However, these circumstances began to change completely from the 19th century onwards. There is a very strong likelihood that the Chosŏn government took steps to prohibit visits to the Catholic churches in Beijing following the Chinsan Incident (珍山事件) of 1791, an occurrence which is widely perceived as the only instance of Catholic persecution to transpire during the Chosŏn dynasty prior to the onset of the 19th century.² The emergence of *sedo* politics (in-law government) in Chosŏn during the 19th century resulted in the adoption of a hostile approach to Western Learning that was exemplified by the Catholic Persecution of 1801, or *Sinyu saok* (辛酉邪獄). The Western nations' attempts to compel Chosŏn to open its doors, by force of arms if necessary, resulted in the emergence of two major foreign disturbances (*yangyo*, 洋擾) during the mid-19th century. As such, we can see that the encounter between

Western nations and Chosŏn occasioned by the eastern expansion of Western powers during the 19th century was one that unfolded in a distorted fashion.

This study makes use of one of the *yŏnhaengnok* (燕行錄, ‘Journals of Travel to Beijing’) compiled during the early 19th century to analyse the literati elites’ perception of Western Learning during the 18th century.³ That being said, these *yŏnhaengnok* generally did not contain records of any visits to Catholic churches in Beijing. This apparent oversight can be explained by the fact that the government of Chosŏn rejected Catholicism as a heretical religion, and perceived the Catholic churches in Beijing as the epicentre of this heresy.⁴ As a result, reference is made solely herein to the *Sangbongnok* (桑蓬錄) written by Kang Hobu, a work which addressed Chosŏn literati elites’ interest in Western civilizations and Western Learning.

The background to the compilation of the *Sangbongnok* and the significance thereof

The *Sangbongnok* is an account written by Kang Hobu (1690–?) of a trip which he took to Beijing in 1727 in his capacity as the personal attendant to *Saŭn kyŏm tongjisa* (謝恩兼冬至使) Yi Segŭn. Therefore, this account can more precisely be described as a travelogue compiled during the first half of the 18th century. That being said, the specific manner in which this work was compiled helps to provide useful insight into Chosŏn literati elites’ perception of Western Learning during the early 19th century. Worried about the safety and well-being of his widowed mother, Kang Hobu paid her a visit after learning that he had been selected at the age of 38 to take part in the *Yŏnhaeng* which left for Beijing in 1727. At that time, his mother asked him to record all the things he saw and heard during his trip to Beijing. In 1741, some thirteen years after his journey, Kang Hobu produced a Korean version of the records he had originally compiled in Chinese characters during his trip to the imperial capital. As a result, Chinese and Korean versions of the *Sangbongnok* were in fact produced. However, the Chinese version of the *Sangbongnok* which can be found today is not the original one written by Kang Hobu. According to the preface to this particular version, the book had to be translated back into Chinese based on the Korean version of the *Sangbongnok* because Chŏng Suyŏn, a friend of Kang Hobu’s, had unfortunately borrowed the original copy and misplaced it.⁵ This Chinese version was translated by Kang Hobu’s great grandson Kang Chaeŭng. The inclusion of the inscription “崇禎甲申後九十七年己亥” makes it clear that this translated version was produced in 1839 (the 5th year of King Hŏnjong). In this regard, the Chinese version of the *Sangbongnok* includes numerous inscriptions, especially pertaining to the names of people and places, which were written in the native Korean script *Hangŭl*. This unique compilation process has made the *Sangbongnok* an invaluable

resource in terms of the study of the history of the Korean language, as well as of that of translation. In addition, pertinent insight into the Chosŏn literati elites' perception of Western Learning during the 19th century can be gleaned from this particular version as a result of the fact that Kang Chaeŭng also included his own opinions on some of the most important articles.

The recently uncovered *Sangbongnok*, which consists of 12 volumes encompassed in 6 books, has quickly come to be regarded as the main literary work produced as part of the *yŏnhaengnok* series compiled during the 18th century.⁶ Furthermore, the inclusion of additional entries by Kang Chaeŭng has resulted in this particular version of the book coming to be seen as a very useful tool with which to conduct comparative studies on the literati elites' perceptions of Western Learning between the 18th and 19th centuries. The additional entries which follow the records of the visits to the Catholic churches in Beijing are by far the longest, and their implications are quite complex. Nevertheless, this particular aspect represents the main focal point of this study.

Comparison of the literati elites' perception of Western Learning during the 18th and early 19th centuries

On 29 December 1727, Kang Hobu visited a Catholic church located inside the walls of the Xuanwumen (宣武門, Gate of Military Declaration) situated along the southern reaches of the Forbidden City (紫禁城). Before analysing the additional records on the subject prepared by Kang Chaeŭng during the 19th century, let us first look at the attitude displayed by Kang Hobu with regards to the visit he paid to this Catholic church in the 18th century. Of the various Western implements found there, it was the vivid imagery contained in the Western paintings that most caught Kang Hobu's eye.

All the paintings were so vividly and colourfully described that it almost looked as if the images in the paintings were in fact alive. While an image of Jesus Christ had been painted in the middle of the church's northern wall, the standing image of a beautiful lady had been rendered on its western wall. The vivid manner in which her hair ornament was depicted as drooping to one side as the lady cradled her hair with her hand made it hard to believe that she was just an image from a painting. ... On our way towards the entrance to the Western person's place of residence, we came across a wash painting on the inner gate which described a dog whose body appeared to be half thrusting out from the gate as he imposingly growled at any human who dared approach. All of us assembled at that time believed the dog to be alive. ... Herein lies the reason why Western paintings are referred to as divine works To me, while ghouls appeared to have embedded themselves in the images of persons found in the paintings, the animals also seemed to be possessed by some kind of evil spirits. Great ability is obviously required to produce

such paintings. Although it really looked as if a spirit had been incorporated into the painting, I was unable to figure out how this had been brought about. I was therefore forced to conclude that this was the work of a magical and talented ghost.⁷

Faced for the first time in his life with this realistic Western style of painting that featured vividly described images, Kang Hobu was so astonished at the realistic manner in which people and things were depicted that he professed to understanding why others had referred to Western paintings as 'divine works'. Meanwhile, unable to explain where this unique style of painting had originated, Kang was reduced to admitting that these vividly described images, which almost looked as if ghouls had been embedded, appeared to be the result of a magical and talented ghost. While the interest of the great majority of those who became *yŏnhaengsa* during the 18th century was pricked by aspects of Western Learning such as its paintings, astronomy, and the calendrical system, it was Western paintings that made far and away the biggest impression on Kang Hobu.⁸

As mentioned above, Kang Hobu produced a Korean version of his *yŏnhaengnok* in 1741. This Korean version contains some entries which cannot be found in the original 1727 version, which he compiled as he implemented his duties. This is evidenced by the following entry in which he introduced Western theories pertaining to astronomy:

The earth is round like a ball and floats in empty space, and there are humans living all over the globe in various regions of this world.... The high degree of advancement achieved by Western Learning is such that it has been able to explain principles of the universe and planets which people had heretofore been unable to comprehend. I do not feel uneasy or have any doubt about these facts... However, I was very surprised to learn that the galaxy was not composed of energy, but rather of an aggregation of stars.⁹

Kang's acceptance of the fact that the earth was indeed round and that humans lived in various regions all over the globe was a marked departure from the traditional notion of *huayi* (華夷, civilized-uncivilized worlds) in which China was perceived as the centre of the universe. Kang also went to great lengths to describe how the highly advanced nature of Western astronomy had allowed it to resolve astronomical issues for which traditional oriental astronomy had been unable to find a proper answer. His statement to the effect that this was in fact possible appears to belie Kang's positive perception of this reality. However, he also stressed the fact that it was difficult for him to accept the hypothesis that the galaxy was in fact an aggregation of stars. Kang Hobu adopted a very open-minded attitude towards the possibility that Western astronomy was in fact superior to the oriental variety. In addition, he described the spread and growing respect for Western theories in China, while also highlighting the fact that many Chosŏn people respected and adhered to these theories.¹⁰

Having looked at Kang Hobu's perception of Western astronomy and painting styles, let us now turn to the matter of his descriptions of Catholicism.

The Lord, who is said to emanate from a Western nation, is referred to as Jesus Christ (耶穌). The name Jesus means the saviour of the world in his native language. Those who revere him identify him as a foreign saint and regard him as the God of Heaven. They call him the Lord. ... The doctrine of this religion is based on the notion of purity in that it emphasizes the need to make efforts to remove desire and greed and to find the right path (道) so as to become a mountain god (神仙). This religion appears for the most part to be a combination of the principles of *Sŏndo* (仙道, Mountain Daoism) and *Puldo* (佛道, Buddhism). Amongst the first books I saw in the Catholic church were *Ch'ŏnju chin'gyŏng* (天主眞經) and *Ch'ŏnju yŏnŭi* (天主演義). The doctrines introduced in these works were very obscure, and were mostly unagreeable to me. Moreover, a look at the core of these principles and doctrines reveals them to be frivolous and capricious, and not worthy of being studied.¹¹

Kang Hobu understood the doctrine of Catholicism as being based on the abandonment of human desire and the becoming of a mountain god through the finding of the proper path or *to* (道)—this would seem to refer to the belief that a person who carried out good deeds will be admitted to Heaven. In other words, he perceived the doctrine of Catholicism to be a combination of the Buddhist quest to remove human desires and the Daoist notion of a mountain god. The royal envoys to the Qing dynasty (*yŏnhaengsa*) during the 18th century perceived Jesus Christ as an entity similar to the Confucian God of Heaven (上帝, *sangje*), and the theory of the Kingdoms of Heaven and Hell as being akin to the Buddhist notion of *In'gwa ũngbo* (因果應報, punitive justice).¹² As such, Kang Hobu's perception of Catholicism was very much in keeping with the general perception possessed by other Chosŏn elites who lived during the 18th century.

After having revealed his own opinions on Western painting, astronomy, and the Catholic doctrine, Kang Hobu proceeded to delve into the debate that emerged amongst Chosŏn literati elites over Western astronomy and the calendar system; or more precisely the debate between Kim Sijin and Nam Kŭkkwan over the introduction of the Qing dynasty's *Shi Xian* Calendar (時憲曆). To this end, while Kim Sijin argued in favour of the superiority of traditional oriental astronomy and of the Ming dynasty's *Datong* Calendar (大統曆), Nam Kŭkkwan emphasized the inherent advantages of the Western astronomy-based *Shi Xian* Calendar. After having introduced these two opposing theories, Kang Hobu then proceeded to add his own opinions on the matter. In this regard, although he recognized the brilliance of the *Shi Xian* Calendar as a calendrical system, Kang still supported the traditional concept of astronomy known as the *Ch'ŏnwŏn chibang* (天圓地方, earth as a square and the sky as a circle).

Such an examination of the extent to which Kang Hobu viewed Western Learning in a positive light also yields insight into Kang's scholarly and open-minded approach

to the issue. Such an open-minded approach can be found in not only the *Sangbongnok*, but in other *yŏnhaengnok* compiled by Chosŏn literati elites during the 18th century. However, as mentioned above, a complete change in the attitude towards such matters took place during the 19th century. In this regard, let us now analyse this matter based on Kang Chaeŭng's records.

With regards to the issues of astronomy and the calendar system, Kang Chaeŭng maintained that although he could not determine which calendrical system was in fact superior, some 200 years had passed since the introduction of the *Shi Xian* Calendar without any glaring errors having been uncovered to date. As such, he regarded the *Shi Xian* Calendar as being based on an excellent system. He then continued as follows:

Generally speaking, the customs and civilizations of barbaric nations cannot be compared to those of the *chung hua* (中華, Chinese civilization); moreover, it is only natural that the morals and learning of modern generations cannot measure up to those of ancient people. However, with regard to crafts and technologies, some implements invented by later generations have indeed exhibited more complex and ingenious attributes. Although the calendar system was invented by ancient sagacious people, as it is actually based on mathematics, it is, much like mind-reading (*simsul*, 心術) and the study of the way (*tohak*, 道學), in fact not related to the *sedo* (世道, manner in which the world is ruled) ... When Mr. Kim (referring to Kim Sijin) wrote the *Yŏkbŏppyŏn* (曆法辨) and Sayang chaegong (思養齋公, Kang Hobu) compiled his *yŏnhaengnok*, Catholicism had yet to take root in Chosŏn. Therefore, they could focus their energy on debating the merits of earth-related theories. .. However, from the early period of King Sunjo's reign onwards, Western Learning began its indomitable spread into Chosŏn, with everyone, from the *sadaebu* class all the way to the literati elites and commoners, finding themselves swept up, almost as if it were a mighty wave or powerful wind, by this new philosophy. Although the government subsequently introduced measures which strongly prohibited individuals from coming into contact with Western Learning, with any individual found to be in violation of the law immediately executed, such individuals never regretted having done so, and this even if their action meant potential death. The prisons were full of such people. About a hundred people have since then died because of this Western religion.¹³

Thus, Kang Chaeŭng viewed the customs of Chinese civilization and traditional morals and learning as being superior to those of Western civilization. However, with the calendar system serving as a prime example, he found himself forced to admit that in terms of crafts and technologies, Western civilizations appeared to be more advanced than Chinese civilization. While he recognized the excellence of the *Shi Xian* Calendar based on the Western calendrical system, he mitigated this assessment by stressing the fact that this system was in reality a mere technology that had no bearing on the study of *sedo* (the manner in which the world is ruled).¹⁴ As such, Kang believed that although Asian nations could adopt Western technologies, Asian morals and customs remained superior to Western ones. However, Kang even found himself beginning to seriously

reassess the veracity of this line of reasoning after having witnessed the Catholic Persecution of 1801 (*Sinyu saok* 辛酉邪獄). The absence of such threats during the 18th century meant that scholars such as Kim Sijin and Kang Hobu could focus on more mundane questions such as those pertaining to the calendar system and other earth-related theories. However, as mentioned above, the situation changed drastically during the 19th century. The above quotation makes it evident that the Catholic Persecution of 1801, in which approximately a hundred people were executed, provided the impetus for this rapid change in the perception of Western Learning.

The above quotation reflects the crisis mentality that prevailed within some segments of society, who feared that the spread of Catholicism amongst the general public posed a direct threat to the survival of the feudal monarchy system. Kang Chaëung appears to have been especially shocked by the fact that even when confronted with possible execution, unenlightened commoners refused to renounce their Catholic faith. In one particular entry, Kang wrote that while his failure to read any books on Catholic doctrine meant that he in essence knew very little about Catholicism, he could not bring himself to understand how this doctrine bewildered the public to the point where they were willing to die in its name. Some individuals even went as far as to state that Catholicism permitted the communal sharing of fortunes and women—such a belief appears to have been founded on rumours being spread at that time surrounding men and women's common participation in church services and the religion's promotion of other communal activities such as the management of commercial enterprises—and that some individuals were willing to go to the grave to protect such rights. However, Kang wrote that such logic was fundamentally flawed because while fortune and women may be important, they were not so to the point where one should be willing to trade in his life to protect them.

This sense of crisis created by the spread of Catholicism resulted in a curtailment of the open-minded attitude toward various aspects of Western civilization that had prevailed in the 18th century in favour of a much more closed-minded and negative approach to Western Learning. For example, as a result of its linkage to Catholicism, a more negative perception of Western painting emerged than had been the case during the 18th century:

I have heard that Westerners somehow appropriated the gods' painting skills for themselves, and that as a result, anybody who sees a Western painting begins to question whether the image they see before them in the painting is actually alive. This belief has been further reinforced by my perusal of an entry found in Sayang chaegong's records pertaining to his encounter with Western paintings while visiting a Catholic church in Beijing. This cannot be attributed to the ingenuity of the painting style alone. In my opinion, there is a special ghoulish embedded in the paintings which cannot be understood based on regular logic. Anyone who learns the tenets of Catholicism sees their minds become deluded, and this regardless of whether they were originally wise or foolish

people. Perhaps this is because the simple language and characters found in these books are supplemented by a certain kind of ghoul whose very existence is rooted in its ability to make people unable to process things in a logical fashion? I fear that the same kind of ghoul also animates the Western painting style. All in all, this is a very frivolous and capricious phenomenon.¹⁵

Kang Chaeŭng could not understand Catholic followers who refused to renounce their religion, and this even if such a refusal meant certain execution. By way of conclusion, he conjectured that a capricious ghoul had been embedded in the Bible which caused people to become deluded. Here attention should be drawn to the fact that he used Western painting styles as an example which he believed supported his conjecture. To this end, he viewed the realistic painting style found in Western paintings as being caused by the presence of a ghoul embedded in the paintings which rendered people liable to delusion.¹⁶

Kang Chaeŭng completed the translation of the *Sangbongnok* in 1839 (the 5th year of King Hŏnjong), the very year in which the *Kihae saok* (己亥邪獄, Catholic Persecution) occurred, an event that itself came on the heels of the *Sinyu saok* (Catholic Persecution of 1801). At the time of the *Kihae saok*, Kang wrote another entry in which he described what he had heard about Catholicism. This latter entry indicates a much more balanced understanding of Catholicism than in the past. Quoting others, Kang explained how the *Sinyu saok* had in fact been a plot to get rid of the Namin (Southerners) faction. To support his argument, he raised the fact that Kim Kŏnsun had been the only person from the Noron (Patriarch) faction to be executed, a decision which he argued had been made to avoid criticism that the government was leaning too much in favour of one faction. Kim was thus in essence sacrificed, and this despite the fact that his crime had not warranted execution.¹⁷ Kang Chaeŭng also stressed that the book (the Bible) did not feature any fundamentally flawed principles, promoted the doing of good deeds, and that the Catholic commandments were similar to those found in the Buddhist Scriptures. He however stated that the theory that one would go to Heaven after death, much like the theory of *Sarvajna*, led people to become deluded.¹⁸ As such, he argued that the reason why people were ready to die for their religion was because they believed in life after death. Likening the current spread of Catholicism to a giant wave, he conceded that even the most air-tight of prohibitions could not impede its progress. To this end, he maintained that it would be more desirable to permit the spread of Catholicism-related books, allow the general population to freely read these books, and induce discussions amongst prestigious scholars so that the people could see for themselves the misguided principles and reasoning on which this religion was based. In addition to the doctrine of Catholicism, he argued that other Western notions that could help to improve the public welfare, such as astronomy, geography, medicine and pharmaceuticals, fortune-telling, tree planting, and grain farming, should also be accepted.

Conclusion

Using the *Sangbongnok*, this study has analysed Chosŏn literati elites' perception of Western Learning during the 18th and 19th centuries. To this end, while 18th century literati elites viewed Western Learning with an open mind characterized by a genuine interest in various fields, this attitude underwent a profound and negative change during the early 19th century as Catholicism, which had been but one of many fields of interest during the 18th century, began to be an all-encompassing concern. While the use of Catholic persecutions by the *sedo* politics-oriented government of Chosŏn as an implement with which to maintain its power represented one major factor for this change in attitudes, the serious abuses of the feudal system during the final stages, and the inability of the neo-Confucian order which had held this system in place to respond to the spread of Catholicism, can be regarded as having been a more salient factor in explaining this sudden change in perceptions.

Notes

1. For more on this, please refer to 'The experiences of visiting Catholic churches in Beijing and the recognition of Western Learning reflected in the Journals of Travel to Beijing'. *The Review of Korean Studies*, Volume 9, Number 4. Seoul: The Academy of Korean Studies.
2. The Chinsan Incident, which took place in Chinsan, Chŏlla Province in 1791, refers to an occurrence in which members of the literati elite named Yun Chich'ung and Kwŏn Sangyŏn (Yun's cousin) implemented Catholic-style rituals during a funeral, while also burning the ancestral tablet for their mothers and refusing to engage in Confucian mourning rituals. The Chosŏn government ordered the local governor of Chinsan, Sin Sawŏn, to arrest and torture these two literati. They were then executed for having corrupted social morals and ethics, and for adhering to the heretical tenet of refuting both one's ancestors and the king (*mubu mugun* 無父無君), actions which clearly violated Confucian tradition.
3. The activation of contacts with the Western world occasioned by Chosŏn's opening up of its doors during the second half of the 19th century had the effect of greatly reducing the significance of the indirect contacts with the Western world which had occurred through the *yŏnhaengsa's* visits to the Qing dynasty. With this in mind, the scope of this study has been limited to the early 19th century.
4. Yi Kyugyŏng, *Oju yŏn munjang chŏnsan'go* (五洲衍文長箋散稿, an encyclopedia compiled by Yi Kyugyŏng during the mid-19th century), 'The Catholic church sent silver currency to the interpreter Yu to cover the expenses he needed to purchase daily necessities and to distribute to other church members.... In their criminal confessions, Father Na and Chŏng voluntarily admitted to being influenced by the Catholic bishop in Beijing, and that Yu Chin'gil had helped Westerners enter Chosŏn on three different occasions.' Although there are no records of any members of the *yŏnhaeng* having visited Catholic churches in Beijing during the early 19th century, one finds many references to visits which they paid to the Russian Legation, and to encounters with Western artefacts that included a statue of Jesus Christ. However,

even in these instances, the view of Western culture which comes across in such entries is a very negative one that borders on open hostility (Wŏn Chaeyŏn, 2003. ‘Chosŏn envoys’ visits to Catholic churches in Beijing and their perception of Western civilization during the 17–19th centuries (*17–19 segi chosŏn sahaengŭi pukkyŏng ch’ŏnjudang pangmun’gwa sŏyang insik*), in *Sŏse tongjŏmgwa chosŏn wangjoŭi taewŏng* (‘The Eastern Expansion of the Western Powers and Chosŏn’s Response’). Seoul: Handŭl Publishing.

5. *Sangbongnok*, Vol. 1, ‘編述四養齋桑蓬錄序’, ‘英廟三年丁未, 我曾王考四養齋先生, 從行人遊燕京, 有記行日錄, 名曰桑蓬錄. ... 後其書爲公友人西岡處士鄭郡守壽延所借去, 未知何由而蓋逸未返璧. ... 幸家有諺本一通, 卽公嘗爲奉覽於慈庭, 而手自譯寫者也. ... 依其諺本翻作文字.’
6. Ko Un’gi, 2003. ‘*Sangbongnok*’, in *Yŏnhaengnok haeje* (燕行錄解題). Institute of Korean Literature, Dongguk University.
7. *Sangbongnok*, Vol. 7, ‘圖畫皆流動發越, 精彩生活, 儼然若生人焉. 北壁中間, 畫天主神像, 西壁一間, 繪一美婦人起立像, 首飾一邊墮焉, 以手握其髮. 其狀尤逼真, 不覺爲畫中人也. ... 入洋人所居房時, 中門一邊, 以墨畫一犬而半出門吠人之狀, 一行皆以爲眞犬矣. ... 世稱洋畫爲神品者 蓋以此也. ... 以余觀之, 人有妖, 禽獸亦有怪, 而才亦有然者. 其畫誠如夢囈鬼化, 未可知其何以爲然, 眞可謂妖怪之才矣.’
8. Yi Segŭn, who was the deputy-leader of the *yŏnhaeng*, sent Kang Hobu to visit a particular Catholic church on numerous occasions in order to inquire about the possibility of having the resident Western painter prepare a portrait of himself. However, the Western painter in question respectfully turned down this request on the grounds that he had received an imperial order to carry out the task of painting a newly built Catholic church, which meant that he would effectively have no time to paint private portraits (refer to the entries for 11, 13, 22 and 25 January). Such entries make evident the high regard which the Chosŏn literati had for the Western style of painting.
9. *Sangbongnok*, Vol. 7, ‘地形如毬, 浮於空中, 四方上下, 皆有世界. ... 其術頗精於天文, 論天地運氣, 星辰度數者, 多有發前人所未道者云. 是則或無怪焉. ... 而但以銀河爲非氣也, 乃衆星云者, 殊可駭也.’
10. *Ibid*, ‘今則燕中人, 無不尊尚之, 我東之人, 亦往往有尚其道而從其說者.’
11. *Ibid*, ‘天主, 名耶蘇, 歐邏巴國人也. 名耶蘇者, 方語謂救濟世上也. 尊之者, 稱爲海外聖人, 以天爲主故, 又謂之天主. ... 其學術清淨, 以無慾爲工, 以得道坐化爲驗云. 蓋合仙佛, 而爲一者也. 嘗見其所, 著書有所謂<天主眞經><天主演義>等編, 其說往往神奇, 不無可喜, 而究其中, 畢竟誕妄虛幻, 不足一覽也.’
12. Sin Ikch’ŏl, 2006, *ibid*.
13. *Sangbongnok*, Vol. 7, ‘大凡風俗教化, 則夷狄難侔於中華; 道德學行, 卽今人不逮於古人, 固也. 而至於技藝術數, 卽後出者, 往往有尤巧者. 夫曆法, 雖古聖人所作, 而其實不過算數爾, 非如心術道學之有關於世道者也. ... 金公作曆辨之日, 思養齋公爲日錄之時, 所謂天主教術, 猶未及盛布於東國, 只以地球之說, 卞難其是非. ... 粵在純廟初, 洋學果大熾於我東, 自學士大夫文人才子, 以至閭巷之愚夫愚婦, 皆靡然從學. 朝家嚴立禁令, 現發則輒誅殛, 而至死不悔, 囹圄常滿, 前後死者, 以百千計.’
14. This quotation can be regarded as an example of the crisis mentality occasioned by the spread of Catholicism, which was perceived as a threat to the traditional monarchical order. The

traditional oriental perception of astronomy was based on the notion of natural calamities, a notion which stressed the fact that astronomy and a king's political fortunes were intricately linked to one another. Therefore, while the ability to read the astral tea leaves was regarded as an important quality which the king should possess, the power to predict the weather was also perceived as a vital attribute for a king to possess in an agricultural society. One of the most important missions which the *yŏnhaengsa* were tasked with during the 18th century was that of obtaining Western books pertaining to astronomy and the development of a better understanding of its calendar system.

15. Ibid. 蓋聞洋人於畫法，多奪神造，雖尋常墨畫，見之者疑其為活物云。以思養齋公日記中，往見天主堂條，觀之亦可證。此不但畫法之工，意者其中必有別般妖幻，有非常理可測者爾。今其學之，能令人無智愚，皆迷蠱其心者，無乃箇中有一段妖幻之套，在乎言語文字之外，而有非常理所可測與？其所為畫法之眩人者，同其類者歟，신(イ+蠱)妖且怪矣。
16. In fact, the possibility that a ghoul existed in these paintings had first been raised by Kang Hobu. Viewing Western paintings in a Catholic church in Beijing, Kang was shocked by just how realistic these paintings were. To this end, Kang Hobu wrote, 'To me, while ghouls appeared to have embedded themselves in the images of persons found in the paintings, the animals also seemed to be possessed by some kind of evil spirits. Great ability is obviously required to produce such paintings. Although it really looked as if a spirit had been incorporated into the painting, I was unable to figure out how this had been brought about. I was therefore forced to conclude that this was the work of a magical and talented ghost.' However, Kang Hobu's statement to the effect that, 'ghouls appeared to have embedded themselves in the images of persons found in the paintings, the animals also seemed to be possessed by some kind of evil spirits, ... Great ability is obviously required to produce such paintings', was made in connection with an image found in a Western oil painting, a style which is much darker and sombre than what is usually found in Oriental paintings. 'The work of a ... talented ghost' can thus be understood as the author's way of saying that such a painting could not have been created by humans.
17. *Sangbongnok*, Vol. 7, '其時學之者，閭巷小民外，其士族則南人為多坐死，及廢者甚衆。老論則建淳其著者—建淳卽清陰先生祀孫—。而或曰建淳自願棄其學 不當在死科 而從前南人死者已多 故嫌於偏黨之譏 不得已置辟云。'
18. Ibid., '惟其所謂登天堂一說，卽渠學之究竟處，其能令蠱惑民志者，似在此一款。'