

Dangerous Women in the Early Catholic Church in Korea

Kevin N. Cawley

Confucian Constructions of “Good” Women

In her celebrated essay “Sorties,” Hélène Cixous discusses how women have been organised within society “by dual, hierarchized oppositions” and depicted as “passive” while men are depicted as “active,” and moreover, how their lives become structured, even “frozen within historicocultural limits.”¹ Cixous’ ideas could easily be related to women living during Korea’s Chosŏn 朝鮮 dynasty (1392–1910), when their lives were dependent upon and constructed by the patriarchal dictates of elite Confucian men, and where every attempt was made to inculcate patterns of behaviour that would indeed, for hundreds of years, attempt to bind women within the historicocultural limits of Confucian ideology. In fact, Lee Sang-wha and Kim Ok-hŭi criticise the negative influence of Confucianism which was responsible for the subjugation of women at many levels, pointing out that women’s inferiority was constructed by the Confucian system, and enforced due to an application of the metaphysics of ‘yang’ as superior and active, and ‘yin’ as inferior and passive, made evident in common expressions such as *yangchŏn ūmbi*² (陽尊陰卑) [yang high, yin low], also reformulated as *namchŏn yŏbi* (男尊女卑) [men high, women low].³ Clearly, within the Confucian tradition binary gender oppositions were at play, choreographing how women were expected to think, act, live, and even sometimes, die. It is necessary to understand this socio-historical reality, as Catholicism,

1 Hélène Cixous, “Sorties,” in *Modern Literary Theory*, ed. Philip Rice and Patricia Waugh (London: Hodder Arnold, 2001), 229–236.

2 Language note: This paper uses the McCune-Reischauer romanisation system for the Korean transliteration of Chinese characters as this paper is concerned with the Korean context, hence ‘yin’ 陰 is written as *ŭm*.

3 Lee Sang-hwa, “Patriarchy and Confucianism,” in *Women’s Experiences and Feminist Practices in South Korea*, eds. Chang Pilwha and Kim Eun-shil (Seoul: Ehwa Woman’s UP, 2005): 67–117. Kim Ok-hŭi, *Han’guk ch’ŏnjugyo yŏsŏng-sa* (韓國天主教女性史) [A History of Women in the Korean Catholic Church] (Seoul: Han’guk inmun kwahakwŏn, 1983), 108–113.

though often associated with suppression, became a space for female liberation in Korea, challenging the Confucian system, which yoked women into an inherently misogynistic model of patriarchal culture.

It was not until the Chosŏn dynasty that Confucianism had such an important role in Korea, and women, such a limited one. During the previous Koryŏ 高麗 dynasty (918–1392), women had a much more equal status, and according to Martina Deuchler, they “enjoyed a great deal of social and economic freedom,” sharing inheritances with brothers, while marriages were generally uxori-local, allowing women to remain close to their parents, and widows could generally remarry without much dissent.⁴ Yi Sŏng-gye (1335–1408), who became known as King T'aejo, following his decision to oust the Koryŏ king and his commander-in-chief from power in 1388, formed an alliance with Confucian scholars, in particular Chŏng To-jŏn (1392–1398), the “architect” of the Chosŏn dynasty, implementing a socio-political Confucian ideology that would also validate his reign. Buddhism, which had flourished during the previous dynasty, lost its prestige and influence, and was rejected by the Confucian elite who wanted to eradicate any competition.⁵

The Confucian state bolstered its rule with Confucian rites and rituals, which were eventually encoded in the *Kyŏngguk Taejŏn* 經國大典, the Canon of National Law. Propriety, or *ye* 禮, manifested through ‘rites’ prescribed by law, further reinforced the power of elite men. As Martina Deuchler highlights, “No discussion of *ye* can neglect to mention law.”⁶ But, law should be distinguished from ‘justice.’ In the essay “Force of Law,” Jacques Derrida deconstructs the “slippages between law and justice,” displacing the assumption that legal ‘duty’ is ‘just,’ forcing us to remember that “law is always an authorized force, a force that justifies itself or is justified in applying itself.”⁷ This is an important

4 Martina Deuchler, “Propagating Female virtues in Chosŏn Korea,” in *Women and Confucian Cultures in Premodern China, Korea and Japan*, eds. Dorothy Ko, Jahyun Kim Haboush and Joan R. Piggott (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 142–169. Here, 143.

5 To understand the role of Chŏng To-jŏn in the Confucianisation of the Chosŏn state, see Chung, Chai-sik, “Chŏng To-jŏn: Architect of Yi Dynasty Government and Ideology,” in *The Rise of Neo-Confucianism in Korea*, ed. Wm Theodore deBary (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985), 59–88. Chŏng was particularly scathing towards Buddhism, writing a vociferous attack entitled, *Pulssi Chappyŏn* 佛氏雜辨 [*Criticisms of Mr. Buddha*], available at: <http://www.acmuller.net/jeong-gihwa/bulssijapbyeon.html> [accessed on 24 September 2014].

6 Martina Deuchler, “Neo-Confucianism in the Early Joseon Dynasty: Some reflections of the role of *ye*,” in *Korean Philosophy: Its Tradition and Modern Transformation*, ed. Korean National Commission for UNESCO (Seoul: Hollym, 2004), 49.

7 Jacques Derrida, “Force of Law: The “Mythical Foundation of Authority,” in *Acts of Religion*, ed. Gil Anidjar (London: Routledge, 2002), 228–298. Here, 231 and 233.

issue for our discussion here, because failure to fulfil one's role in Chosŏn's Confucian society through the correct application of 'propriety' was actually illegal, punishable by law. The law itself allowed men to construct images of 'what' a woman should be, subjugating their roles in hierarchical relationships, controlling their 'being' and their bodies.

A recalibration of both living and dying was regulated by a newly 'prescribed' socio-cultural Confucian order, and applied most stringently to women who belonged to the aristocratic *yangban* class. These women (but also men) were yoked into their roles through the imposition of the 'Five Relationships' (五倫 *oryun*),⁸ as well as the 'Three Obediences' (三從 *samjong*). According to the 'Five Relationships,' women were expected to be subservient to husbands and to acknowledge their different and very separate roles. These binary roles, as explained by Han Hee-sook, were reinforced by the *naewaeböp* (内外法), the law of the private (內 *nae*) and public (外 *wae*) domains: both sexes were segregated, the 'outside' world belonged to men, while women were restricted and confined to the 'inner' realm of the home and emphasised female chastity, while men could have secondary wives, concubines and frequent female entertainers, known as *kisaeng*—generally women from 'lower' backgrounds.⁹ Furthermore, the 'Three Obediences,' found in chapter nine (section ten) of the Confucian classic, the *Book of Rites* (禮記 *yegi*), dictated the subordinate behavioural role women were expected (by law) to fulfil:

The woman follows (and obeys) the man: in her youth, she follows her father and elder brother; when married, she follows her husband; when her husband is dead, she follows her son.¹⁰

This notion of 'rites,' which deprived women of what would now be described as 'human rights,' had become engrained in the Confucian male psyche, and employed as a means for assuring their self-imposed and self-guaranteed superiority. Women were excluded from the most important rite, that of ancestor

8 The 'Five Relationships': between father and son there should be affection; between ruler and minister there should be righteousness; between husband and wife there should be attention to their separate functions; between old and young there should be proper order; and between friends there should be faithfulness. See Wing-tsit Chan, *A Sourcebook in Chinese Philosophy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973), 69–70. The 'Five Relationships' appear in the *Mencius* (3A:4).

9 See: Han Hee-sook, "Women's Life during the Chosŏn Dynasty," *International Journal of Korean History* 6 (2004): 114–116.

10 For the online version of James Legge's translation of the *Li Ki: Book of Rites*, see: <http://www.sacred-texts.com/cfu/liki/likio9.htm> [accessed on 25 September 2014].

veneration (祭祀 *chesa*), only permitted to prepare the food and drink offerings, while male-offspring who were not born of the primary wife were also excluded from this important ritual, which reinforced 'pure' patrilineality. One's destiny was almost a foregone conclusion, as was marriage. Cornelius Osgood illustrates just how common marriage was, writing that "marriage in the old Korea system was almost as certain as death."¹¹ Andrew C. Nahm explains how easily men could divorce women if they were guilty of one of the *ch'ilgōjiak* (七去之惡 seven evils) which were: disobedience to parents-in-law, failure to bear a son, adultery, jealousy, hereditary disease, garrulousness, and larceny.¹² Women, who 'should' have been married between the ages of 14 and 20, and who could have been widowed in their teens, were expected *not* to remarry. Instead, they were expected to remain faithful to their dead husbands, even encouraged to commit suicide to be reunited with them as a testimony to their loyalty. Such women were 'honoured' with "commemorative arches [...] to celebrate and display the examples of extraordinary morality," clearly highlighting the vulnerable position of widows, who, if they did remarry, usually took the 'lower' position as a secondary wife.¹³ Hence, inequality and discrimination was also encountered and imposed on women by women in the 'private' realm, where they were forced to vie for 'superior' positions within their own female hierarchy, which was already inferior to that of men. Sons of secondary wives and concubines were also discriminated against, exposing the uncomfortable fact that the rites and laws which constructed a hierarchical patrilineal society, also discriminated against men who had been dealt an 'impure' hand at birth.

Literature dedicated to the instruction of women emphasised purity and passivity. This 'Écriture Féminine,' which alludes to Hélène Cixous' call for women to "write about women and bring women into writing,"¹⁴ in order to deconstruct conventional images of women constructed by patriarchal men, had a very different goal in Korea—it was (ab)used to implement various strategies to confine, mould and construct 'good' women who adhered to patterns of behaviour that reproduced and perpetuated male perceptions of moral and intellectual domination. During the Chosŏn dynasty, women's education "was carried out informally at home," and mainly developed after the invention of

11 Cornelius Osgood, *The Koreans and Their Culture* (New York: Ronald Press, 1951), 51.

12 Andrew C. Nahm, *Korea: Tradition and Transformation* (Seoul: Hollym, 1996), 114.

13 Martina Deuchler, "Propagating Female Virtues in Chosŏn," 160. For an overview of the status of women within marriage during this period, see: Han Hee-sok, "Women's life during the Chosŏn dynasty," 119–125.

14 Hélène Cixous, "The Laugh of the Medusa," *Signs* 1, no. 4 (1976): 875.

Han'gŭl, Korea's indigenous alphabet, which made books more accessible to women who were not taught Chinese characters, known as *Hanmun* 漢文, because men had decided it was too difficult for them to learn.¹⁵ An influential Confucian primer that had been translated (for women) was the *Elementary Learning* (小學 *Sohak*),¹⁶ a basic text for boys before they moved on to the *Great Learning* (大學 *Taehak*),¹⁷ but often the only form of instruction for girls. It also reinforced gender expectations that confined women to the 'inner' world of the home, instructing that, "when a girl reaches the age of ten she must not go outside."¹⁸ This was something that Catholic women would overturn as some of them became adept in the 'public' realm, rendering them dangerous as they dismantled gender constructs.

Other indoctrinating texts taught women "correct rules of behaviour," or *yöböm* 女範, in primers on domestic affairs such as *Naehunsö* 內訓書 [Instructions for the Inner Quarters] written by Queen Sohye (1437–1504) based on Chinese versions like *Yögyo hunsö* 女教訓書 [Instructions for Females]. Queen Sohye's text, though written by a woman for women, actually reflects how women themselves maintained and reproduced mechanisms of patriarchal control, convinced of their own inferiority. As Deuchler explains, Sohye "was convinced that female education was [...] a necessity [...] rectifying the womanly nature and bringing it in line with the moral exigencies of a Confucian society,"¹⁹ 'producing' good daughters, good wives and good daughter-in-laws. Again, Lee Sangwha and Kim Ok-hŭi criticise such texts,

-
- 15 Ch'oe Yönggho, Lee, De Bary, Peter H., and Wm. Theodore, *Sources of Korean Tradition*, vol. ii (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 34. The Korean alphabet was first promulgated in 1446 during the reign of King Sejong the Great (1397–1450). It is phonetic, consisting of 24 simple letters that are easy to master, unlike the arduous task of mastering thousands of Chinese characters.
 - 16 This text had been in use in China since the end of the twelfth century and is based on the ethical teachings of Confucianism. It was compiled by Zhu Xi (1130–1200), the great synthesizer of what is known as Neo-Confucianism, a metaphysical and onto-cosmological development of earlier Confucianism.
 - 17 This is one of the *Four Books* of Confucianism, outlining its socio-political discourse.
 - 18 Park Il-pong, *Sohak* 小學 [Elementary Learning] (Seoul: Yukmunsa, 1987), 27. This text provides a modern Korean translation with the original Classical Chinese.
 - 19 Martina Deuchler, "Female Virtues in Chosŏn Korea," 148–149. It should also be noted that education in Europe was also used to implant certain patriarchal notions about women. As Noémi Hepp, entry on "Femme," in *Le Dictionnaire du grand siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 1990): 524, notes, education was *not* geared towards producing "smart women, but excellent wives, good mothers of families, and accomplished housewives." Religious tracts constituted a major part of constructing women's gender, such as *L'introduction à la vie dévote*. See, St. François de Sales, *L'introduction à la vie dévote* (Paris: Nelson éditeurs, 1914).

especially the celebrated and much circulated, *Illustrated Guide of the Three Bonds* 三綱行實圖 [*samgang haengsildo*], written in 1432, that stresses loyalty, filial piety and chastity as the main virtues of women—with diagrams, just in case they couldn't understand what they had read.²⁰ Women's subservience to men was also championed by the dominant and dominating intellectual discourse of what might be described as 'écriture masculine,' for example, Song Siyol's *Kyehyŏsŏ*, [Instructions to My Daughter], which was influential from the seventeenth century, with a chapter on "How to *Serve Your Husband*."²¹ The inequality is explicit, and Catholicism's teaching on equality is exactly what would draw huge numbers of women to the early church in Korea where they dangerously implemented this teaching, much to the chagrin of Confucian men who felt threatened.

The Early Catholic Church in Korea

In her essay "Religion and gender," Linda Woodhead asserts that, "For most of its history the study of religion has been gender-blind. This neglect of gender often had the effect of privileging the dominant male, standpoint."²² Most accounts of the early Catholic Church in Korea focus on the earliest group of intellectuals led by Yi Pyŏk (1754–1786) and Yi Sŭnghun (1756–1801), who were particularly influenced by *Tianzhu shiyi* 天主實義 [K. *Chŏnju sirŭi*, The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven], composed in Chinese by the Italian Jesuit missionary, Matteo Ricci (1552–1610).²³ These men were Confucian scholars, and initially they reached out to a close circle of men, generally related to them through blood or marriage ties. They met in secret, aware that Confucianism alone was accepted by state authority, and cognisant of the fact that other doctrines considered 'heterodox,' but more importantly, that they were breaking the law. Soon, violent purges, endorsed by Confucians, sought to eradicate Christian teachings, as well as its followers.

Hence, it is quite significant that religious texts in the early Catholic Church in Korea would actually erode and dissolve many gender constrictions and constructions.

20 Lee Sang-hwa, "Patriarchy and Confucianism"; Kim Ok-hŭi, *Han'guk ch'ŏnjugyo yŏsŏng-sa*.

21 Ch'oe et al., 49.

22 Linda Woodhead, "Gender and religion," in *Religions in the Modern World: Traditions and Transformations*, eds. Linda Woodhead, Hiroko Kawanami and Christopher Partridge (London: Routledge, 2010), 472.

23 For a more in-depth look at the early Korean encounter with Ricci's text and its influence on the early Catholic Church in Korea, see: Kevin N. Cawley, "Deconstructing Hegemony: Catholic Texts in Chosŏn's Neo-Confucian Context," *Acta Koreana* 15, no. 1 (2012): 15–42.

The first martyr from the early church was Kim Pömu (?–1786), a member of the lower *chungin* (middle) class. He had organised prayer meetings in his home, where the other members were mostly aristocratic *yangban* men, hence of ‘superior’ birth according to their own Confucian interpretation of the matter. The next martyr was Yun Chich’ung (1759–1791), who had been converted by the previous martyr Kim, and who was also the cousin of one of Korea’s most renowned scholars Chŏng Yagyong (1762–1836), known by his pen name Tasan 茶山, who had also converted, been baptised, and who had been actively spreading Catholic teachings in secret, despite meeting regularly with King Chŏngjo (r. 1776–1800), clearly playing a dangerous duplicitous game. Yun had refused to hold the very important Confucian ancestor memorial rites for his mother in adherence with new directives received from Bishop de Gouvea in Beijing: he actually burned her ancestral tablets!²⁴ This drew the ire of Confucians at court, mainly seeking promotions and not particularly interested in or knowledgeable about Catholic doctrine. However, the main argument was actually a legal one—Yun had broken the law by not holding the correct legal rite. He, along with another cousin were executed, their heads exposed publicly on spikes to terrify others from joining this ‘illegal’ religion, which was soon outlawed by King Chŏngjo, along with all Catholic texts, many of which were gathered and destroyed. The importation of further Catholic documents and artefacts was also made illegal.²⁵ From this point on, many of the elite *yangban* men publicly (and one might add, cowardly) withdrew from the religion, among them Tasan.²⁶ One could argue that they could no longer be a part of the religion because of the ban on ancestral rites, because it conflicted with their Confucian tradition. However, this fails to take into any consideration their already clandestine ‘religious’ organisation, the fact that they had already broken the law, and more importantly (and more realistically),

24 The practice of ancestral memorial rites by Catholics was banned in 1742 by Pope Benedict XIV, despite the fact that earlier Jesuits, including Ricci, considered them ‘civil rites,’ not religious rites, therefore not idolatrous. The Church would change its policy only in 1939—now Catholics in China and Korea are free to perform ancestral memorial rites. For a discussion on the rites controversy which originated in China, see: Kenneth Scott Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China* (Taipei: Ch’eng-Wen Publishing Company, 1966), 131–152.

25 For a more detailed look at the growth and persecutions of the early Church, as well as the policies of King Chŏngjo towards Catholicism, see: Choi Jae-keun, *The Origin of the Roman Catholic Church in Korea* (Seoul: Hermit Kingdom Press, 2006).

26 For more discussion on Tasan, who would eventually be forced into exile for 18 years, see “Dis-assembling Tradition: Deconstructing Tasan via Matteo Ricci,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 24, no. 1 (2014): 297–313.

that these men had political careers, wealth and power to lose. In addition, their entire families would have been ruined and thrown out of their luxurious *yangban* homes, with their wives and children exiled, or worse, enslaved.²⁷

In 1801, what is known as the “Sinyu persecution” broke out, and hundreds of Catholics were executed, while hundreds more were exiled.²⁸ When the “Edict for the Punishment of Heterodoxy” 討逆頒教文 [*Toyŏk-pan'gyomun*], written by Yi Man-su, was proclaimed that same year, it specifically mentioned women who had “overturned their moral duty and confused public morals,”²⁹ grouping them with slaves and ignorant farmers, accusing them of being a dangerous threat to their families and the stability of the state. By this time women had already disproportionately displaced men in terms of Church membership, as well as in terms of proselytising and gaining new converts. This crucial fact is emphasised by Hwang Sayŏng (1775–1801) in his notorious “Silk Letter” 帛書 (*Paeksŏ*), written on a piece of cloth, intended for the Catholic bishop in Beijing, but unfortunately intercepted by Confucian authorities. The letter recounts the horrifying state of affairs for Catholics, who were being rounded up, brutally tortured and often executed.³⁰ It, more importantly, clarifies Church membership, writing that “women made up about two-thirds, while about one third were the ignorant lowly people [including slaves],” adding that the aristocratic men were fearful of the persecutions.³¹ Hwang provides a valuable depiction of how Catholicism was unsettling traditional femininities, but also traditional masculinities: the women become more active as the men become passive, and during a time of persecution, it is marginalised women, who, in the face of brutality, bravely spread the teachings of a fledgling Catholic church under threat by Confucian authority. Among these women there are two towering figures who embody how Catholicism was transforming the lives of women, Colombe Kang Wansuk (1760–1801) and Luthgarde Yi Suni (1781?–1802).

27 See, Pierre-Emmanuel Roux, “The Great Ming Code and the Repression of Catholics in Chosŏn Korea,” *Acta Koreana* 15, no. 1 (2012): 73–106.

28 Sinyu refers to the year's name.

29 To read the ‘Edict for the Punishment of Heterodoxy,’ see: Kim Sijun (ed.), *Pyŏkwipyŏn* 闢衛編 [Writings Against Heterodoxy], (Seoul: Myŏngmundang, 1987), 250–261 (252). It is also found in the Royal Annals from the reign of King Sunjo: year 1, 22nd day of the twelfth month. The original text can be found in the *Chosŏn Wangjo Sillok* 朝鮮王朝實錄, *Annals of the Chosŏn Dynasty*, available at: <http://sillok.history.go.kr> [accessed on 19 September 2014].

30 For the original *Silk Letter* with modern Korean translation, see: Hwang Sayŏng, *Paeksŏ* 帛書 [The Silk Letter], ed. Ch'oe Yŏng-hae (Seoul: Chŏngŭmsa, 1975).

31 *Ibid.*, line 20, p. 34.

Kang Wansuk and Women's Liberation

Kang Wansuk, who had been baptised as Colombe, is one of the most important women from this period within the early Church. Information about Colombe can be found in three important sources: 1) Hwang Sayŏng's "Silk Letter," mentioned above, 2) *Sahak Chingŭi* 邪學懲義 [Records on Punishment for Deviant Learning],³² and an important Western account in 3) Charles Dallet's *L'Histoire de L'Eglise de Corée*.³³ It is clear from these documents that the Chosŏn government considered women dabbling in "deviant learning" as a threat to the state by overturning the social mores of Confucian human relations, endeavouring to realise a 'dangerous' value system based on freedom and equality with men. To a large degree Colombe was the mastermind of this new aspirational *modus vivendi*. Whatever Colombe's 'impure' *Yangban* (or aristocratic) family origins might have been, so important to Confucian hierarchy, she should be remembered foremost for her radical life, and for what she did and achieved in the face of persecution and intimidation which terrified many men into hiding.³⁴ Colombe, a single mother, and shockingly non-conformist (even by modern standards), was one of the most influential Catholics in the history of Korea's Catholic Church, and maintained close relationships with its most important male figures, such as Fr Zhou, Hwang Sayŏng, but also Chŏng Yakchong (brother of Tasan) who had written the first Korean theology in Han'gŭl, *Chugyo yoji* (주교요지) [The Essentials of the Lord's Teachings].³⁵ Clearly Chŏng's text was written in the vernacular by necessity, to provide a text for the growing female membership, indicating that women were studying church doctrine, but also teaching it to other women, hence, contributing

32 *Sahak Chingŭi* is a record of the testimony of those accused of involvement with the Catholic Church, many of whom did not recant, and were subsequently executed.

33 Hwang Sayŏng, *Paeksŏ*; *Sahak Chingŭi* 邪學懲義 [Records on Punishment for Deviant Learning] (reprint), (Seoul: Purham Munhwasa, 1977); Charles Dallet, *L'Histoire de L'Eglise de Corée*, 2 vols (Paris: Librairie Victor Palmé, 1874).

34 Gari Ledyard discusses Colombe's background and its 'impure' lineage, according to standard Confucian interpretations, see: Gari Ledyard, "Kollumba Kang Wansuk," in *Christianity in Korea*, eds. Robert E. Buswell and Timothy S. Lee (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006). For a contemporaneous account of her background, see: Hwang Sayŏng, *Paeksŏ*, line 65, 73.

35 For an in-depth analysis of this work with the original Han'gŭl text and English translation, see: Hector Diaz, *A Korean Theology: Chugyo Yoji: Essentials of the Lord's teaching by Chŏng Yak-jong Augustine (1760–1801)* (Immensée: Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft, 1986).

to the development of “Han’gŭl culture.”³⁶ These Catholic women were no longer content with manuals teaching them how to be “good” wives and subservient daughters. They were teaching each other about equality, liberating their sisters from patriarchal commandments, with some choosing to remain virgins, and some still, resisting marriage altogether, putting their “dangerous knowledge” into practice.

Colombe had been married as a teenager to a widower named Hong Chiyong, from Töksan in Ch’ungch’öng province, quite far from the capital where Catholicism had initially sprouted.³⁷ Dallet’s description of Hong is far from flattering, describing him as “a man of extreme simplicity, completely lacking any intellectual qualities” who Colombe found very difficult to live with.³⁸ This description is all the more shocking when one considers that Colombe herself is described in the *Silk Letter* as being intellectually more outstanding than any man, rupturing the divide based on prejudices that separated the sexes.³⁹ However, her actions are more shocking as she did exactly the opposite of what was expected of women. She had already been involved with Catholicism since the time of Yun Chich’ung’s execution, and had been arrested and imprisoned after this scandal, but soon released.⁴⁰ Rather than withdrawing from the “illegal” religion, she became more involved, a dynamic missionary force in her locality, even beyond, converting friends and neighbours, even her mother-in-law and her stepson, leaving with both of them and her young daughter for Seoul, and completely abandoning her obligations to “serve” her husband (who had possibly divorced her). After arriving in Seoul she sought out Catholics, eventually financially assisting the *chungin* Chi Hwang to bring the first foreign missionary into Korea at the end of 1794, the Chinese priest Fr. Zhou Wenmo (1752–1801)—an intrepid enterprise for all involved.⁴¹ Even more audacious, and significantly more dangerous for Colombe, was that she hid the priest in her own residence in Seoul, in the female quarters, deviating from all norms and codes of behaviour, dissolving and overturning what Cixous considers to be the “subordination of the feminine to the masculine order which appears

36 Cho Kwang, “The Meaning of Catholicism in History,” *Korea Journal* 24, no. 8 (1984): 20–21.

37 Hwang Sayöng, *Paeksö*, *ibid.*

38 Dallet, *L’Histoire*, vol. i., 74.

39 Hwang Sayöng, *Paeksö*, line 20, 34.

40 Gari Ledyard, “Kollumba,” 42.

41 Dallet, *L’Histoire*, 74–75; Kim Ok-hŭi, “Han’guk ch’önjugyo yösöng-sa,” 83–84; *Sahak Chingŭi*, 363–364.

to be the condition for the functioning of the [patriarchal] machine.”⁴² Colombe, embodying the Catholic teaching of equality, had become empowered by assuming a masculine ‘active’ and ‘public’ role, while the priest, hid in the ‘religious’ closet, had become feminised, but ironically, dependent upon the ‘silence’ of women, who had been caricatured as gossiping imbeciles, whose garrulousness could lead to their divorce, listed among the ‘Seven Evils.’

In *The origin of the Roman Catholic Church in Korea*, Choi Jae-keun emphasises the resurgence in Catholicism after the arrival of Fr. Zhou who founded the *Myōngdohoe* (明道會) [Society for the Illumination of the Way] which organised secret meetings to instruct Koreans in Catholic doctrine: its members included people of different classes, men and women, gradually dissolving the boundaries that had previously divided the class and gender among the early Catholic Church in Korea. Colombe had been made the head of the female meetings of the *Myōngdohoe*, which in itself was a significant development, whereby a woman had an important role in a new social institution that encouraged the participation of other women—among them, some members of the royal family and even female slaves—women from both ends of a finely segregated society.⁴³ Kim Ok-hŭi highlights how Colombe was responsible for protecting the foreign priest, this illegal alien (and by doing so breaking the law), but also for recruiting new women into the Church.⁴⁴ Ledyard adds that “[Colombe’s] religious work was principally the conversion and training of other women, in which by all accounts she was outstandingly successful.”⁴⁵ He also highlights her other activities, such as organising “safe houses” in times of danger from authorities, as well as hiding religious books.⁴⁶ Meanwhile, Hwang Sayōng lauds Colombe in his *Silk Letter*, writing how she had been baptised by the priest himself, how he had chosen her specifically to lead the women’s movement within the church, convinced of her capabilities, describing how she alone had undertaken his protection, performing an important dual

42 Hélène Cixous, “Sorties,” 231.

43 Choi Jae-keun, *The Origin of the Roman Catholic Church in Korea*, 46–51. Choi (Ibid., 129–131) also highlights that Fr. Zhou had regular secret visits to the Yanghŏi Palace in Seoul as members of the extended royal household had converted to Catholicism, especially many palace women. Members of the royal family, including King Chōngjo’s uncle Hong Nagim would also be executed for involvement with the Church, though his involvement is unsure, and may have been used as a political tool. It also appears that the early Catholics also held mixed-sex meetings, which again would have been deemed scandalous at that time. See, *Sahak Chingŭi*, 70–76.

44 Kim Ok-hŭi, *Han’guk ch’ŏnjugyo yŏsŏng-sa*, 88–89.

45 Ledyard, “Kollumba,” 51.

46 Ibid., 49

role: *inside*, tending to the priest personally, while *outside*, organising church affairs. Moreover, it was Colombe, “due to her mastery of [church] teachings which she expressed with such eloquence that she ended up converting more people than anyone.”⁴⁷ These are clearly iconoclastic images of womanhood at this time in Korea, and it is easy to see why they were considered ‘dangerous’ by Confucian men as they unsettled the structures they had welded for hundreds of years. Choi writes that the actions of Colombe were “unthinkable in a Confucian society, and signified the liberation of women.”⁴⁸ Unfortunately, as Hwang’s letter describes, Colombe was arrested with all those with her, relentlessly tortured and finally beheaded at the age of 41.⁴⁹ The accounts in *Sahak Chingŭi* surrounding Colombe’s arrest show her resolve and faith (in ‘deviant learning’) even in the face of torture, where she, and other brave women, did not give in to apostasy, unlike many men in similar circumstances.⁵⁰

Spiritual Transformation: Luthgarde Yi Suni’s Prison Letters

Yi Suni, baptised Luthgarde, is one of these brave women who, in the face of brutal torture and faced with execution, did not turn her back on the faith that had transformed her life and led to her death. Yi’s father’s family were descendants of the very famous Korean scholar Yi Sugwang (1563–1628) who was one of the very first Koreans to criticise Matteo Ricci’s *Tianzhu shiyi* and Catholicism. Her widowed mother, clearly responsible for the Catholic upbringing of her five children, was a sister of two very famous Confucian scholars who had converted to Catholicism and who were a driving force behind the early Church: Kwŏn Ch’ŏlsin (1736–1801) and Kwŏn Ilsin (1742–1791).⁵¹ Both brothers would also die martyrs. Importantly, it was a woman, Luthgarde’s mother, madam Kwŏn,⁵² who had provided a Catholic education for her daughter, but also her sons, two of whom would also die martyrs. Andrew Finch, in his article

47 Hwang Sayŏng, *Paeksŏ*, lines 66–69, 74–76.

48 Choi Jae-keun, *The Origin of the Roman Catholic Church in Korea*, 254.

49 Ibid., line 70, 77.

50 *Sahak Chingŭi*, 96–97.

51 For an extended look at Luthgarde’s family background, see: Kim Ok-hŭi, ed., *Sungyoja Yi Suni Nugalda-ŭi sam-kwa kŭ yŏngsŏng* 순교자 이순이 루갈다의 삶과 그 영성 [The Life and Spirituality of the Martyr Yi Suni Luthgarde] (Seoul: Han’guk haksul chŏngbo, 2007), 11–23.

52 Most women were not referred to by proper names, but rather identified by their relationship with men: as some male’s wife/daughter/mother.

"The Pursuit of Martyrdom in the Catholic Church in Korea before 1866,"⁵³ suggests that a sort of cult of martyrdom existed, and that the early Catholics were focused on the after-life and the hope of eternal bliss. This over-simplification may reflect the biases of his main sources, which were written by Catholic missionaries, glorifying martyrdom in order to lay the seeds of further growth. As discussed above, women like Colombe transformed their own lives and the lives of others who converted to Catholicism. They organised a living community, very much focused on this-life, attempting to eradicate social injustices, freeing slaves and spreading their "dangerous knowledge" that threatened many men. Clearly they were spiritually transformed and often willing to die for their faith, but one should not overlook the very practical way that Christianity had transformed their way of 'Being.' Luthgarde's 'Letters from Prison,' known as *Okjung sŏgan* 옥중서간,⁵⁴ illustrate this point with clarity, and articulate the spiritual life of women so often overlooked and ignored in world religious history.

The first letter, written to her mother, is exploding with significance.⁵⁵ It shows how the personal spiritual transformation of this young woman led her to remain a virgin even after her marriage, hence informing us of this 'practice' that her husband, Johan Yu Chungch'öl (1779–1801), had also agreed to. Dallet, who describes the young woman's "superior intelligence," writes how Fr. Zhou approved "Luthgarde's proposal," which indicates that she herself had taken the matter into her own hands, having found a man who clearly followed her example,⁵⁶ in complete abandonment of expected norms of behaviour, especially the ingrained Confucian idea that a married woman's role was to produce children.⁵⁷ Finch discusses the quite significant numbers who had vowed to remain virgins (referring to the second volume of Dallet's Church history), adding that, leading such celibate lives was "a difficult and potentially dangerous course in a society where marriage was the expected norm."⁵⁸ Luthgarde, and clearly other women, chose to protect their virginity out of personal volition, not due to patriarchal codes. In *Je, Tu, Nous*, Luce Irigaray emphasises that

53 Andrew Finch, "The Pursuit of Martyrdom in the Catholic Church in Korea before 1866," *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 60, 1 (2009): 95–118.

54 Luthgarde's letters have been collected and edited by Kim Ok-hŭi, in *Sungyoja*, 60–89.

55 For Luthgarde's first letter, see: Kim Ok-hŭi, *Sungyoja*, 60–63.

56 Dallet, *L'Histoire*, vol. i., 180–181.

57 In fact, in the *Mencius* 7:26, it is written that "There are three ways you can fail to honour your parents, and the worst is to have no heir. *The Mencius*, tran. David Hinton (Washington D.C.: Counterpoint, 1999), 137.

58 Finch, "Martyrdom," 105.

virginity reflects a woman's right to human identity, and that "this component of female identity enables the girl to keep her virginity (including for her own relationship with the divine) as long as she likes."⁵⁹ This is a very pertinent issue in light of Luthgarde's relationship with God, to whom she dedicated her life, and death.

This letter, written in prison, expecting death, inevitably does discuss her faith in relation to the after-life, but this is because she was well aware that the end was near as she would not renounce her God—that would be to render her spiritual metamorphosis something trivial—it clearly was anything but that. In addition, descriptions of eternal joy in an afterlife are used as a strategy to provide solace, not only to Luthgarde herself, but, more importantly, to her mother, reflecting her strong sense of filial piety: important for a Catholic as well as a Confucian. It also highlights the close bond that existed between these women, one that was usually broken after the daughter left her maternal home to move in with her husband's family.⁶⁰ The *Five Relationships*, mentioned previously, did not even consider Female-Female relations, and completely ignored Mother-Daughter relationships by emphasising 'superior' Father-Son relationships, which were reinforced by maintaining genealogical records known as *chokpo* (族譜). Genealogical records, however, only recorded patrilineal lineages, the matrilineal lineages were ignored, once again, inscribing female inferiority into the patriarchal Confucian family matrix.⁶¹ Luthgarde shows equal concern in her letter for her brothers, her sisters, but also for her sister-in-law, whose husband (Luthgarde's older brother Yi Kyōngdo) had been condemned to death. She recommends that her mother take this sister-in-law to her home and to look after her, and that her mother remain in good stead with all her in-laws in Chōnju. Marriage, in this case, involved all the women, as equals, dissolving the inequality that Confucian categories sought to implant via an *écriture féminine* that further debased women.

Luthgarde, in choosing to marry Johan Yu, had from a patriarchal point of view, married below her station. She was from the capital region and

59 Luce Irigaray, *Je, Tu, Nous*, trans. Alison Martin (New York: Routledge, 2007), 80.

60 A common Korean term for marriage was *sijip kada* (시집 가다) [Going to the in-laws], where the woman would serve her parents-in-law, having little contact with her own mother which was an undervalued relationship and clearly psychologically troubling, but which also reinforced patriarchal strategies to make certain women appear unequal to others, constantly exploiting female-female relations, undermining their validity in a social arena where women were always inferior, even among each other.

61 For an overview of the unfair gender bias of genealogical records (*chokpo*), see: Martina Deuchler, *The Confucian Transformation of Korea: a Study of Society and Ideology* (Harvard (Mass.): Harvard University Asia Center, 1992), 164–168.

from elite families (on both sides), while Johan was from a rural town near Chŏnju, in the Southwest. Cho Kwang comments that Luthgarde's marriage "can be understood as a challenge to the social custom of valuing high estate and lineage," hence, an escape from the suppression of women's minds, but also their bodies, to the oppressive patriarchal system of pre-modern Korea.⁶² Luthgarde does not hesitate to inform her own mother of the sexual urges that she repressed, writing how both she and her husband "resisted carnal temptation about ten times" preserving her virginity, which was clearly linked to her spiritual integrity. Luce Irigaray associates virginity "with a woman's conquest of the spiritual,"⁶³ and this is clearly how Luthgarde considered it, and if one considers that this letter was written in 1801, its author was astonishingly ahead of her time. Therefore, this letter, written by a woman of barely twenty, articulates the kindling sparks of the modern idea of equality as a human right, and one that relates to all aspects of the person: intellectual and physical, but also sexual and spiritual.

Again, Luthgarde's second letter is destined for female readership, addressed to her two sisters.⁶⁴ It is described by Dallet as "one of the most touching accounts of the primitive Church," who also praises her "exquisite delicateness."⁶⁵ Luthgarde's letter is touching, not because it recounts some sort of 'expected' female sentimentality that one could easily find in a Brontë novel, rather, as Jahyun Kim Habousch so acutely points out, it records "the complete decimation of a Catholic family."⁶⁶ Luthgarde informs us that her father-in-law, Yu Hanggŏm, and two brother-in-laws had been executed, while the younger children of the Yu family were exiled as slaves to different remote places in Korea. She, separated from her husband who is sent to another prison, finds herself eventually imprisoned with several members of her husband's family, including his mother, Sin Hŭi, and brother, as well as his uncle's wife and child.⁶⁷ Instead of considering her own pain and loneliness, she shows empathy for her mother-in-law whose husband and children were executed one by one. She recounts her own punishment, where after receiving a harsh caning, almost flayed alive with blood dripping from her wounds, she was led at blade-point back to her cell. But she does not recount these horrors in some

62 Cho Kwang, "The Meaning of Catholicism," 17.

63 Luce Irigaray, *Je, Tu, Nous*, 110.

64 For the first letter by Luthgarde, see: Kim Ok-hŭi, *Sungyoja*, 63–79.

65 Dallet, *L'histoire*, 186.

66 Jahyun Kim Haboush, *Epistolary Korea: Letters in the Communicative Space of the Chosŏn, 1392–1910* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), 362.

67 Kim Ok-hŭi, *Sungyoja*, 64–65, 78.

self-pitying manner, nor does she seek the pity of the readers, as she recounts how she is in place of (spiritual) peace, placing her hope in God, beseeching her sisters, mother and other family members to continue to *practice* their faith.⁶⁸ Again, it is important to note that Luthgarde's sense of impending martyrdom heightened her spiritual experience, but, her religious faith had engendered serious 'practical' outcomes too. Catholics were not simply hoping to die martyrs—of course, when arrested and imprisoned and facing execution, they were often willing to accept it as a test of their Christian faith.

Luthgarde outlines how she and her husband, (who she clearly loved deeply, and in a much more romantic way than the asexual "brother and sister" manner that she initially depicts) had decided to share a major portion of their family property and wealth with the poor.⁶⁹ Such a magnanimous expression of Christian charity is a boundary breaking event that undermines the ideological apparatus of unequal Confucian relations and challenges Chosŏn's historico-social delimitations. This Christian virtue, embodied so clearly by Luthgarde, gestures towards a certain sense of 'inter-responsibility' where the 'Other' is considered equal, reminiscent of an idea articulated by French philosopher Jean-Luc Nancy as "being-with-one-another [être-les-uns-avec-les-autres],"⁷⁰ an idea that itself gestures towards an important teaching advanced in recent years by the Vietnamese Buddhist, Thich Nhat Hanh, who *reminds* us to be *mindful* of our "inter-beingness."⁷¹ These ideas express something that the *humanity* (仁, *in*) of Confucianism, distorted through patriarchal pollution, *dehumanises* via codes of social segregation. Luthgarde's letter illustrates how 'this-life' was greatly valued, as it represented an opportunity for Catholics, as a unified community, to implement and practice, in a very concrete and visible manner, what was for them, their faith in an invisible, yet real, God. Furthermore, she reinforces an awareness of spiritual 'inter-beingness' through 'being-with-one-another' by revealing how she, her mother-in-law, her aunt-in-law and cousin-in-law were all of "one heart-and-mind [한마음, *han maŭm*] with one goal, supporting each other during their hardship,"⁷² and

68 Kim Ok-hŭi, *Sungyoja*, 71–72.

69 Ibid., 68.

70 Jean-Luc Nancy, *Being Singular Plural*, trans. Robert D. Richardson and Anne E. O'Byrne (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000).

71 Thich Nhat Hanh, *Interbeing: Fourteen Guidelines for Engaged Buddhism* (New Delhi: Full Circle publications, 2009). Thich Nhat Hanh founded his order called the 'Order of Inter-Being' in 1966. He established an important monastery and meditation centre called Plum Village in the Dordogne region of France, see, <http://www.villagedespruniers.org/> [accessed on 12 September 2014].

72 Kim Ok-hŭi (ed.), *Sungyoja*, 78.

all eventually sharing the same fate—beheaded on the same day on January third 1802.

Conclusion

Catholicism, though often considered to reinforce patriarchal values, clearly provided the women in the early Catholic Church in Korea with a means for their own liberation from Confucian values that demeaned them mentally, physically, sexually and spiritually. The early Church was a movement dominated by these “dangerous women,” who sought to liberate other women from the psychological chains of oppressive Confucian control, empowered by the Christian idea of equality—“dangerous knowledge” in the eyes of Confucian men. By 1801, according to Hwang Sayŏng’s *Silk Letter*, there were several thousand converts, mostly women, many from the lower classes, including their children, and even slaves.⁷³ This illustrates how the Church had been transformed from one of aristocratic Confucian male membership in the early 1780s, to a Church of marginalised women by the end of the 1790s, led, taught and organised, to a large degree, by a single mother, Colombe Kang, as well as Fr. Zhou, whose own life depended on her watchfulness and discretion. Indeed, James H. Grayson aptly describes the Sinyu persecution as “a watershed in Korean Catholic History, marking the end of the scholarly church of the aristocracy and the beginning of the persecuted underground church of the people.”⁷⁴ But this ‘Church of the People,’ was predominantly a church of women, for women, who conducted their meetings in secret, earning them a shady reputation. Choi notes that even in the Royal Annals of King Sunjo, Catholic women were described as “sly wives and wicked daughter-in-laws [who] communicated with the Westerners in secret,”⁷⁵ possibly an allusion to Colombe who had abandoned her husband and converted her mother-in-law, and who had helped to organise (and pay for) Fr. Zhou’s trip to Korea. Even the Catholic teachings of this Chinese missionary—the first missionary to Korea—had been spread by Colombe, who, undeterred by the threat of torture and execution, used them to assert herself in a public domain hitherto reserved for men. She understood Catholic doctrine as well as any man, if not better than most, having been instructed by Fr. Zhou in her own private female quarters, before heading out to spread the ‘Good News,’ about equality and charity.

73 Hwang Sayŏng, *Paeksŏ*, line 87, 91–92.

74 James H. Grayson, *Korea—A Religious History* (London: Routledge Curzon, 2002), 143.

75 Choi, *The Origin of the Roman Catholic Church in Korea*, 130.

Confucian expectations of womanhood had also been transformed by the spiritual awakening that emboldened women such as Luthgarde Yi Suni to remain a virgin within marriage, and to insist on the same expectations from her husband, making them both spiritual and (non)sexual equals. Luthgarde and her husband had decided together to divide their family wealth and to accord a significant portion to the poor whom they would welcome into their home in a benevolent display of Christian charity, illustrating how Christian ideas were ‘practiced,’ exemplifying an idea that Jean-Luc Nancy highlights—that “only Christian *practice* is Christian.”⁷⁶ These values overturned the Confucian boundaries that physically separated men and women, but also people from different classes, practicing ‘being-with-one-another,’ respectful of one’s ‘Inter-Beingness,’ which also embodies the teaching in Saint Paul’s letter to the Galatians 3:28, that through Christ, “there is neither Jew nor Greek [Korean nor Westerner], slave nor free, male nor female.”

These accounts overturn the Confucian bias towards women as inferior, and in doing so, disrupt the ingrained hierarchized oppositions (to refer to Cixous’ term once again), preparing the way for the ‘order’ and ‘structures’ of Confucian Patriarchy to be dis-ordered and de-structured from within the system. Colombe challenged Korea’s patriarchal system, and encouraged women—single, married and widowed (independent of background)—to take control of their own minds and their own lives, motioning us towards ideas expressed by Poulain de la Barre (1647–1725), an early feminist, who urges us to purge ourselves of gender prejudices, asserting that “the mind has no sex.”⁷⁷ Hence, gender roles (and their limitations) are merely chimerical constructions, only dependent on reproducing and replicating patriarchal essentialisms. These essentialisms, imbedded in unjust laws, were uprooted through a simple, yet dangerous teaching—that we are equal—and that gender is a

76 Jean-Luc Nancy, *Dis-Enclosure: The Deconstruction of Christianity*, trans. Bettina Bergo (New York: Fordham University Press, 2008), 52.

77 Poulain de la Barre, *De L’Égalité des deux sexes, discours physique et moral où l’on voit l’importance de se défaire des préjugés* (second edition, 1676), available online at: <http://blog.le-miklos.eu/wp-content/Poullain-EgaliteDesDeuxSexes.pdf> [accessed on 28 September 2014]. Poulain, a Catholic priest who then converted to Protestantism, was quite possibly one of the earliest feminists in the modern sense of the term. He also influenced Simone de Beauvoir who cites him in an epigram to her influential *Le Deuxième Sexe* (Paris, Éditions Gallimard, 1949). For an in-depth discussion on Poulain and his influence on feminism see: Marie-Frédérique Pellegrin and Nicole Pellegrin, *François Poulain de la Barre and the Invention of Modern Equality* (Cambridge (Mass): Harvard University Press, 2004).

construct in serious need of deconstruction. Catholic women dissolved the social boundaries of Confucian human relations and endeavoured to realise a new value system based on freedom and equality *with* men. These women also had a pioneering role in freeing slaves, allowing them to take part in religious rites with nobility 'as equals' for the first time in Korean history. The idea of equality was not just something women hoped for themselves, but they hoped the Church community would bring a better future for their children. The Church would face a series of further persecutions during the 1830s and 1840s, but the worst occurred between 1866 and 1871, when several thousand victims, made up of a majority of women and their (teenage) children, lost their lives in brutal purges.⁷⁸ By the time Protestant missionaries arrived in Korea in the late nineteenth century, the building blocks for its growth, based on a belief in a monotheistic Trinitarian God and the teachings of Jesus Christ, had already been paved by the arduous efforts and the blood of Korean Catholic martyrs, many of them who were considered very, very dangerous to a Confucian state that was soon about to crumble.

However, it was not until August 2014 that the Catholic Church itself finally recognised the contribution and importance of both Colombe Kang Wansuk and Luthgarde Yi Suni, when they were among 124 martyrs beatified by Pope Francis I at a large open-air ceremony in Seoul attended by hundreds of thousands of people. But once again, it was a man who was highlighted, Paul Yun Chich'ung, and the many women, grouped with men, merely listed as "*his* companions," despite the fact that these women had been the real movers and shakers of the early Church who spread its message without any need of Western missionaries, and to a large degree, without any need of men at all.⁷⁹

Bibliography

Cawley, Kevin N. "Dis-assembling Traditions: Deconstructing Tasan via Matteo Ricci." *Journal of the Roral Asiatic Society* 24, 1 (2014): 297–313.

-
- 78 For an overview of this period, see, Choi Jai-keun, *The Origin of the Roman Catholic Church in Korea*, 169–219. For a description of this period, as well as the early Protestant Church in Korea. See, James H. Grayson, *Korea-A Religious History*, 143–146 & 155–160.
- 79 For the full text of the Pope's homily at the mass for the beatification of Korean martyrs, see, <http://www.indcatholicnews.com/news.php?viewStory=25389> [accessed on 27 September 2014].

- . “Deconstructing Hegemony: Catholic Texts in Chosŏn’s Neo-Confucian Context.” *Acta Koreana* 15, 1 (2012): 15–42.
- Chan, Wing-tsit. *A Sourcebook in Chinese Philosophy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973.
- Choi Jae-keun. *The Origin of the Roman Catholic Church in Korea*. Seoul: Hermit Kingdom Press, 2006.
- Cho Kwang. “The Meaning of Catholicism in History,” *Korea Journal*, 24, 8 (1984): 20–21.
- Chong, Tojŏn. *Pulssi Chapp’yŏn* 佛氏雜辨 [*Criticisms of Mr. Buddha*], trans. Charles Muller, available at: <http://www.acmuller.net/jeong-gihwa/bulssijapbyeon.html> [accessed on 24.09.2014].
- Chosŏn Wangjo Sillok 朝鮮王朝實錄, *Annals of the Chosŏn Dynasty*, available at: <http://sillok.history.go.kr> [accessed on 19.09.2014].
- Chung, Chai-sik. “Chŏng Tojŏn: Architect of Yi Dynasty Government and Ideology.” In *The Rise of Neo-Confucianism in Korea*, edited by William Theodore de Bary, 59–88. New York: Columbia University Press, 1985.
- Cixous, Hélène. “The Laugh of the Medusa.” *Signs* 1, 4 (1976): 875–893.
- . “Sorties.” In *Modern Literary Theory*, edited by Philip Rice and Patricia Waugh, 229–236. London: Hodder Arnold, 2001.
- De La Barre, Poulain. *De L’Égalité des deux sexes, discours physique et moral où l’on voit l’importance de se défaire des préjugés* (second edition, 1676), available online at: <http://blog.le-miklos.eu/wp-content/Poullain-EgaliteDesDeuxSexes.pdf> [accessed on 28.09.2014].
- Derrida, Jacques. “Force of Law: The “Mythical Foundation of Authority.” in *Acts of Religion*, edited by Gil Anidjar, 228–298. London: Routledge, 2002.
- De Sales, (St.) François. *L’introduction à la vie devote*. Paris: Nelson éditeurs, 1914.
- Deuchler, Martina. *The Confucian Transformation of Korea: a Study of Society and ideology*. Harvard (Mass.): Harvard University Asia Centre, 1992.
- . “Propagating Female virtues in Chosŏn Korea.” In *Women and Confucian Cultures in Premodern China, Korea and Japan*, edited by Dorothy Ko, Jahyun Kim Haboush and Joan R. Piggott, 142–169. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003.
- . “Neo-Confucianism in the Early Joseon Dynasty: Some reflections of the role of ye.” In *Korean Philosophy: Its Tradition and Modern Transformation*, edited by Korean National Commission for UNESCO, 43–54. Seoul: Hollym, 2004.
- Diaz, Hector. *A Korean Theology: Chugyo Yoji: Essentials of the Lord’s Teaching by Chŏng Yak-jong Augustine* (1760–1801). Immensee: Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft, 1986.
- Finch, Andrew. “The Pursuit of Martyrdom in the Catholic Church in Korea before 1866.” *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 60, 1 (2009): 95–118.
- Grayson, James H. *Korea—A Religious History*. London: Routledge Curzon, 2002.

- Han, Hee-sook. "Women's Life during the Chosŏn Dynasty." *International Journal of Korean History* 6 (2004): 114–116.
- Hepp, Noémi. "Femme." In *Le Dictionnaire du grand siècle*. Paris: Fayard, 1990.
- Hinton, David (trans.) *The Mencius*. Washington D.C.: Counterpoint, 1999.
- Hwang Sayŏng. *Paeksŏ* 帛書 [The Silk Letter], Ch'oe Yŏng-hae ed. Seoul: Chŏngŭmsa, 1975.
- Irigaray, Luce. *Je, Tu, Nous*. Translated by Alison Martin. New York: Routledge, 2007.
- Kim Haboush, Jahyun. *Epistolary Korea: Letters in the Communicative Space of the Chosŏn, 1392–1910*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2009.
- Kim Ok-hŭi. *Han'guk ch'ŏnjugyo yŏsŏng-sa* (韓國天主教女性史) [A History of Women in the Korean Catholic Church]. Seoul: Han'guk inmun kwahakwŏn, 1983.
- (ed.). *Sungyoja Yi Suni Rugalda-ŭi sam-kwa kŭyŏngsŏng* 순교자 이순이 루갈다의 삶과 그 영성 [The Life and Spirituality of the Martyr Yi Suni Luthgarde]. Seoul: Han'guk haksul chŏngbo, 2007.
- Kim Sijun, ed. *Pyŏkwipyŏn* 關衛編 [Writings Against Heterodoxy]. Seoul: Myŏng-mundang, 1987.
- Latourette, Kenneth Scott. *A History of Christian Missions in China*. Taipei: Ch'eng-Wen Publishing Company, 1966.
- Ledyard, Gari. "Kollumba Kang Wansuk." In *Christianity in Korea*, edited by Robert E. Buswell and Timothy S. Lee, 38–71. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006.
- Lee, Ch'oe Yŏnggho, Peter H., De Bary, Wm. Theodore. *Sources of Korean Tradition*, vol. ii. New York: Columbia University Press, 2001.
- Lee Sang-hwa. "Patriarchy and Confucianism," In *Women's Experiences and Feminist Practices in South Korea*, edited by Chang Pilwha and Kim Eun-shil, 67–117. Seoul: Ehwa Woman's UP, 2005.
- Legge, James (trans.). *The Li Ki: The Book of Rites*. Available online at: <http://www.sacred-texts.com/cfu/liki/likiog.htm> [accessed on 25.09.2014].
- Nahm, Andrew C. *Korea: Tradition and Transformation*. Seoul: Hollym, 1996.
- Nancy, Jean-Luc. *Being Singular Plural*. Translated by Robert D. Richardson and Anne E. O'Byrne. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000.
- . *Dis-Enclosue: The Deconstruction of Christianity* Translated by Bettina Bergho. New York: Fordham University Press, 2008.
- Osgood, Cornelius. *The Koreans and Their Culture*. New York: Ronald Press, 1951.
- Park, Il-pong (trans). *Sohak* 小學 [Elementary Learning]. Seoul: Yukmunsa, 1987.
- Pellegrin, Marie-Frédérique and Pellegrin, Nicole. *François Poulain de la Barre and the Invention of Modern Equality*. Cambridge (Mass): Harvard University Press, 2004.
- Roux, Pierre-Emmanuel. "The Great Ming Code and the Repression of Catholics in Chosŏn Korea." *Acta Koreana* 15, 1 (2012): 73–106.

- Sahak Chingŭi* 邪學懲義 [Records on Punishment for Deviant Learning] (reprint).
Seoul: Purham Munhwasa, 1977.
- Thich Nhat Hanh. *Interbeing: Fourteen Guidelines for Engaged Buddhism*. New Delhi:
Full Circle publications, 2009.
- Woodhead, Linda. "Religion and Gender," In *Religions in the Modern World: Traditions
and Transformations*, edited by Linda Woodhead, Hiroko Kawanami and Christopher
Partridge, 471–488. London: Routledge, 2010.