

JAMES HUNTLEY GRAYSON
The University of Sheffield

The *Kwallye Samga* of Korea A Failed Attempt at Christian Accommodation to Confucian Culture

Abstract

The issue of the cultural accommodation of Christianity to Korean culture is a much discussed question. The Theory of Emplantation suggests that in the earliest phase of contact by a missionary religion with an indigenous culture, there must be a resolution of conflicts of core values between the missionary religion and the indigenous culture if the missionary religion is to develop within its new cultural setting. The ritual called *ch'udo yebae*, beginning in the late nineteenth century, became a successful Protestant substitute for the performance of Confucian ancestral rites, thus avoiding a conflict between Confucian morality and Christian concerns over idolatry. Not all attempts at creating Christian rites to substitute for Confucian rituals were successful. This article explores the creation and ultimate failure of a Christian substitute for the Confucian coming-of-age ceremony, and attempts to explain why this attempt was not successful and *ch'udo yebae* was.

Keywords: Ancestral rites—coming-of-age ceremony—emplantation—*Jiali*

RECENTLY an important document has come to light that illustrates the extent to which the first generation of Protestant Christians in Korea were attempting to accommodate their Christian beliefs to the Confucian values in which they had been raised. This document, entitled *Kwallye samga* (冠禮三加, Capping Ceremony in Three Parts), is the liturgy of a Christian coming-of-age ritual that was intended to replace the traditional Confucian ritual that had been practiced throughout Korea's Chosŏn dynasty (朝鮮王朝, 1392–1910).¹ In a Confucian society, performance of ritual was an important means of expressing social and moral value (CREEL 1987, 29–32, 260–61). Standardization of ritual practice was maintained by the use of books of ritual that specified both the elements of the ritual and the liturgical words to be used during the conduct of the rite. The standard book of liturgy used during the Chosŏn period was the *Jiali* (Kor. *Karye*, 家禮, The Book of Family Ritual), which was compiled by the seminal Neo-Confucian thinker Zhu Xi (朱熹, 1130–1200) (PRATT and RUTT 1999, 35, 67, 137).² This work contains the liturgies of the four types of rites that were thought to be essential in maintaining proper social etiquette, i.e., the capping or coming-of-age ceremony (冠禮, Ch. *Guanli*, Kor. *Kwallye*), the marriage ceremony (昏禮, Ch. *Hunli*, Kor. *Hollye*³), mourning rites (喪禮, Ch. *Sangli*, Kor. *Sangrye*), and ancestral ceremonies (祭禮, Ch. *Jili*, Kor. *Cherye*). For each ritual the *Jiali* provides a precise description of the different stages of the rite, indicating the correct actions to be used and providing the precise words to be said.⁴ These four rites constitute ritual recognition of changes in an individual's life status, fitting Arnold van Gennep's definition of a "rite of passage" (VAN GENNEP 1960) where, at certain junctures in life, a person is ritually separated from his social group, undergoes a period of transition, and then is re-incorporated.⁵ Of these four types of rites, the ancestral rituals were by far the most significant both morally and socially. However, the first ritual passage in a person's life was marked by the capping ceremony, a ritual recognition that a person had "come of age."

THE THEORY OF “EMPLANTATION”

As an anthropologist and missionary working in Korea from the early 1970s, I developed a theoretical framework to explain the transmission of a religious tradition from one culture to another. The model of religious diffusion that I derived from this theory postulated that there were three stages in the successful “emplantation” or transmission of a religion, namely 1) Contact and Explication, 2) Penetration, and 3) Expansion. Based on a study of the first six centuries of Buddhist history in China, my research showed that the key stage in this model was the first phase, Contact and Explication, where three issues had to be resolved before firm progress in the development of the new religion could occur. These issues were:

- 1) linguistic and conceptual barriers impeding the explication of the teaching of the new religious tradition,
- 2) toleration of the new religion by the political élite of the receiving society, and
- 3) contradictions between the core values of the receiving culture and the religion being transmitted to it.

Of these three issues, the resolution of the conflict of core values was essential. My research indicated that even if a resolution of the other two issues had been achieved, without a resolution of the conflict between core values a new religion could not make significant progress within the receiving culture (GRAYSON 1985, 13–15).

The 2005 Household and Population Census for the Republic of Korea indicated that twenty-nine percent of the population above the age of fifteen claimed to be Christian, adhering to either the Roman Catholic Church or one of the Protestant denominations (NATIONAL BUREAU OF STATISTICS, REPUBLIC OF KOREA, 2006).⁶ In other words, nearly one-third of the modern Korean population claims to belong to a religious tradition that was not present in Korean culture two centuries ago. How did this great religious change take place?

For nearly three-quarters of the nineteenth century, the Korean government of the day ferociously persecuted the first Catholic believers because they refused to hold or participate in the Confucian ancestral rites called *chesa* (祭祀, Ch. *Jisi*). Thousands of Catholics were martyred at this time for their refusal to participate in the ancestral rituals.⁷ To the Confucian establishment such actions undermined filial piety, a key moral pillar of society, while to the Catholics performance of the ancestral rituals was tantamount to participating in acts of idolatry (GRAYSON 2002, 141–46). This confrontation between Confucian and Christian values in nineteenth-century Korea is a classic example of a conflict of values. At the end of the nineteenth century, the first Protestant missionaries and early Korean believers took the same view

of the ancestral rites as had their Catholic predecessors—ancestral ceremonies were idolatrous because they were the worship of spirits other than God Himself (GRAYSON 2007, 436–39). However, by the mid-1890s the first Korean Protestants had developed a Christian ritual response to this conflict of values with the creation of a Christian liturgy popularly called *ch'udo yebae* (追悼禮拜, grieving rite). Giving thanks to God for the life of the deceased, the performance of this rite substituted for the performance of the *chesa* rituals.⁸ In 1935 the first formal, printed version of this rite appeared in the Korean Methodist book of liturgy (KIDOKKYO CHOSŎN KAMNI-HOE CH'ONGNI-WŎN 1935, 230–31), and by the early 1980s it was present in the books of liturgy of virtually every other Protestant denomination. Moreover, the rite itself has become the core element of a complex set of Confucian-Christian rituals that deal with a range of serious issues, from the removal of mourning clothes at the end of the formal period of mourning to the annual visit to the tomb (GRAYSON 2007, 429).

It is no exaggeration to say that *ch'udo yebae* was the means by which Protestant Christianity became adapted to the Confucian culture of Korea, resolving the essential conflict of values between concerns for filial piety and fears about participation in idolatrous acts. *Ch'udo yebae* is a successful example of spontaneous cultural accommodation or indigenization. Are there any other examples of attempts to indigenize Christianity through ritual?

CREATING THE KWALLYE CEREMONY⁹

A Christianized version of a Confucian coming-of-age ceremony was performed in the early part of 1937 at the home of a local aristocratic family in Ch'öngsong County (靑松郡), North Kyöngsang Province (慶尙北道), in southeastern Korea. The rite, the *Kwallye samga*, was created by Cho Pyöngguk (趙柄國, 1883–1956), a Confucian scholar who had converted to Christianity around 1920. Before that time, he had been strongly anti-Christian because Christians did not maintain the traditional Confucian conventions of social distinction that Cho saw as the basis of a well-organized society. His conversion to Christianity was an unexpected result of his participation in the local Independence Movement against the Japanese colonial rule of Korea over a two-day period from 26 to 27 March 1919 in Ch'öngsong County. Because he had been one of the leaders of that movement, he was incarcerated for two years in the West Gate Prison in Söul, during which time he shared a cell with a Christian nationalist, the Rev. Yi Chöngnyu, pastor of a church in Anju (安州), North P'yöngan Province (平安北道), in northern Korea. Living together in close quarters for such an extended period of time, Cho and the Rev. Yi had long and ardent debates about Christianity.

Upon his release, Cho Pyöngguk emerged a fervent Christian and founded the Poktong Presbyterian Church (福洞長老教會) in his home village of Poktong

(福洞) as well as the Sinchin School nearby. According to his family, Cho preached three things, the Blood of Christ for the remission of sins, the Resurrection of Christ, and Paradise (Life Eternal). Although Cho Pyöngguk was a member of the local gentry, the other members of his social class would not attend the church because people of “low birth” attended it.

By the end of 1936, when arrangements were being made for his eldest son, Cho Söngdae (趙性大, 1916–2006), to marry, Cho remembered that his son had not had a Confucian coming-of-age ceremony, which by tradition his son should have before he married. As Cho was still Confucian in much of his outlook on life, he decided that for reasons of propriety his son should first go through a *kwallye* ceremony before marrying. However, as the Cho family were now Christian the ceremony could not be a simple Confucian ceremony; it would have to be a Christian one. Consequently, Cho took the liturgy of the capping ceremony as it appears in the *Jiali* and wrote a Christian liturgy by inserting certain Christian elements into its text.

It was announced that this Christian *kwallye* was to be held in the courtyard of the Cho home, one month before Cho Söngdae’s wedding. The ceremony was to conclude with a service of thanksgiving in the Poktong Church across the road from their house. However, there was an uproar in the community as soon as it was announced that there was to be a Christian *kwallye*. The minister of the Poktong Church, the Rev. Chöng Illyöng, and leading members of the congregation objected to the ceremony because it was substantially a Confucian rite and not a Christian one. On the other hand, members of the local aristocracy, including members of the clan to which the Chos belonged, the Cho clan of Haman (咸安趙氏),¹⁰ objected to the rite because it was Christian rather than Confucian. In the end, the holding of the full ritual had to be cancelled, including the service of thanksgiving in the church. Instead, only a much reduced version of the rite was held in the courtyard of the family house.

Because of the stir created by the prospect of a Christian *kwallye*, around three hundred people attended the abbreviated ceremony, of whom only sixty were actually members of the family. Of these people only Cho Pyöngguk’s immediate family and his younger brother and his family were Christians. Although many of the attendees had come out of curiosity, others—from both sides of the argument—had come to protest the holding of the rite. In the end, the proceedings of the ritual were not disrupted, and concluded with a banquet at the same place where the ceremony had been held.

The reduced ritual was performed as follows (FIGURE 1). First the courtyard of the Cho family home was divided into four sections in accordance with the instructions contained in the *Jiali*. Upon entering the rectangular courtyard of the home, the main house would have been on the side directly opposite the gate. Three cords would have been strung from the house to the gate side of the

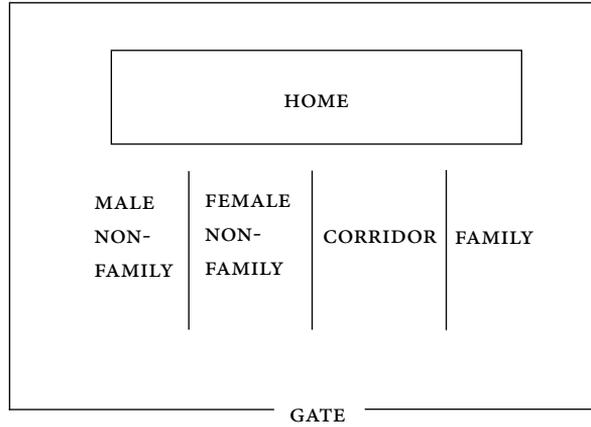


FIGURE 1. Home of Cho Pyŏngguk, ca. 1936

family compound, dividing the courtyard into four vertical sections. Members of the extended family took their places in the far right-hand vertical section, male non-family members in the far left-hand section, with the female non-family members immediately in front of them in the central left-hand section. The right-hand central vertical section was left free for use as a corridor for the participants to move from the gate to the house at the far side. Once all the attendees had taken their appropriate places, Cho Pyŏngguk assumed his place at the front of the courtyard (by the house) while his son Sŏngdae stood at the back by the gate to the family compound.

Acting as the ceremonial leader himself, Cho called his son forward, who then proceeded up along the ceremonial corridor to where his father was standing. Both father and son wore the traditional long *turumagi* (두루마기) coat made of silk. The father wore a Western-style hat, while the son was bareheaded. Because Sŏngdae was a modern young man, his hair had not been done up in the traditional *sangt'u* knot at the top of the head, but instead was cut short in the Western fashion. Once the son had taken his place by his father, Cho placed the traditional inner cap, the *t'anggŏn* (宕巾), on his son's head, and then placed on top of it a *kat* (갓), a wide-brimmed hat made of woven, stiffened horsehair. Next, a ribbon was tied underneath the son's chin to hold the *kat* in place. Cho then announced that his son had come of age, at which the onlookers raised their hands and arms in salutation.

Unlike the requirement of the traditional Confucian *kwallye* ceremony, in this reduced capping rite Cho Sŏngdae did not receive a *cha* (字) or coming-of-age name, nor were any libations of wine offered during the course of the ceremony. However, Cho Sŏngdae informed me that his father had participated in a *ch'udo-sik* (追悼式 = *ch'udo yebae*), at dawn on the day when the ceremony

was held. This act parallels the requirement in the *Jiali* that the presider make a report on the upcoming event at the family shrine (IM 1999, 121; EBREY 1991a, 37). Although as a Christian Cho would not have made a report to the spirits of his deceased father and ancestors, he would have given thanks for their lives, and thus by extension given thanks that there was a son such as Söngdae who was now mature and about to take his place as an adult member of the family.

Although Cho had defied the minister of his church and many of the leading congregants by holding a reduced version of the Christianized Confucian ritual, a split did not emerge in the congregation and Cho continued to worship in the church that he had founded. The ceremony as Cho had written it was never used, nor did he perform even the shortened version of the rite for his younger sons. We may say, therefore, that the attempt to create a Christian form of a coming-of-age rite had been abortive. This result is in stark contrast to the rapid and widespread acceptance of *ch'udo yebae*, the Christian substitute for Confucian ancestral rites.

LITURGY FOR A CHRISTIAN KWALLYE RITE

In the *Jiali*, the capping ceremony or *Guanli* (冠禮, Kor. *Kwallye*) for young men¹¹ is divided into seven different sections: three separate capping subrituals, the pledge, the giving of an adult name or *zi* (字, Kor. *cha*), the presentation of the new adult at the ancestral shrine, and the presentation of the new adult to the senior members of his clan. The instructions in the text of the *Guanli* also stipulate that three days before the ceremony the presiding elder at the ceremony should make a report to the clan ancestral hall, informing the ancestors of the new adult member of the clan.

At some point in late 1936 or very early 1937, Cho Pyöngguk wrote a Christian coming-of-age ceremony for his eldest son using as a basis the *Guanli* or capping ceremony in the *Jiali*. The original manuscript of this Christianized ritual, the *Kwallye samga*, is still kept by his descendants and a photocopy and a reduced photographic copy of this text are in my possession, forming the basis of the discussion below.

Including titles of sections, the *Kwallye samga* consists of forty-nine lines of columnar text divided into seven separate sections. Each section has a beginning and a conclusion marked by the emergence of the participants into the ritual area, and their subsequent return to the robing area at the end of each sequence. The first three sections are the three capping subrites identified simply as the first, second and third rite (初加禮, 再加禮, 三加禮). The next three sections deal in turn with the pledge and the offering of libations, the granting of an adult name, and the visitation to the local church where prayers would be offered for the man come-of-age. The seventh and final section of the *Kwallye samga* is the

introduction of the man come-of-age to the elders of the village. The seven-fold liturgical structure of the *Kwallye samga* is the same as the format of the *Guanli* ceremony, and uses the same terms to describe the different sections of the rite except for the sixth section, where a term for “church” (*Sangje-jön*, 上帝前) is substituted for the reference to the clan ancestral shrine (*sadang*, 祠堂).

Each of the sections of the *Kwallye samga* follows the pattern of the *Guanli* capping ceremony, stating clearly the names of individual participants, the movements they are to make, and the words they are to say. The principal participants in this rite are the *chu'in* (主人, presider), *pin* (賓, sponsor), *pin* (儻, escort), *kwanja* (冠子, the initiate), *chipsa* (執事, attendant), and *ch'anja* (贊者, assistant). All of these personages are also found in the *Guanli* ceremony. However, although the actions described in the *Kwallye samga* are similar to those in the *Guanli*, the instructions for the participants are not a simple repetition of the instructions given in the earlier text. These changes were probably due to the local constraints of the scale of the home, and the numbers of people available to support the performance of the rite.

Although the actions of the participants in the *Kwallye samga* may vary from the prescriptions given in the *Guanli*, the petitions and prayers used in the *Kwallye samga* are word for word the same as the *Guanli* except for a few Christian additions and emendations. This would indicate that the words of the prayers, petitions, and admonitions in the original text were considered to be too traditional (sacred?) to be casually altered.

In the first capping rite of the *Kwallye samga*, the *pin* (賓) or sponsor says to the *kwanja* or initiate:

吉月令日始加元服棄爾幼志順爾成德壽考維祺以介景福萬福根源委任基督
(IM 1999, 131)¹²

In this felicitous month and on this happy day, you wear a cap for the first time. Cast off your immature ideas. Develop the virtue within you. Then you will live a long and blessed life. [In the name of] Christ, the source of manifold blessings.

This phrase is identical to the *Guanli* text except for the addition of the final eight characters, which are a formulaic ascription of Christian praise used, for example, in the Korean form of the Doxology. Thus, Cho Pyöngguk kept the original phrasing of the petition but Christianized the petition by adding words of praise to God.

The same pattern of adaptation is found in the second capping rite, where the petition is given as:

吉月令辰乃申爾服謹爾威儀淑慎¹³爾德眉壽永年享受天福 (IM 1999, 133)

On this felicitous month and day, you have changed your clothes and your demeanor. Develop your virtue. You will live long and receive the blessing of Heaven (God).

In this petition, the penultimate character *ho* (胡, long life) in the text of the *Guanli* has been replaced with *ch'ŏn* (天, heaven), a traditional Confucian term referring to the Supreme Being. In rephrasing this line, Cho must have intended to make a clear reference to God while at the same time retaining the essential Confucian ethos of the whole petition itself.

Again in the third capping rite, the sponsor says to the initiate:

以歲之正以月之令咸加爾服兄弟俱在以成厥德黃耆無彊受天賞慶歸榮上帝生命以永 (IM 1999, 134)

In this felicitous year and happy month, you now wear new clothes. Your brothers are here with you. Complete your virtue. May you live a long life. May you receive blessings from Heaven. If you give glory to Sangje, [you will be blessed with] eternal life.

The main difference between this text and the text of the *Guanli* is the addition of the final eight-character phrase. A petition for God's blessing on the initiate, this additional phrase follows closely the wording of the petition in the previous section. It should also be noted that in this phrase God is called Sangje (上帝, Ch. Shangdi), a term for the Supreme Being used since the Shang Dynasty (商王祖, 1600–1050 BC) of China and widely used amongst the Confucian *literati* in Korea. It is curious that Cho Pyŏngguk chose to use this term for God rather than the term *Hananim* (하나님), the pure Korean term for God used by all Protestant churches, and undoubtedly the term that Cho Pyŏngguk himself would have used when he participated in a service of worship.¹⁴

In the fourth section of the *Kwallye samga*, the offering of a pledge, the sponsor says:

旨醴既清嘉薦令芳拜受祭祀之以定爾祥承天之休壽考不忘 (IM 1999, 135)

This tasty wine is clear. I give you this fragrant wine with a happy heart. Bow, receive this wine, and perform *chesa*. Accept your good fortune. Accept Heaven's blessings and you will live a long life. Don't forget [these gifts].

In this section, Cho has replaced the second character *chu* (酒, wine) in the text of the *Guanli* with the character *rye* (醴, sweet wine); otherwise the text of the *Kwallye samga* is identical to the original. Here, after having been

capped thrice, the initiate pledges himself to accept the blessings that have been bestowed upon him by Heaven. As before, Cho has accepted the Confucian reading of “Heaven” as a trope for “God.”

Two things are surprising here. First of all, the actions depicted in this section of the *Guanli* have not been changed in the *Kwallye samga* to conform with Protestant practice. The issue here is not that an offering is being made to God as “Heaven,” but that *wine* is used. In the Protestant culture of early twentieth-century Korea, one of the signs of a “redeemed life” was abstinence from alcoholic drinks. This section, if known, would have been deeply upsetting to Cho’s fellow Christians. For them, Christian moral behavior set them apart from their neighbors. Performing a ritual using wine would have been seen to be a negation of the purity of the Christian life.

A further surprising point is that Cho Pyöngguk did not alter the term *chesa* that is used here in the sense of “worship.” *Chesa*, also the term for the Confucian ancestral rites, would have conjured up images of idolatrous practice in the minds of the local Christians. The replacing of *chesa* with another term would have lessened any sense that this Christian capping ceremony was pagan or idolatrous. Retention of this term in the text of the *Kwallye samga*, however, would have maintained the Confucian ethos in the petition.

Undoubtedly it was these two issues, the use of wine and the use of an ambiguous term for worship, that caused the greatest discomfort amongst the local Christian community and thus led to their strenuous opposition to the performance of the *Kwallye samga*.

In the fifth section, a *cha* or adult name is bestowed upon the initiate. The sponsor says:

禮義既備令月吉日昭告爾字名受字名孔嘉髦士攸宜宜之于嘏永受保之曰大叔性大甫 (IM 1999, 136)

This ritual is now complete. On this auspicious month and happy day, we proclaim your *cha*. Your *cha* is beautiful and fit for a scholar. May you be a great scholar. Preserve your blessings. [The *pin* continues, saying] You are no longer called Söngdae but Taesuk.

For the first time, the *kwanja* or initiate makes a verbal response:

性大不敏敢不夙夜祗奉

Söngdae is dull. He will reverently receive [the *cha*] and think [about its meaning] day and night.

The phrasing in this exchange is virtually identical to the words in the text of the *Guanli* except that instead of the word *cha* (Ch. *zi*) for “name,” Cho

Pyöngguk has written the word *chamyöng* (字名, Ch. *ziming*), where *myöng* is a class noun used to emphasize the concept of “name.” Cho also adds to the *Guanli* text an instruction in which the sponsor bestows a specific name upon the initiate, and a speech in which the initiate speaking for the first time uses his own name in responding to the sponsor.

The principal differences between the texts of the *Kwallye samga* and the *Guanli* are to be found in the sixth and seventh sections of the text of the *Kwallye samga*. In the sixth section of the text of the *Guanli*, the sponsor and initiate go to the clan ancestral hall to make a report. In this section, when the sponsor and initiate go into the church, Cho Pyöngguk first provides the words of a prayer of thanksgiving:

歲次丁丑三月二十九日罪人孤哀子柄國敢用感謝于上帝之前聖子基督之前罪人之子性大年既長成今將加禮心香禮拜祈告禱告

On the twenty-ninth day of the third month of the year *chöngch'uk*,¹⁵ the sinner and parentless son Pyöngguk with reverence comes to the altar of Sangje, the altar of the Son Christ. The sinner's son Söngdae has come of age, and of age for marriage. With a thankful heart, we offer up worship and prayer.

This prayer is completely different from the words found in the *Guanli* constituting an announcement that the capping ceremony has been performed. The prayer in the sixth section of the *Kwallye samga* is Cho Pyöngguk's unique addition to the ceremony and reflects his deep Christian piety. Cho Pyöngguk, as the sponsor, refers to himself as a sinner who is humble before God. Thanks are given for the coming of age of his son, Söngdae. Although as a Christian Cho refers to himself as a sinner, he does so in a very Confucian way. He calls himself an orphan, meaning in Confucian thought that he has been unfilial for having allowed his parents to die. As before, Cho uses “Sangje” as the term for “God.”

In the final portion of the sixth element of the *Kwallye samga* rite, Cho Pyöngguk describes the journey of the ceremonial participants to the church.

詣禮拜堂祝禱。主人率冠者詣堂。主人祝詞曰柄國之子性大今日冠畢敢禱。

[The participants] go to the church to offer [their] prayers of thanksgiving. The *chu'in* (presider) leads the *kwanja* to the church. The *chu'in* reads the words of invocation that today the son of Pyöngguk called Söngdae has been through the *kwallye* service and that prayers have been offered reverently.

Although the phrasing in this section of the *Kwallye samga* is parallel in meaning to the wording of the *Guanli* text, only the last four characters in the text of the *Kwallye samga* are the same as the ones in the *Guanli*. Thus, virtually the

whole of the sixth section of the *Kwallye samga* is the creation of Cho Pyöngguk and constitutes his contribution to the Christianization of a Confucian rite.

The seventh and final section of the *Kwallye samga* consists of the following two sentences:

冠者將退見尊長. 尊長爲之起.

The *kwanja* goes out to greet the elders [of the village]. The elders get up and greet him.

The liturgical directions given here parallel in meaning the actions suggested in the text of the *Guanli*. However, other than the word *chonjang* (尊長, Ch. *Zunchang*) for elder, the phrasing given in this section of the *Kwallye samga* is entirely in Cho Pyöngguk's own words.

Thus the sixth and seventh sections of the *Kwallye samga*, which are predominantly Cho Pyöngguk's creation, represent an example of a significant degree of cultural accommodation of Christian theology and practice to the prevailing Confucian moral and philosophical ethos of Korea. In spite of his evident Christian piety, demonstrated by the Christian rephrasing of the original text of the *Guanli*, the phrasing chosen by Cho shows that his Christian theological thinking was still framed in Confucian patterns and expressed through traditional words and phrasing rather than by using substitute Christian terms in the Korean language.

REFLECTIONS ON A FAILED ATTEMPT AT ACCOMMODATION

Analysis of the text of the *Kwallye samga* shows that Cho Pyöngguk's attempt to create a Christianized form of a Confucian coming-of-age ceremony was effectively a partial revision of the text of the *Guanli* section of the *Jiali*, the Book of Family Ritual. The words spoken by the sponsor of the initiate in the *Kwallye samga* follow so closely the text of the *Guanli* that we may reasonably assume that Cho had a copy of the *Jiali* beside him as he composed his Christianized ceremony. He was not working from memory. We may also assume, given the fact that we know that he was both a learned scholar and a fervent proponent of Confucianism prior to his conversion, that he did so out of his high regard for the text itself and what it represented culturally. Thus, the basic characteristic of the *Kwallye samga* is that it is a Christianization of an existing Confucian ceremony rather than a new Christian ceremony supplanting the traditional rite. This fact marks it out from the *ch'udo yebae* rites, which were a Christian substitute for the Confucian ancestral rites; they were a new creation replacing the traditional rituals—not copying in any way the elements of the ancestral rites, nor using the phrases spoken in them.

In examining Cho's additions to the existing *Guanli* ritual we have observed that even these Christian emendations were stated in a Confucian form, such as using the traditional Confucian terms for "God" rather than the pure Korean term in common usage, and Cho's reference to himself as a sinner in Confucian terms, that is, as an orphan. Also, the dating of the ritual as found in the petition in the sixth section of the *Kwallye samga* is given in the traditional East Asian lunar calendar style, rather than in the Christian Gregorian calendar date.

Cho also retained phrases from the *Guanli* in the text of the *Kwallye samga* that would have caused offence to Christians, such as the use of wine in section four, and the use of the Confucian term for the performance of an ancestral rite as the word for "worship." Thus, although Cho's ritual is a Christian ritual, it is not clearly Christian enough, and for that reason would have been rejected by local Christians as not being distinctively Christian in a way that *ch'udo yebae* would have been. Moreover, it would have been unacceptable to Confucianists because it *was* (however slightly) Christian, and would have been seen to be part of the ongoing cultural conflict between Confucian and Christian beliefs and practices.

During my research, the Cho family confirmed to me that Cho Pyöngguk had written this ritual because, for reasons of Confucian propriety, it was important that his son ritually should have come-of-age before he was married. This fact tells us that, although Cho had been a Christian for sixteen years by the time he wrote this Christianized ritual, he retained an essentially Confucian outlook on matters such as social propriety. We may also speculate that he undertook to emend the traditional capping ceremony to indicate to the Confucian members of his community that Christians, too, kept to the social proprieties. From his descendants, I learned that members of the local Confucian gentry refused to attend the church that Cho Pyöngguk had founded because people of "low birth" attended it, that is, people who did not keep to the social conventions of Confucian practice. By writing this ritual Cho would have wanted to indicate that Christians practiced the correct forms of social and ritual behavior. In the end, Cho found that he could satisfy neither side, and the ritual was not performed, nor was its abbreviated form used more than once.

One other fact about the creation of this rite that we need to consider is the time when it was composed. In the Korea of the late 1930s, the Japanese colonial regime was pursuing a policy of unification of the two nations and the two peoples. A few months after the performance of the reduced capping rite, the Government General of Chōsen forced the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Korea to accept Christian participation in Shinto rituals as not being acts of idolatry. Well before this decision was forced upon the Church, considerable pressure had been exerted upon the Christian community to take part in State Shinto rites. In 1936, two missionaries had been expelled

from Korea for their refusal to allow children in Christian schools to take part in Shinto ceremonies (A. D. CLARK 1971, 221–31; D. N. CLARK 1986, 12–13). Cho and other Christians would have been well aware of current events affecting the Church. We may speculate, in the absence of stated evidence from the family, that one other reason for the composition of this Christianized ritual was Cho's (perhaps unconscious) desire to affirm both his Korean culture (in the form of certain Confucian values and practices) and his Christian beliefs. The words of the *Kwallye samga* are resolutely monotheistic, standing in stark contrast to the polytheism of Shinto practice.

In the end, the *Kwallye samga* failed to become an accepted practice within the Christian community because it was not radical (Christian) enough to appeal to the Christians, nor Confucian enough to satisfy the Confucianists. We have seen how, from the late nineteenth century, a Christian ritual supplanting the *chesa*, or Confucian ancestral rites, became widely accepted. Initially this practice was informal and did not conform in format or wording to the Confucian ritual, only becoming formalized and placed in a book of Christian liturgy some forty years after the practice had begun. Thus one feature of *ch'udo yebae* is that it constituted a radical departure from traditional practices while at the same time responding to deeply felt needs to ritually express feelings of filial piety, a core value of a Confucianized society. According to the Theory of Emplantation, *ch'udo yebae* resolved an essential conflict of values. Cho Pyŏngguk's *Kwallye samga*, on the other hand, was not only not radical enough, it was not a response to a deeply felt moral need. The performance of a coming-of-age ceremony would have been seen to be an additionality to Christian life, not necessary and not touching on any deep theological issues. For both Christians and Confucianists no core values were involved, no issues had to be resolved, and consequently there was no momentum to accept the practice.

This study of the *Kwallye samga* and its history confirms the concepts of the Theory of Emplantation that religions grow when conflicts of core values are resolved. The reverse has also been affirmed. Indigenization of the forms of buildings, styles of rituals, and ritual performance are not an effective or necessary part of the emplantation of a religion unless these matters are related to core values. Otherwise they are treated as secondary or additional matters. We may conclude that the *Kwallye samga* failed because it was an additional or supplementary practice, a representative of past practices that were being bypassed in a changing cultural and religious context.

NOTES

1. In June 2004, I was shown the original manuscript for this ritual. It is the property of the family of a former student of mine, the Rev. Dr. Cho Wŏn'gyŏng, minister of Hayang Methodist Church in Tori-dong, Hayang City, North Kyŏngsang Province, South Korea.
2. An English translation of this work with annotations is EBREY 1991a.
3. Although these characters are used in the *Jiali*, the word is now usually written as 婚禮.
4. Patricia Ebrey discusses the broad issues of the social and moral importance of the performance of Confucian rites in EBREY 1991b.
5. For a brief statement of van Gennep's ideas, see SILLS 1974, vol. 6, 113–14.
6. Request for information about religious adherence formed a part of Korean census questionnaires in 1985, 1995, and 2005. The most recent of these censuses showed that, of the population aged fifteen years and over, 24.7 percent claimed to adhere to Buddhism, 17.9 percent to a Protestant denomination, and 11.1 percent to Roman Catholicism, with 44.8 percent claiming no religious affiliation at all. Other groups were represented by very small percentages of the national population.
7. In 1984 the Roman Catholic Church canonized one hundred and three of these martyrs as saints. The official English hagiography of these saints is KIM 1984.
8. The first recorded example of a *ch'udo yebae* rite is contained in the 11 August 1897 edition of *Chyosyŏn K'ŭrisŭdo-in hoebo*, v. 1, no. 28, 4.
9. The information in this section has been taken from field notes of interviews I had with the Rev. Cho Sŏngdae on 5, 23, and 24 July 2004. Mr. Cho was the son of Cho Pyŏngguk, the author of the *Kwallye samga*, and the person for whom the ritual was composed.
10. Haman is a county of South Kyŏngsang Province. The founder of the Haman Cho clan was Cho Chŏng 趙鼎. According to the clan genealogy kept in the home of Cho Pyŏngguk's grandson, Pyŏngguk stood in the twenty-fifth generation from the founder.
11. There was a corresponding ritual for young women called the *Jili* (笄禮, Kor. *Kyerye*, Pinning Rite) in which the young woman's hair was pinned up at the back of the head.
12. The Chinese character text given here and in subsequent sections is the text of the *Kwallye samga*. The citations given in brackets refer to a modern source for the original text of the *Guanli* ritual.
13. The *Guanli* text has the character 順 (pure).
14. In a personal conversation on 26 January 2007, Cho Pyŏngguk's grandson Cho Wŏn'gyŏng confirmed that this would have been the case.
15. This is a lunar calendar date given according to the sixty-year East Asian calendrical system. The year is identified by the combination of one of the ten calendrical "stems" (in this case 丁), and one of the twelve "branches" (in this case 丑). The lunar year is the equivalent of the year 1937 in the Gregorian calendar.

REFERENCES CITED

- Chyosyŏn K'ŭrisŭdo-in hoebo* [English title, Korean Christian Advocate]. 1897.
- CLARK, Allen D.
1971 *A History of the Church in Korea*. Seoul: Christian Literature Society of Korea.
- CLARK, Donald N.
1986 *Christianity in Modern Korea*. Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America.

- CREEL, Herrlee G.
 1987 *Chinese Thought from Confucius to Mao Tse-tung*. Chicago: Chicago University Press. First published 1953.
- EBREY, Patricia Buckley
 1991a *Chu Hsi's Family Rituals: A Twelfth-Century Chinese Manual for the Performance of Cappings, Weddings, Funerals, and Ancestral Rites*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
 1991b *Confucianism and Family Rituals in Imperial China: A Social History of Writing about Rites*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- GRAYSON, James Huntley
 1985 *Early Buddhism and Christianity in Korea: A Study in the Emplantation of Religion*. Studies in the History of Religions, vol. 47. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
 2002 *Korea: A Religious History*. Revised Edition. London: RoutledgeCurzon.
 2007 The grieving rite: A Protestant response to Confucian ancestral rituals. In *Religions of Korea in Practice*, ed. Robert E. Buswell, Jr., 434–48. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- IM Minhyök
 1999 *Chuja karye* [Zhu Xi's Family Rituals]. Seoul: Yemun söwön.
- KIDOKKYO CHOSŎN KAMNI-HOE CH'ONGNI-WŎN
 1935 *Kidokkyo Chosŏn kamni-hoe kyori-wa changjŏn* [Discipline and Doctrines of the Korean Methodist Church]. Seoul: Kidokkyo Chosŏn kamni-hoe ch'ongni-wŏn.
- KIM, Chang-seok
 1984 *Lives of 103 Martyr Saints of Korea*. Seoul: Catholic Publishing House.
- NATIONAL BUREAU OF STATISTICS, REPUBLIC OF KOREA
 2006 Korean Statistical Information System. <http://kosis.nso.go.kr>.
- SILLS, David, ed.
 1974 *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*. 18 vols. New York: Macmillan.
- PRATT, Keith, and Richard C. RUTT
 1999 *Korea: A Historical and Cultural Dictionary*. Richmond, Surrey: Curzon.
- VAN GENNER, Arnold
 1960 *Rites of Passage*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Translation. First published in 1909 as *Rites de Passage: Études systématique des rites* [etc.]. Paris: É. Nourry.