Myth, spirituality and religion in travel: Pre-industrial Korea

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SUMMARY

This paper explores the relationship that travelling had with myth, spirituality and religion in the pre-industrial Korean society. In particular, the paper examines in what way religion and its political associations had ‘connection’/‘relationship’ with the travellers’ ways of appreciating the places. Through literature research and content analysis of classic travelogues from 14th century of Korea, possible ‘connection’/‘relationship’ between religion and travel was studied. Findings of this paper indicate that certain ‘connection’/‘relationship’ between political associations of Korea’s religions and travel was apparent. This study, hence, underpins an earlier suggestion that there exists a distinctive dimension between religion and travelling, one of which is a political link. In the experience of the pre-industrial Korean society, Buddhism and Confucianism were in close relation to the political decisions of the time, which in turn placed heavy ideological directions upon the ways people travelled and appreciated the places.

Key words:
Confucianism; Buddhism; politics; travelling; classic Korean society

INTRODUCTION

Certain relationship between religion, a more institutionalised form of spirituality and myth, and tourism has been of great interest to social scientists. Researchers have demonstrated that certain ‘connection’/‘relationship’ between religion and tourism exists (Bremer 2001; Jacobs 2001).

In particular, a suggestion was made that there are manifold connections between tourism and religion, one of which is a political link (Vukonić 1996: 27). Indeed, certain ‘connection’/‘relationship’ that tourism has with the political dimension of religions has been identified across various religions. In an investigation that identified various forms of religious tourism, it was found evident that a religious motivation seems to be less important in today’s religious tourism. This in turn reflects the tendency of religious journeys to be multi-functional, as has been the case in history, is
increasingly noticeable. This increased visibility of the tendency was arguably due to the fact that today’s tourism is ever-increasingly multi-dimensional and is affected by various factors of a society, one of which is a political factor (Rinschede 1992). Political ‘connection’/ ‘relationship’ between religion and tourism was further exemplified in Vukonić’s (1992) study on a small village of Yugoslavia, Medjugorje, where the appearance of Virgin Mary has brought tourists as well as some political attentions.

A study on a Hindu religious community in India, Pushkar, also illustrated what was described as a ‘mediated resistance’ between tradition/ religion and tourism. The study concluded with the suggestion that the case of Pushkar raises important substantive questions for tourism policy makers (Joseph and Kavoori 2001). In a separate research, Henderson (2003) highlighted problems and opportunities when tourism is developed in an Islamic social setting, taking Malaysia as an example.

This investigation showed that there are certain links, although in different ways, amongst the religious, political and economic imperatives. A strong ‘connection’ between tourism policy and religion was identified in the case of casino industry in Israel, where there is no division between state and religion established as a Jewish state (Israeli and Mehrez 2000). As reviewed, certain ‘connection’/ ‘relationship’ between political aspects of religions and tourism has been apparent across various religions, including Catholicism, Hinduism, Islam and Judaism.

Acknowledging the ‘connection’/ ‘relationship’ amongst religion, its political aspects and tourism in the previous studies, the aim of this paper is to determine whether such ‘connection’ can also be affirmed in the pre-industrial Korean society. As Confucianism and Buddhism have been the country’s traditional religions, current study is able to provide an insight into the religions that have not been under examination in the light of tourism to date. This examination is made by literature research on the dominant religious values as well as a qualitative research into remaining travelogues of the country. For a backdrop of the social conditions and the dominant religious values, Buddhism and Confucianism in the pre-industrial eras are reviewed in the following part.

Buddhism in traditional Korean society

Buddhism is believed to have emerged in Korea between the 4th and 10th centuries, during which time three kingdoms reigned the peninsula: Koguryo, Paekche and Shilla (Lee 1998; Lee 1953). According to Grayson, Buddhism existed prior to the date of official acceptance by the Koguryo and Shilla dynasties. This was a reflection on the nature of the cultural and political ties that Korea had to political entities on the continent to the west and to the zeal of the early Buddhist missionaries (Grayson 1985).

In the case of Paekche, however, where there was no official Buddhist presence before national acceptance, the missionary zeal of Malananda was still representative of the strong ties to the international communities (Grayson 1985: 59). Malananda was a form of Buddhism, based on simple faith in the grace of Amitabha and selected shamanism ideals.

Buddhism did not reach its ‘golden time’, though, until during the Koryo dynasty, which reigned the peninsula between 918 and 1392. In the traditional Korean feudal systems, the dynasty leader had the power to choose a particular religious belief for the nation’s philosophical backbone. The founder of the Koryo dynasty, Tae Jo Wang Kun, adopted Buddhism as the founding philosophy (Ko 1977; Kwen 1987) and the governing rules and philosophies during this era were highly Buddhism-oriented (Hong 1991).

During the Koryo period, the government built many Buddhist temples around the country and encouraged the people to visit them to learn Buddhist values and ideologies so that the people can accept them more widely (Shin 1984). The temples were usually built in secluded areas in accordance with the essential Buddhist value that one must be apart from the secular world in order to reach the state of enlightenment (Kim and Park 1998; Kim 1976; Whang 1998). With such clearly defined pedagogical aims, religious pilgrimages to the Buddhist temples were highly encouraged during the Koryo dynasty. As the review on Buddhism in the traditional society of Korea indicates, the religious values were in strong relation with the political settings of the time. Confucianism in the pre-industrial Koran society was also in close connection to the political system as the following review shows.
Rise of Confucianism and its dominant values

In many crucial areas of life, ancient and medieval Korean society maintained practices that bore no resemblance to Confucian principles, but by about the 18th century Korea had become a normative Confucian society. The rise and development of Confucianism as a popular religion had, however, many different aspects than the Chinese. According to Haboush (1991), Korean Confucianism began as an alien value system whose required practice often conflicted sharply with the native way of life, whereas the Chinese Confucian system was an indigenous evolution over centuries. Despite this, by the 18th century Korean society was in its own way as 'Confucianised' as Chinese society.

Although the introduction of Confucianism to Korean society goes back as far as the 13th century (Huh 1993; Lee and De Barry 1997), the ideology did not become truly influential until the Chosun dynasty was established in 1392. Founded by General Yi Sung Gye, the Chosun dynasty upheld Confucian values as its governing philosophy, while it oppressed more traditional Buddhist values (Lee 1991; Woo 2000). These values significantly influenced the government’s structure (Bong and Yoo 1995; Kim 1997) and the people’s ways of thinking in everyday lives (Cho 1993; Choi 1990). The primary Confucian values of family loyalty, trust among friends, acceptance of the hierarchy and obedience to authority (Robinson 1991) and high respect for classic ideologies and philosophies (Yi 1985) were dominant philosophical thoughts throughout the Chosun reign.

The acceptance of hierarchy in Confucian values was mostly realised through a social admiration for literacy, high cultures and status. This was argued to be the case because the conduct of a ritually pure life was the privilege of the upper class (Lee, Theodore, De Barry, Choe and Kang 1997: 321). This pivotal Confucian value to highly respect classic ideologies and philosophies had a significant influence on education systems of the Chosun dynasty, which subsequently affected the dynasty’s civil servant systems. As the Chosun leaders gradually embraced Confucian values as the governing philosophies in society, they reorganised examination systems for civil servants to test the knowledge of the classical texts (Yi 1985: 153).

Similar to the presence of the Buddhist values in the pre-industrial society, Confucian values were heavily associated with the decisions of the political powers. As the review on both of the dominant values illustrates, religions of the traditional society were in close relation to the political systems.

METHODS

In order to find whether the apparent connection between the politics and religion influenced upon the ways in which travellers appreciated their places of visit, classic travelogues from 14th century of Korea were gathered and studied. Just over 30 classic travelogues have been found and interpreted by the Korean classic literature academia to date (Choi, 1996) and these were used for the purpose of this study. Table below presents the studied travelogues.

Acknowledging the usefulness of content analysis of documents for social sciences and humanities, particularly in search for the reflected cultural norms and beliefs (Holsti 1969), content analysis of the classic travelogues was performed.

Patterns in classic travel began to emerge by looking into who the travellers were, what their modes of travel were, where they visited and what they did. These emerging themes were best captured by letting the texts talk. It is important to make the distinction that travelogues were not treated as stand-ins for other kinds of evidence because the travelogues are the social productions. As argued earlier, such texts are not transparent representations of organisational routines or decision-making processes; they are situated constructions, particular kinds of representations shaped by certain conversations and understandings (Atkinson and Silverman 1997). Therefore, the content of classic travelogues was analysed with considerations on the nature and positions of the individual literatures.

The analysis indicated that the ways in which travellers viewed and appreciated the visited places were closely relevant to the society’s dominant values. This inturn shows the ‘connection’/ ‘relationship’ between the dominant ideologies and the politics, as they were decided by the political powers of the times. Following part illustrates the reflected Confucius values from the travelogues.
When the ChoSun dynasty was established in 1392, its founder adopted Confucian values as the main philosophy for the society (Lee et al. 1997; Palmer 1984). All travelogues studied in this paper were written during the ChoSun dynasty with the exception of one. Some essential Confucian values were clearly identified from the analysis.
Appreciating natural beauty via high cultural articulation

When people travelled in the classic eras of Korea, they were invariably searching for the beauty of natural land (Choi 1980; Jang 2000; Lee 1994) and this can be related to the cultural pursuits of Confucian values. For example, a traveller appreciated the beauty of KumKang Mountain in 1859 but did so with reference to an old Chinese tale.

According to the tale, the Chinese praised the beauty of the mountain with immense envy, to the extent that they wished to have been born in the ChoSun dynasty so that they could enjoy the beauty of the mountain from their own land. Remembering this story, a Korean traveller spoke of the mountain’s beauty this way:

…according to the old Chinese writings, Chinese people wished to have been born in ChoSun to see KumKang Mountain…born in ChoSun, how can one miss the opportunity to see this moun-tain? (Kwan Tong Chang Yoo Ka 1859).

It is arguable that the aesthetic value of the visited mountain was at least enhanced by the old Chinese literature. The aspiration to visit this mountain might have already been fostered when the traveller read the literature, meaning that the choice to go was to pursue a sense of ‘high culture’. This pursuit was also apparent in the following abstract where the traveller ‘compared’ the beauty of one destination to another from a classic travelogue. Referring to the literature, in which one specific piece of rock was said to be the most outstanding beauty on earth, the traveller contested that the truly beautiful rock was at the place he was visiting:

…when it comes to beautiful rocks, PiSunDae is the best according to Kim’s writing, however, if he came here and compared the beauty, he would soon realise that he was not entirely correct. (Kwan Tong Chang Yoo Ka 1859).

By associating the then-time old travelogue with the place of visit and thereby enhancing the latter’s aesthetic value, the traveller’s pursuit for high cultures is demonstrated. That is, the traveller not only gave the literary aesthetics to the visited place but also further enhanced their high cultural values.

As another example of the travellers’ pursuit for high cultures, the following abstract shows a traveller who could finally identify the sentiments of a classic poem by visiting the place:

…I have not been able to truly appreciate the meaning of the poem, “cold sun comes out of the cloud slowly… and clear river runs through the mountain”…now I am here watching the scenery, I can appreciate the true meanings of the poem. (Lee 1615).

This traveller and his capacity to confirm and share the high-cultural aspirations of the poetry are similar to the travellers who shaped their high cultural aspirations of places while they were reading classic literatures. That is, by mixing travel with a typically cultural hobby, the traveller is betraying a Confucian desire to pursue higher cultures.

Deifying classic times by connecting to myths and legends of the places

Connecting travel to cultural myths and legends was another interesting aspect of travel in the Confucian times. In many of the studied travelogues, travellers discussed the unique myths and legends of the area they were visiting, subsequently creating legendary charm for the visited places. When travellers visited a valley named Dan Bal Ryung or Cutting Hair Valley, what they were appreciating was the mythical/legendary charm of the place rather than the physical aesthetics.

Legend said that the founder of the KoRyo dynasty, TaeJo, visited a valley in KumKang Mountain and, while he was walking past the valley, he noticed the immense beauty of KumKang. The beauty he glimpsed was so heavenly that he did not want to leave the valley all his life. So he cut his hair and wanted to become a Buddhist monk.

This meant that he could live on the mountain, admiring the heavenly beauty all his life. Whether this was a true event or not did not appear important to any of the classic travellers. Whenever the travellers were in KumKang Mountain, they visited the valley and appreciated the legend, completely immersed in its charm. Many travelogues over the centuries have used the legend of TaeJo as subject matter:
It is said that a long, long time ago, TaeJo of KoRyo was passing this valley… viewing the beautiful clouds from the valley, he wished to become a monk, cutting his hair to appreciate the view in the mountain all his life… this is why the valley is called “Dan Bal Ryung” or “Cutting-Hair Valley.” (Lee 1615);

…on “Dan Bal Ryung”, or “Cutting-Hair Valley”, the rocks where TaeJo of KoRyo stopped his palanquin are still sitting there (Lee 17??);

…according to the legend, this valley was named “Dan Bal Ryung” or “Cutting-Hair Valley”… because the TaeJo of KoRyo cut his hair on this valley, looking towards KumKang Mountain…(Cho 1894).

Over the centuries, the place was appreciated mainly because of its mythical/legendary charm. The travellers mentioned little about the beauty of the valley itself, whereas they regularly praised its mythical/legendary charms.

Another place where travellers immersed themselves in the associated mythical/legendary charm was a special pond near KumKang Mountain that also had a unique legend. KumKang Mountain in the country was a culturally and historically meaningful place and has always been associated with legendary spirits. Many scholars and high government officers enjoyed the legendary charms of the mountain and admired its natural beauty. Indeed, visiting KumKang Mountain was certainly one of the scholarly and high cultured activities for centuries. When foreign diplomats visited the dynasties, they would often be guided to the mountain to appreciate its renowned beauty. Legends had it that a Chinese diplomat, while he was on a government mission to ChoSun Dynasty, was guided to KumKang Mountain. He was moved so immensely by the beauty of the mountain that he wished he had been born in the ChoSun dynasty. With the Buddhist belief in re-incarnation, he drowned himself in a nearby pond, hoping to be re-incarnated in the dynasty of ChoSun. This was so he could appreciate the un-earthly natural beauty all his life on his own land:

… it is said that when the Chinese official Jung-Dong came to visit the mountain, he said that this is truly un-earthly. “I wish I could be re-born on this land and see this BuDa’s world all my life”, and he drowned himself into a pond… This pond is where he drowned himself… (Nam 1485);

… I can truly appreciate the old story of the Chinese, who wished to be re-incarnated in ChoSun so that he could see KumKang Mountain all his life… this is where he drowned himself, wishing that he would be born in ChoSun in his next life… (Lee 1615);

…according to an old legend, a Chinese ambassador came to KumKang and reached this pond…and he declared that this is Buddha’s world…he said “I wish I could be re-incarnated on this land to see this Buddha’s world all the time”… and he drowned himself into this pond…(Lee 17??).

The pond has received many travellers over the centuries and, like the Dan Bal Ryung visitors, when travellers visited the mythical/legendary place, the focus of their appreciation was on the renowned mythical/legendary charms of the pond and not its natural beauty. This appreciation for mythical spirits over physical beauty suggests that traditional legend was more impressive to the travellers than natural beauty. This clearly reflects an essential value of Confucianism that is to respect classic philosophies and ideologies.

**INFLUENCES OF THE POLITICAL ‘CONNECTION’ UPON TRAVEL**

Examination of the travelogues suggests that the ‘connection’ between the politics and religion had certain influence upon the travellers in the classic eras. When ChoSun dynasty adopted Confucian values as the dynasty-supported ideologies, the new dynasty oppressed Buddhism and its values. The studied travelogues were not only indicators of a Confucian social system, they also demonstrated the transforming roles of Buddhist monks in the society, more notably in the patterns of travel.

Under the pro-Confucianism policies of the ChoSun dynasty, classical travellers tended not to pay religious visits to the Buddhist temples. The temples were rather cultural icons to signify the power and dominance of the past. Therefore, they became mere service providers for the classic travellers and carried with a more secular meaning (Cho 1894; Kwan Tong Chang Yoo Kj 1859; Lee 1615; Nam 1485). This catering practice of Buddhist temples and monks reflected the cultural as well as the political settings of the times when the travelogues were written.
Following part illustrates how the transformed role of the Buddhist monks adopted themselves as caterers in the traditional travel. As another reflection of Confucius value, even some highly Buddhism-associated places did not receive disrespectful treatments from the travellers when they were appreciated in the context of classic philosophies. This in turn betrays one of the quintessential Confucian values to highly respect classic ideologies and philosophies.

**Changing roles of Buddhist temples and monks: Caterers for travellers**

With the political decision to prefer Confucianism while oppressing Buddhism, what was apparent was that Buddhist temples and monks assumed the secular role of caterer. Also, while the religious establishments assumed the role of caterer, their functions were more comprehensive than those of traditional inns. The traditional inns typically provided accommodation and meals to the travellers (Kim 1853; Lee 1615; Park 1695; Park 1739) while Buddhist temples usually provided accommodation, meals and ‘tour guide services’. This phenomenon reflected the cultural transformation of Buddhism in the society, as well as the influences of the political settings. In the transformed role as caterers, the monks were indeed very dedicated and hospitable service providers, and would receive travellers at the temple entrance with warm reception (Cho 1894; Lee 1615).

As recorded in the literature, monks catered for the visitors’ meals (Cho 1894) and often even the head monk would prepare special breakfasts for the travellers before guiding them around (Kim 1671; Lee 17??; Nam 1485). Usually, though, the head monk would order the lower ranking monks to prepare special dishes to show the respect and welcoming spirit (Kim 1671; Lee 1615). Their hospitality was sometimes so great they even provided departing travellers with gifts that would be useful on their journeys: 

…as we were leaving, the head monk brought us shoes and walking sticks to help our on-going journeys… (Lee 17??).

The monks’ transforming role from spiritual guides to cultural custodians was apparent in the travelogues. The guiding monks would speak of places near the temples and provide interesting stories around them:

…tigers grow their cubs over this mountain… told the monk who guided us…(Nam 1485);

…I asked the name of the peak…the monk said it was called SooMi Peak and continued the way… (Kim 1671).

As the abstracts illustrate, the monks were well-experienced tour guides for the travellers. Indeed, not dissimilar to today’s tour guides, the monks would direct and suggest some beautiful sites to the travellers (Kim 1671; Kim 1853; Kwan Tong Chang Yoo Ka 1859; Lee 1615; Lee 17??). Also, with the monkeys’ well-established role as cultural custodian, the traditional travellers would sometimes settle for their ‘experienced’ advice if the roads looked too rough to continue (Cho 1894).

Similar to the travellers’ rather indifferent attitude towards the Buddhist temples in a religious sense, their attitude towards guide monks was also far from being religiously respectful. When the travellers wanted to sightsee, they would simply ‘order’ the monks to guide them (Cho 1894; Nam 1485; Park 1739). With little religious respect, the travellers sometimes even complained about the guide monks, further illustrating how the role of Buddhist monks transformed into that of cultural custodian:

…sometimes guide monks do not bother to bring people to beautiful places and lie to the travellers that there is nothing to see, even if there are beautiful places around…this is apparently one of the habits of the guide monks on this mountain… (Kwan Tong Chang Yoo Ka 1859).

The temples were obviously ‘powerful’ and ‘significant’ establishments during the KoRyo dynasty when Buddhist ideologies strongly influenced government policies and society. As the ChoSun dynasty transformed the society into a more Confucian-based system, however, the power and significance of Buddhist establishments became past memories to the society. The travellers were, therefore, visiting the Buddhist temples for ‘cultural reminiscence’ rather than religious worship. In other words, this transforming role of Buddhist monks in traditional Korean society illustrates how the political settings in the society influenced the patterns of travelling.
Respect for classic philosophies and ideologies

What was fascinating was that, unlike the apparent disrespect towards Buddhist temples and the expectation that monks would cater for the travellers, when visited places were associated with classic philosophies and ideologies their status was enhanced. There was no disrespect, hence, for the temples or monks who were associated with mythical/legendary charm. This is an interesting observation and one could argue that this clearly epitomises the Confucius travellers’ respect for classic philosophies and ideologies.

For example, travellers visited and appreciated a cave named after the Buddhist legend KwanUm, Buddha’s angel (or Abbata) who once appeared in the secular world as a beautiful woman. She did not wish to be seen by the people so, when she was seen by some male monks, she ran to hide in a cave. Similar to appreciating the other classic legendary charms of places, visitors to the cave were completely immersed in the legend. One traveller wrote of his experience in the cave as follows:

…the reason for its name to be BoDukDae Cave is that BoDuk was the name when KwanUm or Buddha’s angel appeared as a human being…she was found by monks, so she went into this cave… (Lee 1615).

The traveller made no reference to the physical description of the cave because it was the legend that provided special meaning for the place.

Similar observations were made on some special rocks:

…reaching SooKun Am or Handkerchief Rock, there were some letters left…when KwanEum or Buddha’s angel formed as a beautiful girl, she was washing her handkerchief on this very rock… (Nam 1485).

According to the legend when KwanEum or Buddha’s angel (or Abbata) appeared as a beautiful woman in the secular world, she washed her handkerchief sitting on a rock. The rock was then named SooKun Am, or Handkerchief Rock.

Another example of this was in the travelogue of 1859 that recounted a trip to Dragon Rock:

…according to the story, when Buddha came out to the secular world, he came on the back of a dragon…the dragon since became this rock…that is why it is named as Dragon Rock…(Kwan Tong Chang Yoo Ka 1859).

Finally, another piece of rock named BoSul Rock is said to be the place where Buddha anchored his stone-boat when he arrived:

…viewing BoSul Rock, I can still see the remains from the great story…when the Buddha came into secular world, he entered in a stone-boat and tied the boat under this rock…I can see the remains of the lines, which tied the boat under this rock… (Kwan Tong Chang Yoo Ka 1859).

As the above abstracts show, travellers would often associate the places they visited with Buddhist legends to accentuate the uniqueness of the area. By connecting myths and legends with the destination, the classic travellers mesmerised themselves in the legendary charms. It is interesting to observe, though, that there is common ‘lack-of-disrespect’ for Buddhist legends at a time when the religion was being oppressed. This is because of the essential Confucian value to show great respect for classic ideologies and philosophies. Even though the legends were associated deeply with the Buddhist ideologies, the Confucian value to respect classical ideologies did not let the classic legend be regarded with disrespect.

CONCLUSION

This paper, on its outset, reviewed previous studies that identified certain ‘connection’/‘relationship’ between tourism and religion. The review showed that certain political ‘connection’/‘relationship’ between tourism and religion has been apparent across various religions, such as Catholicism, Hinduism, Islam and Judaism. In an attempt to test the existence of the ‘connection’/‘relationship’ between travel and religion in the pre-industrial Korean society, this paper researched previous literature and the county’s remaining travelogues. Studying Korea’s classic travelogues from 14th century, the ways in which the travellers appreciated the places of visit were examined. Findings illustrated that the travellers’ ways of appreciating the places were closely related to the dominant ideologies of the times.
In the experience of the pre-industrial Korea, the ‘connection’/ ‘relationship’ between political associations of Confucianism/ Buddhism and travel was apparent.

This study, therefore, affirms the earlier suggestion that there exist manifold connections between religion and tourism, one of which is a political link (Vukonić 1996: 27). By affirming the suggestion, this paper also adds Confucianism and Buddhism on the list of the religions, of which political associations and tourism have been examined.

REFERENCES


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