

CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS

INTELLECTUALS AND LOST STATE SOVEREIGNTY: MOVEMENTS FOR CULTURAL ENLIGHTENMENT AND PRESERVATION OF NATIONAL LANGUAGES

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COLLECTION OF RESEARCH PAPERS

The articles in this edition were prepared for presentation at the conference “Intellectuals and Lost State Sovereignty: Movements for Cultural Enlightenment and Preservation of National Languages”, which is part of the project “Georgia and Korea: Parallels in the Historical Experience of Colonialism, Struggle for Independence, Liberation and State Building”¹, on which researchers from Iliia State University in Georgia and Hankuk University of Foreign Studies in the Republic of Korea work together.

Georgia and Korea have had limited contacts and exchange over the course of history, but in recent years the constantly growing cooperation in various areas between the two countries has become grounds for discovering numerous similarities that they share in their historical experience. Coming from a very different cultural background, both nations have existed in the imposing presence of threatening powerful neighbors and have managed to preserve their territorial integrity and national identity.

The research in this volume focusses on the role of certain individuals who in times of turmoil gave vision to their compatriots and kept the national spirit alive. While exploring different historical examples, the studies draw parallels between the experiences of the societies of Georgia and Korea and other regions with similar historical circumstances, gaining insights into the capacity of single individuals to create impact on national and international scale, uncovering patterns, reaching general conclusions and theorizing issues related to leadership, education, culture, language, nationhood and identity.

¹ <http://iliauni.edu.ge/en/iliauni/institutebi-451/g-weretlis-agmosavletmcodneobis-instituti-742/ongoing-projects/koreis-kvlevebi>

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MAPPING OF GEORGIA AND GEORGIAN/KARTVELIAN LANGUAGES IN THE ANCIENT CULTURAL WORLD

Nino Doborjginidze, Ilia State University

In the first part of my presentation, I will try to consider briefly how the ancient cultural world perceived Georgia, the Georgian language/Kartvelian languages and culture, the origins and position of the Kartvelian peoples, i.e. Georgians, and the country as a whole. More specifically, I will try to show the place Georgia and the Georgian language held in the early mythological/literary, religious, and, last but not least, the scientific concept underlying the ancient modeling of the world.

In the second part, I will analyze briefly the multilingual epigraphy of Georgia, Urartian cuneiform, Greek, Aramaic, Hebrew, Armenian inscriptions discovered or preserved in the territory of Georgia.

a) Mythological mapping of Georgia/ Georgian/Kartvelian languages

Georgia, or more specifically, Colchis Κολχίς², the earliest ethnically Georgian polity existing from the 13th to the 1st centuries BC, is conceptualized in Greek mythology as a country of magic and medicine. You know that the word medicine is derived from Medea. Cura Mediana or Medea's care/ cure (Georg. მედეას მზრუნველობა)³ – with this name and the dramatic, tragic love story is when Georgia first appears in the earliest Greek mythological conception of the world, i.e. in the thematic mapping of the world, through early mythological narratives describing concrete places, ethnics, or persons.

Colchis, the Kingdom of legendary King Aetes, is known as Helios's kingdom located in the place where the sun goes down. Medea (ancient Greek: Μήδεια), the daughter of King Aetes of Colchis, the granddaughter of Helios and the niece of Circe (Greek: Κίρκη), was famous for her healing ability and magic cures. She could heal peoples and animals with the help of magic plants and herbs. Like her aunt Circe, she mastered the power to hypnotize.

² David Braund, *Georgia in Antiquity: A History of Colchis and Transcaucasian Iberia, 550 BC-AD 562*, Oxford University Press, 1994; W.E.D. Allen, *A History of the Georgian People* 1932

³ Curt Spengler, *Versuch einer pragmatischen Geschichte der Arzneikunde von Kurt Sprengel*, 1803; Smith, William, "Medeia". [*A Dictionary of Greek and Roman biography and mythology: Vol 2*](#). p. 1004 (1870).

I will not go into the details of Greek mythology, let us follow the Kartvelian / Colchian language described in it.

It is well known, that antiquity did not recognize the concept of linguistic diversity and equality. The world of languages is divided into two groups: the first is represented by the Greeks and their language, while all other languages are called barbarians - is a linguistic opposition offered by antiquity.

Righty one means, that the remarkable features of historicism in the functional classification of languages appear for the first time by the head of the Alexandrian library, Apollonius of Rhodes, (3th c. BC.) particularly in his *Argonautica*, in an episode about Medea's mother tongue. The author enabled his hero, the Greek Jason, to travel through the land of the Colchis. The sorceress Medea, who knows Greek very well, talks to Jason in Greek, but her "professional language" is Colchian: her magical power is in her mother tongue (cf. ἐμφύλιος ὁμφίη). She never speaks her magic prayers in Greek, only in her native language, in Colchian, she communicates with her compatriots, her aunt Circe or soldiers in Colchian (cf. ἐν Κολχικῶ, Κολχίδα γῆρον ἰεῖσα).

As I mentioned above, a "Non-Greek" language first appears in those episodes with its name and not with the collective name, barbarian language. German scientist Arno Borst has pointed this out for the first time in his 6 volume monumental work: *Turmbau zu Babel* (Building of the tower of Babel).

To conclude the sources of mythological mapping: Colchis, as a country of magic and medicine and Medea's mother tongue, one of the Kartvelian languages, Colchian ἐν Κολχικῶ is the first language destroying the common linguistic opposition of Antiquity Ἕλληνες - βάρβαροι and introducing the remarkable features of historicism. This turn is associated with the name of Apollonius of Rhodes.

- b) next to the religious mapping: Picture of Georgia/Georgian/Kartvelian languages in the earliest sources of religious historiography

It is well known that monotheistic religions, such as Judaism and Christianity, were the first to attempt conceptualization of the unified world with sacral biblical origins. Antiquities of the Jews (Ἰουδαϊκὴ Ἀρχαιολογία), composed by Flavius Josephus in ad 93, and the Jewish apocryphon of the mid first century ad, the Book of Jubilees or Leptogenesis (οἱ Ἰωβηλαῖοι, ἡ λεπτή Γένεσις) can be seen as the archetypes of the oldest religious

mapping of the world. It is based on the Table of Ethnoses (gentes) from *Genesis 10*, the so-called diamerisms: Διαμερισμὸς τῆς γῆς εἰς τοὺς τρεῖς υἱοὺς τοῦ Νῶε (*tabula linguarum et populorum*) more precisely the world as a unified space for biblical (sacral) languages and peoples, particularly 72 descendants of Noah, his three sons: of Shem, Cham and Japheth.

The scheme of religious mapping, i.e. diamerisms are more or less similar in structure and content. Eight main rubrics can be distinguished: a. introduction, the building, and destruction of the Tower of Babel, b. division of peoples and languages, c. a list of seventy-two languages, d. stories of dispersion of peoples, e. less known peoples and their territories, f. a list of mountains, g. a list of rivers, h. cities in different climatic zones.

This stereotype of the beginning of the sacral history of biblical peoples became an indispensable introduction to local historiography of late antiquity and the Middle Ages. Later I will speak about the Georgian projection of this religious mapping as the main structure of medieval Georgian historiography.

What was the place of the Georgians in this religious mapping of the world? All the three Kartvelian languages: a) Georgian/Iberian (ქართველი / იბერიული - Ἰβηρες, Iberi, Georgii, Gu(a)rzani, Gurgani b) Colchian (კოლხური / მეგრული - Κόλχοι, Ῥηγῖνες, Ἐγρῖνες, Ἐγρητῖνες), c) Swan (სვანური - Σάννοι, Σάννιγμοι, Σαῦνοι, Σύανοι, Σαῦνοι) feature in all sources of religious historiography including the chronicle of above mentioned Flavius Josephus.

Here you can see the text of Flavius Josephos.

Flavios Josephos, Antiquities of the Jews (Ἰουδαϊκὴ Ἀρχαιολογία)

Ἰαφέθου μὲν οὖν τοῦ Νωέου παιδὸς ἦσαν ἑπτὰ υἱοί. κατοικοῦσι δὲ οὗτοι ἀπὸ Ταύρου καὶ Ἀμάνου τῶν ὄρων ἀρξάμενοι· καὶ προῆλθον ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς Ἀσίας ἄχρι ποταμοῦ Ταναΐδος, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἕως Γαδείρων, γῆν ἣν ἔτυχον καταλαμβάνοντες, καὶ μηδεὶς προκατοικήσαντος τὰ ἔθνη τοῖς αὐτῶν ἐκάλουν ὀνόμασι·

Γομαρὸς τοὺς Γαλάτας·

Μαγώγης τοὺς Σκύθας·

Μάδης τοὺς Μήδους·

Ἰωάνος τοὺς Ἰωνας καὶ πάντας Ἑλλήνας·

Θώβηλος τοὺς Ἰβήρας

Μόσοχος τοὺς Καππάδοκας·

Θειρᾶς τοὺς Θράκας·

Γομάρου δὲ τριῶν υἱῶν γενομένων,
 Ἄσχάναξος οἱ νῦν Ῥηγῖνες Ἐργῖνες ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καλοῦνται καὶ Σαῦνοι,
 Ῥιφάθης τοὺς Παφλαγόνας·
 Θυγράμης τοὺς Φρύγας·
 Ἰωύαννου δὲ τριῶν παίδων γενομένων,
 Ἐλισᾶς τοὺς Ἀιολεῖς·
 Θαρσός τοὺς Κίλικας·
 Χέθιμος τοὺς Κυπρίους
 (Müllenhoff 1892: 26)

It is known, that the ethnonym Ἰβηρες refers both to the Caucasian and the Pyrenean Iberians. Therefore, it is difficult to distinguish between them in the sources. However, in this case, they are identified by their geographical location. In particular, the sources mention that Ἰβηρες, Κόλχοι, Ῥηγῖνες, Ἐργῖνες and Σαῦνοι are located around the Black Sea on the shore and in the Mountains. Cf.

Ἰβηρες, "... Κόλχοι καὶ Βοσπορανοὶ. Σαῦνοι δὲ οἱ λεγόμενοι Σάνιγγες, οἱ ἕως τοῦ Πόντου ἐκτείνοντες, ὅπου ἐστὶ παρεμβολὴ Ἀψαρος καὶ Σεβαστόπολις καὶ ὁ Ἰσσοῦ λιμὴν καὶ Φᾶσις ποταμός.⁴

From the 3rd c. AD the religious mapping of the world was enriched with new rubrics, the division of languages and peoples according to their literary traditions. Hippolytus of Rome's *Chronicle* dated to 218-235 singles out 15 peoples with literary traditions out of 72 sacral (biblical) descendants of Noah, i.e. people, who are *Οἱ ἐπιστάμενοι αὐτῶν γράμματα, Qui litterati sunt*, i.e. peoples, which can write and read. It refers to the Georgian language, or more precisely to Iberian, descendants of Japheth, as one of the languages with early literary traditions.⁵

Of numerous examples I will only mention a few from different periods:

1. 218-235 Greek version of Hippolytus:

Οἱ δὲ ἐπιστάμενοι αὐτῶν γράμματά εἰσιν

[Japhet]:

Ἰβηρες, Λατῖνοι, οἷς χρῶνται οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, Σπανοί, Ἕλληνες, Μῆδοι, Ἀρμένιοι.

⁴ Bauer 1956: 39.

⁵ Cf. Οἱ δὲ ἐπιστάμενοι αὐτῶν γράμματα εἰσιν Ἰβηρες, Λατῖνοι, οἷς χρῶνται οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, Σπανοί, Ἕλληνες, Μῆδοι, Ἀρμένιοι. Φοίνικες, Αἰγύπτιοι, Παμφύλιοι, Φρύγες. Ἑβραῖοι οἱ καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι, Πέρσαι, Μῆδοι, Ἰνδοί, Χαλδαῖοι, Ἀσσυριοί (of those who have a script are: [from Japheth]: Iberians, Latins, called Romans, Spaniards, Greeks, Medes, Armenians; [from Cham]: Phoenicians, Egyptians, Pamphylians, Phrygians. [from Sem] Hebrews, Persians, Medes, Indians, Chaldeans, Assyrians (Hippolytus, *Chronicon* (= Hippolytus, *Werke*, Bd. IV), hrsg. A. Bauer, R. Helm (GCS, 46), Berlin, 1955).

2. 6th c. anonymous Greek version:

Οἱ δὲ ἐπιστάμενοι αὐτῶν γράμματά εἰσιν [Japhet]:

Ἰβηρες οἱ καὶ Τυράννοι, Λατῖνοι, Σπανοί, Ἕλληνες, Μῆδοι, Ἀρμένιοι.

3. 7th c. latin version (Excerpta latina Barbari):

Qui autem sapiunt ex ipsis litteris hii sunt

[Japhet]:

Ibirii, Latini, qui utuntur Romei, Spani, Graeci, Midi, Armenii.

4. A Syrian version from the 9th c.

“A semine Šēm sunt populi et nationes et linguae viginti duo; inter quas sunt quae litteras sciunt quinque linguae: Syri, Hebraei, Babylonii, Persae, Elamitae. [...] Et filii Hām sunt tredecim populi et nationes et linguae; inter quas sunt quae litteras sciunt quattuor linguae, Aegyptii, Aethiopes, Indi, Phoenices. [...] Et filii Japhet sunt triginta septem populi et nationes et linguae; [...] inter quos sunt qui litteras sciunt sex populi, qui sunt Graeci, Romani, Midi, Albani, Armeni, **Georgii**⁶.

As you see the Iberians are here replaced by terminus Georgii.

5. A later version from the 12th-13th c. which is attributed to the Antiochian Patriarch Eutuchios (Eutybios vel Saʿīd ibn Batrik). The text is preserved to us through Arabic, Greek, and Latin translations. Cf.

Qui autem litterati sunt:

[Japhet]:

Graeca, Romana, Armenica, Gurzanica, Hispanica.⁷

Gurzan/Gurz is the oriental Syriac-Arabic name for Georgian.

To summarize the pieces of evidence of late Antique and medieval religious historiography: all the three Kartvelian ethnoses and languages, Ἰβηρες, Κόλχοι, Ῥηγῖνες, Ἐγρῖνες and Σαῦνοι are mentioned in the biblical tabula linguarum et populorum. the Iberian (Georgian) language is mentioned from the mid 3th c. in the list of literary languages: (cf. Οἱ ἐπιστάμενοι γράμματα, Qui litterati sunt).

⁶ Brooks, Guidi, Chabot 1955: 278.

⁷ Doborjginidze 2010: 22-62.

c) Ancient Georgia through Science – scientific mapping

The cultures of Late Antiquity and medieval Christian East, such as Syriac, Coptic, Ethiopian, Armenian, Georgian, Caucasian Albania, Gothic, and Church Slavonic, are called “translation cultures” and the history of those languages are defined as “translation history” (Brock-Jacobson-Issatschenko-Schaublin, cf. Sprachgeschichte als Übersetzungsgeschichte).

In this context, I would like to attract your attention to some discoveries concerning Georgia, that are recognized by the international scientific society.

1. In 2012, an article was published in one of the world's highest-rated scientific journals - *Science* confirming that the archaeological material and skillet found in Georgia, in particular, Dmanisi, is by far the oldest in Europe, and goes back several millennia to what has been hitherto considered ancient, found in Spain.

2. Moreover, a scientific article published also in *Science* in 2009 by Georgian and foreign paleo-botanists, confirms that the oldest garments (wild flax fibers) discovered to date have been found in Georgia, particularly in upper Paleolithic layers at Dzudzuana Cave (located in the foothills of the Caucasus) near Chiatura.

3. Other publications relevant to DNA analysis have acknowledged that archaeological remains discovered in Georgia proving wine production and wheat cultivation, usage as food are the oldest found in Georgia (Articles). The same is true of endemic flora and fauna of the Caucasus and Georgia, particularly from a well-known Colchian refugium nearby Kintrishi in West Georgia.⁸

To summarize the picture of scientific mapping of ancient Georgia: e.g. the earliest Europeans found in Georgia are the earliest human skulls discovered in Dmanisi Georgia; first clothing created in Chiatura - earliest dyed flax fibers found in a prehistoric cave in Georgia; the earliest archaeological evidence of wine and notorious grape varieties; endemic flora and fauna, etc. show, that Georgia is not only a culture based on translation, but it is also one of the oldest members of human civilization, carrying important cultural achievements. And this is well evidenced in mythological sources, and religious and scientific modeling of the ancient world.

Just a few words about Georgian ethnonyms and toponyms in the world historiograph

⁸ a refugium is an area in which a population of organisms can survive through a period of unfavourable conditions, especially glaciation. In western Georgia are located an important “Colchis glacial refugium” with hundreds of “Colchis endemics” including of medicinal plants.

y: Ἰβηρες, Κόλχοι, Ῥηγῖνες, Ἐγρῖνες and Σαῦνοι, Colchis, Iberes, Iberia, Georgia, Gurzan/Gurg/Jurjan.

The oldest of them is Κόλχοι Colchis, which is an exonym of Egrisi, West Georgia. The name Colchis should be derived from the Urartian word *Qulḫa*, pronounced as "Kolcha". In the late 8th century BC, Sarduri II the King of Urartu inscribed his victory over Kulkha on a stele.

Ἰβηρες Iberes/Iberia is also an exonym for the Georgian Kingdom of Kartli, Eastern Georgia. This name was used to describe Eastern Georgia in the Greek-Latin historiography of Antiquity, Late antiquity, and the early middle Ages.⁹

From that time the toponym and ethnonym Ἰβηρες Iberes/Iberia was replaced by the exonym Georgia. According to one theory name "Georgia" came from Greek γεωργός ("tiller of the land"), the other theory claims that Georgia is derived from the Persian designation of the Georgians – *gurḡān*, Syriac *gurz-ān/gurz-iyān*, Arabic *ḵurḵan/ḵurzan*.

II. Multilingual epigraphy and Manuscript Heritage of Georgia

This small country has a very specific geographical location, which has defined its fate to some extent. It is located at the borders of the great regions, cultures, and religions: Asia – Europe, Eastern and Western Civilization, Christianity, and Islam. This borderland is naturally well-suited to understand both worlds, adopt and “translate” it into Georgian.

Let us observe this diversity and ability of understanding through multilingual inscriptions and scripts in general, discovered or preserved in the territory of Georgia.

a. Urartian

The oldest literary layer is the Urartian cuneiform inscriptions. Approximately two hundred inscriptions were written in the Urartian language which adopted and modified the cuneiform script, discovered to date; 28 of them is part of the cuneiform collection in The National Museum of Georgia, and making it the second largest collection of the Urartian cuneiform after the History Museum of Armenia. The **Urartian** belongs neither the Afro-Asian nor the Indo-European families. Various proposals exist to establish a genetic relationship of Urartian to other language families (e.g. Northeast Caucasian, Indo European, or Kartvelian

⁹ It is well known that the historiography of antiquity known two Iberian a) Caucasian Iberia, i.e. Georgia and European Iberia, the peninsula in southwestern Europe containing the countries of Spain and Portugal.

languages), but none of these are generally accepted.¹⁰ There are some important similarities between Urartian and Kartvelian languages, e.g. all tree Kartvelian are an ergative, agglutinative languages, as Urartian.

b. Greek

The next epigraphical layer is Greek. There are more than 2500 Greek inscriptions discovered in Georgia. An important part of them is dated from the 8th c. BC. to the 1st c. AD.

A history of Colchis and Transcaucasian Iberia, Georgia in Antiquity in general, are well studied, but not from a modern methodological perspective, including from the perspective of global studies, or global history. Therefore, despite the importance of multilingual epigraphical heritage discovered in Georgia, these findings so far have not become a part of international research projects and discussions.

b) Here is a typical example:

Romanization in the 1st century AD, being a global process and hence a subject of global studies, has been analyzed from several perspectives and discussed in several books and articles. Inscriptions praising Vespasian Kaiser discovered in many countries in Europe and Asia, starting from Portugal and ending with India, are part of this research. I will show you some examples: this is Verulamium Forum Inscription from Britain, dated to AD 79, which informs us that Vespasian adorned the Verulamium basilica (basilica ornata); according to another inscription discovered in Jerusalem and preserved in the British Museum, dated 75 AD, Vespasian repaired a road; this inscription dated 76 AD, reports that Vespasian erected Milestone nearby Lybia; here is one more inscription, found in Colosseum, dated 80 AD, which says that Vespasian built the new amphitheater for his people.

Among the significant evidence of this global Romanization context is Vespasian's Greek inscription discovered in Georgia in 1867, in Armazi, Mtskheta, Eastern Georgia. Dated 75 AD, the inscription is dedicated to the reinforcement of Armazi fortifications: Emperor Vespasian fortified the walls for the king of the Iberians, Mithridates, and his people [Iberians].

All the above-mentioned inscriptions from Rome, Verulamium Forum, British Museum, Jerusalem, Libya, or Mtskheta, Georgia, convey a stereotype of Emperor Vespasian who built new Arena in Colosseum, adorned basilica in Britain, fortified walls in Mtskheta, repaired a road in Libya or erected Milestone in Judea, etc. All of them, except the Georgian one, have been included in a big epigraphical and papyrological corpora; and all of them, except the

¹⁰ Woodard, Roger D. (ed.), *The Ancient Languages of Asia Minor*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 81–104, 2008.

Georgian one, are involved in the discussion about Romanization as a subject of global history. Georgian inscriptions are still missing.

This is why our Institute has identified the development of scientific databases and corpora as one of its priorities and a necessary precondition to research. Cf. multilingual epigraphic Corpus of Georgia. <http://epigraphy.iliauni.edu.ge/>

At this stage, it includes Georgian, Aramaic, and Greek inscriptions dating from the period between the 1st and 9th centuries AD. This is a long-term project, aimed at preparing the publication not only Greek, Hebrew, Aramaic, but also corpora of the Urartian, Arabic, Persian, and Armenian inscriptions according to the EpiDoc standards.

Let us look the main structure of this corpus. Table of contents with many filters: [Filter By Place](#), [by Date](#), [by Text Category](#), [by Monument Type](#) and [by Numbering](#). Lemma: Greek, Aramaic, Georgian, Person names, geographic names, and Gods names. This is the inscription of Vespasian Caesar, the critical edition, diplomatic edition and we prepared XML files of the inscriptions, tagged all metadata and texts of the inscriptions according to the digital analog of Leiden Conventions - EpiDoc. We also linked metadata with EAGLE-controlled vocabularies. We plan to share English XML-s with other databases, such as [Trismegistos](#), which "only has the literary texts pre-dating 800 AD, in the Asomtavruli script. The early inscriptions are currently missing, but we hope to add them in cooperation with the project 'Epigraphic Corpus of Georgia.'"

The Urartian are especially interesting; The biggest part of cuneiform inscriptions, including Sumerian and Akkadian are published according to the EpiDoc guidelines, Urartian is still missing. Now we plan to seek international funding for the regional project on standard digital publishing of the cuneiform inscriptions found not only in Georgia but also in the Black Sea region. We hope that colleagues from regional and western universities with an interdisciplinary background working in the area of Digital Humanities, Epigraphy, Oriental Studies or History will take interest in collaboration, as it happened in the case of CDLI (Cuneiform digital Library Initiative), joint project of the University of California, Los Angeles, the University of Oxford, and the Max Planck Institute for the History of Science, Berlin.

Back to the Greek epigraphical heritage of Georgia, which can be classified into two groups: a) Pre-Christian inscriptions and palimpsests from Colchis and Iberia, b) Inscriptions and manuscripts from the Christian period (from the 4th c.), including those written by Georgian monks abroad, in Georgian monasteries and translation/literary schools in Palestine, Jerusalem,

Greece, Antioch.

c. Aramaic, d. Hebrew

Aramaic and Hebrew Inscriptions/manuscripts from Georgia chronologically coincide with or follow the ancient Greek ones. From the 1st c. AD Aramaic was used intensively as an administrative language throughout the Caucasus, including Georgia. From the same period a specific type, or local idiom of Aramaic, Armazic (East Georgia) was used for the writing of Georgian text.

The first example of alloglottography, or writing in another tongue is the funerary stele of Serapit, a bilingual inscription written in Ancient Greek and Armazic, a local idiom of Aramaic used for the writing of Georgian text. The inscription (2nd c. AD) memorializes a short-lived Georgian princess named Serapit.

In 320-s Georgians started a new period in their history: Kartli, i.e. East Georgia is being Christianized. From that time Christianity becomes the official religion in Kartli, and it gradually takes over the role of the unifier of Kartvelian peoples. It means a Christianization was not only an important religious event but also a great political change in the history of Georgian people as a fundamental factor for the formation of a unified Georgian Kingdom in the Middle Ages.

To summarize the pieces of evidence of multilingual script tradition of Georgia – I mean the script tradition before the introduction of original Georgian script: The inscriptions discovered or preserved in Georgia are very diverse in terms of language, script, and writing system (Uartian cuneiform, Greek, Hebrew, Aramaic, monolingual bilingual, alloglottographical); the languages of political, religious and cultural power have left their traces on the script map of Georgia. The long literary script tradition - I mean starting from the 10th c. BC usage of Uartian cuneiform, Greek, Aramaic, Hebrew scripts - was continued with the original Georgian script, developed and introduced after the Christianization of Georgia.

A MORPHOSYNTACTIC PARSER USING GULP FOR AGGLUTINATIVE LANGUAGES WITH PARTIAL FREE WORD ORDER FOCUSING ON KOREAN

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Abstract

This paper presents a morphosyntactic parser for agglutinative languages with partial free word order, such as Korean and Georgian. It is based on dependency grammar, unification-based grammar, and implemented in Prolog. The dependency grammar effectively represents free word order of words in a sentence. Unification-based grammar supports dependency grammar because of its order-independent operations. The features include syntactic, morphological, and semantic dependency information and can be maintained separately from the parsing algorithm. The parser provides a structure of a natural language sentence of mostly Korean with dependency pairs. Several basic sentences in Georgian is also implemented. This parser restricts totally free-word-order languages, restricts the order of dependents for a single head, recognizes subcategorization features and matches long-distance dependencies.

Keywords: *Dependency grammar, parsing, unification-based grammar, Prolog, Korean, Georgian*

Introduction

Morphological typology generally categorizes into 3 types of languages, i.e., isolating, agglutinative, and fusional languages. Most languages do not fall into one type but they share features of different types (Pirkola 2001). Korean is an agglutinative language with partially free word order. Most of the words are free in order, but there are restrictions in some words. For example, verb and sentence ender must come in the final position of a sentence and adjectives must precede the modifying noun. Dependency grammar is widely used to describe the word order and the structure of a sentence in Korean parsers (Kim et al. 1994; Kang et al. 2001; Chung and Rim 2004). But, many of the proposed parsers use probabilities, which lack high accuracy scores, or some parse a sentence from right-to-left, lacking real-time application.

The hand-coded grammar-based parser shows high accuracy scores and can further be implemented with the probability parsers. Also, it parses a sentence in the order of the input words; left-to-right.

If we combine dependency grammar with unification-based grammar, implementation of a Korean parser becomes simple and efficient (Kwon and Yoon 1989). By representing a word with features and a grammar with unification of features, the parsing algorithm is separated by the grammar and the grammar can check syntactic, morphological, and semantic dependency. This proposed parsing algorithm for partial free word order and agglutinative languages is implemented in Prolog, using GULP (Covington 1994), an extension to Prolog for implementing unification-based grammar using notations of features.

Dependency Grammar

According to Debusmann (2000), in a sentence in any given language, all words depend on another word(s), except for one word. Each “depending relation” will be linked as either “head” or “dependent” based on the functionality. In general, the dependent is the modifier or complement and the head determines the attribute of the dependent. Also, the head is obligatory and the dependent is optional in a sentence. The dependency relations vary according to each language, but generally, a sentence is analyzed to have a single “ultimate head”, in other words, a head that is not a dependent of any other head.¹¹

There can be different ways to graphically represent head-dependent links. The following shows the dependent(s) of a head by using indentation for the sentence, “The dog chased the cat.”

chased
 dog
 the
 cat
 the

¹¹ Sentences with raising verbs are problematic and sometimes argued to have multiple heads. (Hudson, 1984) For example, the noun *John* in *John seems to like Mary* has two heads: *seems* and *like*.

“chased” is the ultimate head that is not a dependent of any other head. “dog” and “cat” are dependents of “chased” and the definite article “the” is a dependent of “dog” and “cat”.

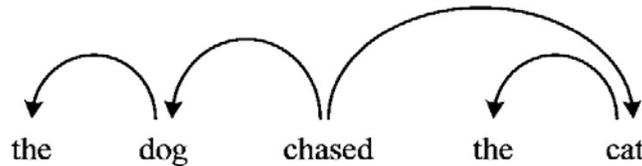


Figure 1

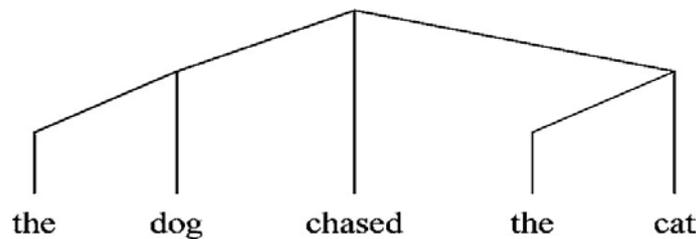


Figure 2

There are also other ways to graphically represent head-dependent relations (Covington, 1990). Figure 1 points an arrow from head to dependent(s). Figure 2 draws a downhill line from head to its dependent(s). The proposed parsing algorithm uses indentation to represent head-dependent links.

Mel’čuk (2003) categorizes dependencies in 3 levels; semantic, morphological and syntactic dependency. First, an argument of a predicate semantically depends on its predicate. For example, the sentence, *The boy gave his friend a present* can be analyzed as, each argument, *the boy*, *his friend*, and *a present* semantically depends on the predicate *gave*. Second, if a word *A* takes a certain morphological form, under the impact of another word *B*, then *A* morphologically depends on *B*. For example, in the sentences, *He likes apples* and *They like apples*, the predicate *like* has different forms depending on the subject argument, *he* and *they*. Third, the syntactic dependency is an intermediate between semantic and morphological dependencies.

The proposed parsing algorithm incorporates all 3 categories of dependency relations to define a single head and its dependent(s). The semantic, morphological and syntactic features are implemented in unification-based grammar.

Unification-based Grammar

Unification-based grammar uses features and their values to represent grammar and features are grouped into feature structures (Shieber 1986). Each feature structure has information on meaning, part of speech, number, tense, case, subcategorizations, etc. These features and their values are factors used to decide upon semantic, morphological and syntactic dependencies among the words in a sentence. The values of the features in the feature structures are order independently unified (matched or merged).

Unification-based grammar can be combined and incorporated in various different grammar theories. Dependency grammar implemented with unification features for the sentence, “The dog chased the cat.” is graphically represented using indentation as below:

chased (subcategorization:2..tense:past)

dog(case:nom..num:sg)

the

cat(case:acc..num:sg)

the

‘subcategorization’, ‘tense’, ‘case’, ‘num’ are features and the values for each feature is stated after the colon. ‘nom’ is nominative, ‘acc’ is accusative, and ‘sg’ is singular. The feature structures are notated and unifications are done in the grammar rule, order independently. Therefore, Unification-based grammar separates the grammar module from the actual parsing algorithm, which makes the parser easily applicable to other languages by simply modifying the grammar module.

GULP (Graph Unification Logic Programming)

Covington (1994) introduced a software tool, GULP (Graph Unification Logic Programming), which is an extension of Prolog for implementing Unification-based grammar. The syntax of GULP is, for example, **a:b..c:d**, which represents a feature structure of **a** having the value **b** and **c** having the value **d**, and all other features are uninitiated. The operator ‘:’ joins a feature to its value and the operator ‘..’ combines the feature and its value pairs to build more complex structures. The GULP feature structures are automatically translated to their internal Prolog terms when the program is compiled and then these structures are translated back when output by the function, **print**.

Korean in Dependency Grammar and Unification-based Grammar

Korean is an agglutinative language with partial free word order in sentences. Also, there are many cases of null arguments in Korean, and subjects and objects are easily dropped in sentences. These characteristics of Korea can be easily and effectively represented with dependency grammar and unification-based grammar.

First, Korean has many postpositional function words (Lee 2005). They are bound morphemes and each carry different functions; nominative case marker, accusative case marker, tense marker, plural marker, etc.

Second, word order is partially free but there are several restrictions.

- verb and postpositional verbal ending(s) must come in the final position of a sentence, while the words before the verb are free or even omitted. (1) & (2)
- postpositional function word must follow right after the word it modifies. (3)
- adverbs that modify verbs (in simple declarative sentences) can come in any position, as long as it precedes the verb. In comparison, adverbs that modify adjectives must come right before the adjective. (4)
- adjectives and relative clauses must come right before the noun they modify. (5)

Restrictions are illustrated with example sentences below.

(1) *gang-a-ji ga go-yang-i lul chot nun -da.*
 dog nom cat acc chase pres dec
 ‘The dog chases the cat.’

(2) *go-yang-i lul gang-a-ji ga chot nun -da.*
 cat acc dog nom chase pres dec
 ‘The dog chases the cat.’

(3) *go-yang-i gang-a-ji ga lul chot nun -da.*
 cat dog nom acc chase pres dec
 ungrammatical sentence

(4) *nae ga aju ken cha lul po n -da*
 I nom very big car acc see pres dec
 ‘I see a very big car.’

(5) *nae ga jaju po -n cha ga ga n -da*

I nom often see rel car nom go pres dec

‘The car that I saw often, is going.’

Third, the subcategorization in Korean is unique because there are null arguments and therefore, allowing subjects and objects to be dropped in a sentence.

gang-a-ji ga chot nun -da.

dog nom chase pres dec

‘The dog chases _____.’

Transitive verb *chot-da* can have only one argument realized. Therefore, if a verb is categorized to have 2 subcategories, it means that the verb at have, *at the most*, 2 subcategories but not all 2 need to be realized. Dependency grammar with unification-based features are well suited to implement a parser for languages with the above characteristics.

The Morphosyntactic Parser

The morpho-syntactic parser based on dependency grammar and unification-based grammar using GULP is composed of 3 modules; lexicon, dependency rules with unification-based features, parsing algorithm itself.

Lexicon is a list of morphemes based on its morphological functionalities represented in the following format.

word (PhoneticSounds, PartofSpeech(GULPFeatures)).

PhoneticSounds are the actual input words from the sentence. **PartofSpeech** and **GULPFeatures** can be categorized and defined according characteristics of the target language. The proposed parser categorized based on the morphosyntactic features of each morpheme.

PartofSpeech	Symbol
noun	n
postpositional case marker	pp
postpositional plural marker	plp

adverbial post marker	advp
verb	v
sentence-ending marker	p
tense post marker	tp
copular verb	cp
other kind of copular verb	ccp
serial verb marker	serv
adjective	adj
genitive post marker	gen
numeral	num
c1	ncv
c2	scs
c3	pcv
c4	vcv
c5	vcn
adverb	adv
adverb with tense	tadv
verb to noun	vnp
noun to noun	nnp
quotation mark	qm

Table 1. Part of Speech Categories

Several examples of words in the lexicon are listed below.

word(gyosoo,n(ending:vow..sem:professor)).

word(saebuyuk,n(ending:con..sem:dawn)).

word(ga,pp(case:nom..ending:vow..num:sing)).

word(un,pp(case:nom-topicalization..ending:con..num:sing)).

word(euro,advp(ending:con..sem:to-or-as-or-with)).

word(jugo-bad,v(ending:con..subcat:2..sem:exchange..feat:dyn)).

word(ul-geut-i,tp(tense:future..ending:con)).

word(myun-se,vcv(ending:vow..sem:as-or-while)).

Dependency rules are the essence and core of the parser. The dependency relations are

defined and checked based on 4 different factors; order restrictions, head-dependent links, feature agreements, subcategorizations.

First, order restrictions of morphemes. In order to implement these differences in word order restrictions, once a word goes into the parsing algorithm, the notation of a word changes to a list, called **Node**.

[Number, ListofDependents, PhoneticSound, PartofSpeech, GULPFeatures].

Number is the position of the word in a sentence. It is used in the conditions of the dependency rules, to state the order restriction. For example, if the **Number** of the dependent is **N1** and that of the head is **N2**, the ‘adjacency restriction’ is stated as **N2 is N1+1** and the ‘preceding restriction’ as **N1>N2**. **ListofDependents** is the list of all the dependent(s) and its dependent(s) and so on. It is used to check subcategorization features and at the end of the parsing algorithm, the information that is stored under **ListofDependents** will contain the complete dependency tree information.

Second, the head and dependent links. 2 **Nodes** are paired to check dependency relations. The dependency rules are written in the following format:

check_dh(Dependent,Head) :- Condition.

Condition include the order restrictions (using **Number**) and the feature agreement information.

Korean is a head final language with partial free word order. Therefore, the ultimate head that is not a dependent of any other word, is the sentence ending marker, **p**.

check_dh([N1,_,_,adj,_],[N2,_,_,n,_]) :- !, N2 is N1+1.

The above is a dependency rule for noun and adjective dependency pair and below is a dependency rule for verb stem and sentence ending marker dependency pair.

**check_dh([N1,_,_,v,X],[N2,_,_,p,Y]) :- !, Y= tense:pres, X = ending:End,
Y = ending:End, N2 is N1+1.**

Third, agreement in features. Once the dependency pairs are linked based on their Part

End for

Add w1 node to the beginning of Headlist

End for

Above is a pseudocode for the overall **parse_loop** section. This loop will continue until the list of input words becomes empty. The last section, **parse_node** links the head and dependent based on the dependency rules. Also, each time an input word links to its dependency pair, the **ListofDependents** gets updated in order to check subcategorization features.

Below are several examples of an output of the morphosyntactic parser with dependency relations and unification features stated using indentation method.

?- try([gang-a-gi,ga,go-yang-i,lul,chot,nun-da]).

6 [nun-da, p, ending:con..tense:pres]

5 [chot, v, ending:con..sem:chase..subcat:2]

4 [lul, pp, ending:vow..case:acc]

3 [go-yang-i, n, ending:vow..sem:cat]

2 [ga, pp, ending:vow..case:nom]

1 [gang-a-gi, n, ending:vow..sem:dog]

'The dog chases the cat.'

?- try([tom,i,susan,ul,john,i,po,ss-da,go,malha,n-da]).

11 [n-da, p, tense:pres, sem:declarative]

10 [malha, v, ending:vow..sem:say..case:nom..subcat:2]

9 [go, c, sem:that]

8 [ss-da, p, tense:past, sem:declarative]

7 [po, v, ending:vow..sem:see..subcat:2]

6 [i, pp, ending:con..case:nom..num:sing]

5 [john, n, ending:con..sem:john]

4 [ul, pp, ending:con..case:acc..num:sing]

3 [susan, n, ending:con..sem:susan]

2 [i, pp, ending:con..case:nom..num:sing]

1 [tom, n, ending:con..sem:tom]

'Tom says that John saw Susan.'

Evaluation and Further Possible Applications

The proposed morphosyntactic parser is yet an experiment stage with 2000 lexical morphemes in the Lexicon, and tested with 100 sentences (average length of 18 words per sentence) extracted from articles in daily newspaper Chosun Ilbo. Although it is yet a proposal stage, F-scores were measured and performance based on different dependency relations were measured.

Precision	Recall	F-Score
97.6%	95%	96.3%

Dependency Type	Precision
Subcategorization	99.9%
Long-Distance Dependency	98.9%
Stative Verb & Dependents	79.7%
Optional Case Marker	75%
Unrecognized Words	25%

Also, the proposed morphosyntactic parser is designed to have the dependency relations along with its unification-based features separated from the parsing algorithm itself, the parser can easily be applied to other languages by modifying the Lexicon and dependency rules module.

Georgian is also an agglutinative language with partial free word order. By simply updating the Lexicon module with several Georgian morphemes, without modifying the dependency rules module, the proposed parser successfully output dependency relations for several input sentences.

?- try([gi-ngol-gi,nun,ISU,ey-se,20,nyun,dong-an,ilha,ss-da]).

9 [ss-da, p, tense:past, sem:declarative]

8 [ilha, v, ending:vow..sem:work..case:nom..subcat:1]

7 [dong-an, n, sem:during]

- 6 [nyun, n, sem:year]
- 5 [20, num, sem:20]
- 4 [ey-se, advp, ending:vow..sem:at-or-in-that]
- 3 [ISU, n, sem: ISU]
- 2 [nun, pp, ending:vow..case:nom-topicalization..num:sing]
- 1 [gi-ngol-gi, n, ending:vow..num:sing]

‘გიულიგის ISU-ში 20 წლის განმავლობაში.’ (Giorgi worked at ISU for 20 years

?- try([gi-ol-gi, mushaob-da,ISU,shi,20,ts'ils,ganmavlobash]).

- 7 [ganmavlobash,n, sem:during-for]
- 6 [ts'ils, n, sem:year]
- 5 [20, num, sem:20]
- 4 [shi,advp, sem:at]
- 3 [ISU, n, sem:ISU]
- 2 [mushaob-da, v, tense:past,sem:declarative]
- 1 [gi-ol-gi, n, ending:vow..num:sing]

‘გიორგი მუშაობდა ISU-ში 20 წლის განმავლობაში.’

?- try([gi-ol-gi, ISU,shi,20,ts'ils,ganmavlobash, mushaob-da]).

- 7 [mushaob-da, v, tense:past,sem:declarative]
- 6 [ganmavlobash, n, sem:during-for]
- 5 [ts'ils, n, sem:year]
- 4 [20, num, sem:20]
- 3 [shi, advp, sem:at]
- 2 [ISU, n, sem:ISU]
- 1 [gi-ol-gi, n, ending:vow..num:sing]

‘გიორგი ISU-ში 20 წლის განმავლობაში მუშაობდა.’

Georgian is not a head-final language, so one of the major differences with Korean is

that the ultimate head does not always come as the last word or morpheme in a sentence. The example sentence above shows that Georgian can have the ultimate head in different positions in a sentence. We can expect a promising further research and implementation for Georgian morphosyntactic parser, expecting to have high F-score measure with modification done in the dependency rules module also.

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THE MOVEMENT FOR PRESERVATION OF THE KOREAN LANGUAGE AND HANGEUL AS A NATIONAL LANGUAGE AND A NATIONAL SCRIPT

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<한글요약>

지금까지 본 발표문에서는 일본 점령기 고난의 시기에 한글의 역할과 한글을 통하여 한민족의 정체성을 지키려는 노력을 살펴보았다. 이를 위하여 본문에서는 우선 한글의 창제와 초기 발전에 대하여 살펴보았다. 세종대왕의 역할과 당시 한글 창제가 얼마나 창의적인 작업이었던가를 살펴보았고 동국정운과 삼강행실도 발간 등을 다루어보았다. 다음으로 일제시대 한글을 지키기 위한 활동으로 고종에 의한 공식어 지정(1894), 한글 신문 발간과 한글 교육, 조선어학회의 활동, 일본어 교육 강화와 말살정책, 그리고 마지막에 창씨개명 등에 대한 사실들을 살펴보았다. 여러 가지 어려움 속에서도 다양한 한글 지킴 운동이 독립운동의 일환으로 이루어졌음을 확인 할 수 있었다. 마지막으로 오늘날 한글의 위상이 바뀌어 한글이 세계화되어 가는 것을 설명하고, 그 동안의 한글 전파와 교육의 흐름을 통시적으로 고찰해 보았다.

I. Introduction

Hangeul was the most important mechanism that preserved the identity of the Korean people and passed on their own culture. Especially during the Japanese invasion period from the late 19th century to the middle of the 20th century (officially, 1910-1945), this role of Hangeul was very large, and it is no exaggeration to say that the Korean people at that time kept their identity and history with Hangeul. Since the creation of King Sejong the Great in 1443, Hangeul has continued to develop despite various challenges and crises. In this presentation, I will briefly

review the characteristics and development process of Hangeul, and then focus on the role of Hangeul during the Japanese invasion. In particular, I would like to look into the policies of Korean language education and textbook issues during the Japanese colonial period, the publication of Hangeul newspapers and independent Korean ethnic education, and the renaming of Korean family names to Japanese(창씨개명). And at the end of the main body, I will explain the phenomenon that many countries and people around the world tend to learn Hangeul and influence of Hangeul expands to the world.

II. Main body

II-1 Creation of Hangeul

First of all, we should consider why Hangeul was created in 1443. The reason for the creation of Hangeul can be explained as follow. The first was to clarify the Chinese character pronunciation, which was undergoing extreme confusion around that time. Chinese characters are meant letters. However, there is no way that there will be no sound of reading. But, as Chinese characters were meant to be, there was no proper way to express the sound. Compared to modern times, there was no pronunciation symbol. It must have been very difficult for Koreans to read Chinese characters which are difficult even for Chinese. So it would have been almost impossible for Joseon Dynasty scholars to pronounce Chinese characters correctly. Moreover, during the Tang Dynasty, the Joseon Dynasty used a syllable based on the notes of the provincial government of Jiangnan. This is because the pronunciation of those days was accepted at the time when Silla unified the Korean Peninsula due to frequent exchanges with China. However, the notes used during the Tang Dynasty must have changed over time, and there must have been a significant difference from the Chinese characters used in Joseon. In the end, King Sejong pushed for the standardization of Chinese consonant, which was used in Joseon around that time, and it needed phonetic symbols for the Joseon people. Hangeul (original name is Hunminjeongeum) is a phonetic symbol created for the standardization of Chinese characters of the period. There is an important event that supports this theory: the compilation of a book called <Dongguk Jeongun>¹². King Sejong created Hangeul in the

¹² Dongguk Jungun's Chinese character means "correct sound of the eastern country". It was the only book that recorded the exact sound of Chinese characters. The authors of the book are Shin Sook-ju, Choi Hang, Sung Sammun, Park Paeng-nyeon, Lee Gae, Kang Hee-an, and Lee Hyeon-ro, etc. and the publication was completed in the following year when Hunminjeongeum was adopted and two years later, in 1448. Finally, Hangeul was invented

winter of 1443. It is written in the King Sejong Book.

This month the king himself made 28 words. The letter imitates old verses and divides elementary, middle, and final characters, but only after they are combined. All Chinese and Korean words can be written, so it is simple and summarized, but there is not much conversion. This is called Hunminjeongeum.¹³

With the invention of Hangeul, we were able to achieve three great effects: firstly, it is in line with the purpose of the previous publication of Dongguk Jeongun, which allows the stipulation and presentation of more accurate and unified notes on the only Chinese characters that have continued until that time. Second, a Korean people who have lived under Chinese characters for a long time have been given letters that can be written in Korean words and pronunciation. This is an effect that is being emphasized in terms of self-reliance and originality. The third is that Hangeul was created by the Joseon government, which entered a period of stability during the reign of King Sejong, to promote its ruling philosophy to the people and solidify the foundation of the country. Sejong's own comments are listed in the Sejong Book as follows.

If I translate "Samganghaengsil"¹⁴ into Korean and spread it to the private sector, all foolish men and women will easily realize it, so that faithful, filial son and filial daughter will surely come into the group.

In fact, Sejong ordered the publication of the book in order to spread the Samgang to the people when a man name called Kim Hwa killed his father in Jinju in 1434, 16 years after he became a king. Accordingly, Seolsoon et al. Selected 105 members from each of the 35 loyalists, faithful, filial son and filial daughter, based on the data from Korea and China, and published their works in writing and painting. Hunminjeongeum, which was created and started to be

and distributed at the same time. For this reason, a theory was born that Hangeul was created to represent Chinese characters.

¹³ Hunminjeongeum has two meanings. One is the character created by King Sejong in 1443. Today, the name we call Hangeul was Hunminjeongeum. The other was Hunminjeongeum, the name of the Hunminjeongeum commentary book that King Sejong ordered and written by the scholars at 집현전 in the beginning of 1446.

¹⁴ Samganghaengsil refers to the "Gunwisingang," which emphasizes order between the king and his subjects, the "Buwibugang" that emphasizes order between husband and wife, and the "Buwizagang" that emphasizes order between parents and children.

used in this way, gradually penetrated into the people, and is used by the people, and is used as a lyrics for novels and songs as well as public documents. Of course, it is true that Chinese characters were still used in public documents. The name was also transferred naturally from Hunminjeongeum to Hangeul.

II-2 Hangeul in the Japanese colonial era

In November 1894, for the first time in 450 years since its creation, Hangeul was recognized as the country's official letter. Previously, it was a period of mixing Korean and Chinese characters. Report the 32nd volume of King Gojong, the 31st year (1894, Gabo/Cheong Gwangseo Year 20) November 21 (Gyesa), and the 1st to 8th edition of the edict.

Article 14: Laws and edicts shall all be based on Korean words, translated and added by Chinese characters or used together Korean and Chinese.

A newspaper delivers the news of the world. During this period, various Hangeul newspapers were published, trying to spread the news to the people and promote national consciousness. The following are representative Korean newspapers.

Hansung Soonbo: The newspaper first appeared in the Joseon Party on Oct. 30, 1883, when the pro-Japanese enlightenment faction published the Hansung Soonbo.

Independent Newspaper: On April 7, 1896, the land's first Korean newspaper was born. It has been only a year since King Gojong recognized Hangeul as the official letter of Joseon. Therefore, the creation of an independent newspaper, a pure Korean-language newspaper, was a historical event. There were also the Joseon government that funded the independent newspaper, the Independence Association that issued the independent newspaper as an institution, and the Japanese government that helped the founding of the independent newspaper. One of the most important figures is Ju, Sikyung¹⁵, who was in charge of editing

¹⁵ The achievements of Ju, Sikyung (1876~1914) can be divided into three main categories. The first is the achievement in the field of writing and notation, the second is the achievement in the field of sound and grammar, and the third is the achievement in the field of dictionary compilation. He did not stay in the position of a school teacher, editor of an independent newspaper, but instead opened a Korean language school and a Joseon language institute to raise numerous students, and grew them into the leading force of the Joseon Language Society, which

the independent newspaper. Ju played a major role in determining Korean words, standard words, and pronunciation. The independent newspaper also suggested a more efficient way to read sentences by using spacing and periods. The first biennially published independent newspaper was published as a daily newspaper from July 1, 1898. Most of the articles in various newspapers, which began to be active around the 1900s, were written in pure Korean or a mixture of Korean and Chinese characters. And since Hangeul was recognized as the official letter of the government, it has played a major role in the entire civil society of Korea and in various fields.

Academic society that research and distribute Hangeul along with newspapers played an important role. The most representative was the Joseon Language Research Society (Joseon Language Society). Despite the suppression of the Japanese government, the Hangeul Keeper led the movement. Their achievements are as follows.

1. They created journal collection, named <Hangeul>
2. They worked on the enactment and dissemination of the Korean language orthography
3. They worked hard on the standardization of Korean language and notation of loanwords
4. They worked on the dictionary compilation for Korean.

II-3 Beginning of Hangeul Education

As part of the Gabo Reform, Han-gul, which was established as the official character of Joseon by King Gojong, was published in 1895 in a textbook for education, not in pure Hangeul, but in a mixture of Hangeul and Chinese characters, which is a book called the "National Sohak Reading". The textbook was published by the state-authored history textbook. The book, which has 72 chapters and 144 pages in total, was more difficult to read than the one made up of only Korean letters, but cannot be denied that it is a different trend in the educational world. The main contents of the textbook, which consists of 41 chapters, are as follows:

Unit 1 the Great Joseon

Unit 2 broadening of knowledge

Unit 5 a work of King Sejong's reign

continues the Korean language in Japanese colonial era.

- Unit 6 commercial work and trade
- Unit 12 treaty countries
- Unit 17 a study effort
- Unit 22 Eulji Moon Duck
- Unit 27, 28 Garfield (the 20th President of the United States)
- Unit 39 elementary substances
- Unit 40, 41 Genghis Khan

As you can see above, most of the content in the book consists of giving pride and pride to the nation, about the world that just began to be introduced around that time.

II-4 War of Protecting the Korean alphabet during the Japanese Colonial Period

The oppressor's target was the textbook. At that time, there was only one textbook in Joseon called "National Sohak Reading." The education reform of the Korean Empire was forcibly incorporated into Japan's colonial education program after the collapse of the Gabo reformists in the Eulmi Incident (1895) and Agwanpacheon (1896) and the Russo-Japanese War (1904) by Japan. Japan, which soon colonized and protected the Korean Empire, carried out a series of measures to establish a colonial education system after overhauling the academic system created under the plan of the Gabo Reformists.

For the more, the Japanese government's colonial policy was based on the philosophy of internal affairs, the rectification of Japanese modernization, and the policy of exterminating the Korean people through Japanese education, and the mid- and long-term education policy goal of increasing Koreans to be responsible for sub-role functions of society through simple and rapid education. The following table compares Korean and Japanese education hours during the Japanese strength. As shown in the table, Japanese language education becomes more and more overtime, and Korean language education gradually disappears.

School year	the Residency General (1907)	the first stage (1911)	The second stage (1922)	The third stage (1929)	The fourth stage (1938)	The fifth stage (1941)
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	Japanese	Joseon language 1	Japanese	Joseon language 1	Japanese	Joseon language	Japanese	Joseon language	Japanese	Joseon language 2	Japanese	Joseon language
1	6	10	10	6	10	4	10	5	10	4	11	0
2	6	10	10	6	12	4	12	5	12	3	12	0
3	6	10	10	5	12	3	12	3	12	3	9	0
4	6	10	10	5	12	3	12	3	12	2	8	0
5					9	3	9	2	9	2	7	0
6					9	3	9	2	9	2	7	0
sum	24	40	40	22	64	20	64	20	64	16	54	0

The weekly class schedules while the schools usually by Japanese occupation of the Korean and Japanese. The reduction of Korean language class time soon led to the expansion of Japanese class time. Since the end of the Chines-Japanese War in 1937, the Korean language has become an elective subject, and the Korean language education has been abolished. Since World War II, Korean language education has disappeared. Japan who has entered into a Japan-Korea Treaty of 1905, installed the Japanese Resident-General of Korea in order to make a ruling on the peninsula and published the Gyeongseong Daily, the official organ of the Residency General. Ever since the annexation, and only use Chinese characters is abolished and the Japanese version published in April 1907, the Chosun Governor's Office in the organ became the most powerful throughout the whole Japanese occupation. Be a typical media influence. After the annexation of Korea, Daehan Maeil Shinbo was closed, Maeil Shinbo was created and published, and it was turned into a sister paper of the Gyeongseong Ilbo, the organ of the General Government of Korea. It was the only Korean-language newspaper ever published until the end of the Japanese colonial rule.

II-5 Japanese-style renaming

The last group tried to exterminate Korean identity and Hangeul itself and the attempt was Japanese-style renaming. The goal of Japanese-style renaming was not to make Koreans and

Japanese equal, but to draw the participation of Koreans needed to carry out the full-scale war. More than 80 percent of households in the country had changed their names by August 1940, when they promoted Japanese-style renaming. Failure to make a Japanese-style change of name penalized children for entering to the school, imposed physical sanctions such as reprimand and beatings, and penalized private institutions as well as government offices. Next, they failed to be subject to civil affairs handled by administrative agencies, and the temple was strengthened by considering those who did not change their names as Buddhist saints. It first designated the target of labor draft, excluded it from food and supplies distribution, and made it impossible to handle rail freight.

II-6 History and progress of Korean Education

Korean education has started in the ancient Shilla Dynasty with purpose of teaching interpreter to exchange between Korea and neighboring country China. We can assume that there were vigorous exchange between Korea and China in Sung Dynasty and Ming Dynasty through translation wordbook, 『朝鮮館譯語』, was used by Chinese interpreter as a textbook. In the late Joseon Dynasty, Korean education was a vigorous, target of Japanese and there were Joseon language textbooks to train interpreters in Japan. After the Tokyo foreign language school was built, there were established department of Joseon language at foreign language school in Osaka and Korean language education had started in earnest.

Korean education in other countries other than above stated, shares it's history with the dissemination and immigration of its people. It started with Russia in the late 19th century, then moved on to Europe, United states of America as well as Taiwan, They started teaching Korean language in universities and Korean education has grown and developed in Central Asia and Southeast Asia during the past 10 years.

In Korea, the Korean education system as is known today, began with foreign missionaries in the 1950's and the first Korean educational language institution was founded at Yonsei University, under the name Korean Language Institute, circa 1959. Later, more branches of the institute to teach Korean; Myondo Language Institute in 1964, Language Research Institute, Seoul National University and Education center for overseas Koreans in 1964 (presently National Institute for International Education and language educational institutes which started teaching Korean for foreign speakers in 1972.) When the rule of overseas residents has become

effective in 1977, numbers of Korean language education institution has increased such as Korean school or Hangeul schools in abroad.

The scale growth of Korean education rapidly grows by the late 1980's. As Korea had increased its national power, it began to become noticed on the international stage, as is evident by the securing of the bid for the 1988 Olympic Games. However, even as it was becoming recognized on a Global scale, the domestic education system was still limited and biased, only serving overseas Koreans, foreign missionaries, diplomats, scholars who majored in Korean language or professional soldiers.

Korean education met a turning point in the 1990's, and the educational system began to focus on the subject of Korean language study. Korean language learners who have the desire and drive of getting a job or entering a school has increased, as well as the push for children of Koreans living overseas who increasingly want to learn Korean language and Korean culture. The growth had decreased a bit in the mid of 1990s according to the IMF management System Time(1998) but it has since recovered its speed of growth beginning in the early 2000s when awareness of Korea became of more prominence. Particularly, successful management of the 2002 Korean-Japan World Cup and the Korean wave in East Asia, China, Japan, etc made foreign countries take a more drastically more interested stance towards Korean language education. As a result, Korean language institutions in Korea have increased over sixty and Korean language learners in those institutions also have increased over 7,000 people. According to statistics in 2004, Korean learners overseas has also increased; approximately 30,000 people attended Korean course at about 600 universities all over the world; approximately 10,000 students studied Korean at 30 high schools; 5,000 students studied Korean at 27 Korean schools, 50,000 enrolled students attended Korean language course at regular education institution. In 2009, there were 100 Korean language departments at the four-year-course universities only in China. Besides there are approximately 1,600 Hangeul schools for about 94,000 children of overseas Koreans and the number of grant-maintained regular & irregular Hangeul schools or 'Korean schools', 'King Sejong Institutes' and 'Korean culture center' funded for overseas Koreans have increased continuously. In addition to this, number of students who take Korean course in China or Japan also increased rapidly, although there was no exact data about it. Rapid growth of Korean education meant that range of Korean learner has enlarged. In the early stages, it can be said that diplomats, foreign missionaries or overseas Koreans studied Korean language for their own interest of Korea or living in Korea. After 2000s, learners have expanded to international students, marriage migrant women and

global IT enterprises workers who learn Korean to help with their career.

There are five reasons to explain about growth of Korean education for foreigners; first, the need of talented people who associated Korea has increased with Korean wave not only in China and Japan but also in East Asian. Secondly, thorough economy development of Korea, international reputation of Korea has increased. Thirdly, as an article shows about SAT in the United States in 2007, choice of Korean language in tests exceed two times than Japanese, and Korean language ranked fourth among nine foreign languages. During the past ten years, as the mainstream of overseas Koreans has changed from first generation or 1.5 generation to second and third generation, the number of Korean learners has increased also. Fourthly, there has been a sudden increase of Chinese international students due to difficulty in entering Chinese universities. Chinese who have money to spare and want to study abroad are increasing. This is closely related with university admission policy in China, it seems that Chinese international students keep increasing until a reformation of policy of university admission in China will finish. Lastly, marriage migrant women and immigrant workers have increased. Theses spreading rate and increasing interest of Korean language education, we can assume by the internal and external scale of Korean education growth.

III. Conclusion

So far, this presentation examines the role of Hangeul during the Japanese occupation period (1910-1945) and the efforts to preserve the identity of the Korean people through Hangeul. This text first looked at the creation and early development of Hangeul. We looked at the role of King Sejong and how creative the creation of Hangeul was at the time. Next, as an activity to protect Hangeul during the Japanese colonial period, we examined the official language designation by Gojong, the publication of the Hangeul newspaper and education on Hangeul, the opposition to Japanese compulsion and the renaming of Korean family names in Japanese. Lastly, the status of Hangeul has been changed today, explaining the globalization of Hangeul, and examining the history of spreading Hangeul and education.

I have once again confirmed that the most important factor in protecting and developing the identity of a nation is their own language, and I would like to argue that the Hangeul movement in the era of Japanese imperialism was one of the most important identity-building movements and independence movements.

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KOREAN SOCIETY SEEN THROUGH NEWLY COINED WORDS -ALONE CULTURE, EMPLOYMENT AND CONSUMPTION-

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Abstract

This study examined newly coined words of Korean after 2015 into three categories: alone culture, employment and consumption, and looked at the meaning of the new words and the background of the creation of the new words. And it took a closer look at what Korean society looks like and what Korean people think through the newly coined words.

Newly coined words are a term used especially among young people, and are also the best clues to their thoughts and lifestyles. First, single-person households have caused many changes in Korean society, resulting in a variety of people's thoughts and lifestyles. The Korean sentiment, which has been represented by 'us' so far, can now be seen through this study that it is changing into a society where individuals are central, not us. Second, this study revealed that it is very difficult for young people in Korea to get a job. Third, through newly coined words related to consumption culture, many young people in Korea spend money for their own satisfaction and happiness.

Through these new words, students can learn about Korean culture, the thoughts and lifestyle of Korean people these days. Therefore, this study suggests education on newly coined words that give a glimpse into the social changes, culture, and people's thoughts and lifestyles in Korea.

Keywords: newly coined words, Korea Society, education of newly coined words, alone culture, employment, consumption

1. Introduction

A country's language contains its culture. This is an undeniable truth. Language reflects changing social phenomena and cultures, and sometimes people use new words to represent them. This is called a newly coined word. There are many new words that are coined by the

times and some of them are used for a short time and then they disappear. What's clear, however, is that the newly coined word also shows the society of the time and also shows the thoughts, trends, and trends of the people of that time. On the contrary, we can also see the social phenomena of the era through newly coined words. Young people are more sensitive to the trends and changes of the time, and are more likely to express their thought through new words. Perhaps that is why newly coined words are often used more often among young people than among older people.

Recently, there has been a steady increase in the number of Korean language learners aimed at entering universities or graduate schools in Korea, and the number of advanced Korean learners has also been increasing steadily. Most students are young people in their 20s and will live in Korea for at least four to five years before they finish their studies. So they need to know well about Korean society as well as Korean so that they can not only study well in Korea but also live well in Korea. If they know Korean culture, society and the thoughts of Korean people, they can successfully complete their studies in Korea.

They need to be informed of Korean society or culture, and rather than traditional culture and lifestyle, information on the thoughts and lifestyle of the Korean people they currently live in can be useful. There are several ways to teach these things, one of which can be done through teaching newly created words. So in this study, I would like to suggest teaching Korean learners newly coined words that show Korean society.

2. Newly coined words since 2015

Newly coined words mean new words. These are the latest newly coined words since 2015, the following are:

jjinsarang (찐사랑), jjinchingu,(찐친구) , eoljuga(얼죽아) , kkuankku(꾸안꾸)
 TMI, PMI, worabael(워라벨), seurabael(스라벨), yoltekeu(올테크), seusegwon(스세권),
 singletem(싱글템), honkono(혼코노) nanaraendeo(나나랜더) nahollojok(나홀로족)
 honbap(혼밥) Npo sedae(N포 세대), gasimbi(가심비), singlesumer(싱글슈머),
 gae+adjective: gaejoa(개좋아). Gaemasisseo(개맛있어), gaesireo(개싫어)
 latteneun mariya~(라떼는 말이야~)

The above are all newly coined words in various forms. Newly coined words and previous ones were selected by the National Institute of Korean Language in 2018 and 2019. There are words that can be easily inferred that it represents a meal eaten alone, such as Honbab, while There are also words that emphasize a meaning by pronounced the word strongly. ‘jjinsarang (찐사랑), jjinchingu, (찐친구)’ are examples. Jjin means real, and it is a short expression of jinjja. Kroean people say jjin by stronger as jjinjja, they emphasize the meaning of real. So they speak ‘jjinsarang’ instead of ‘jinjja sarang’ which means ‘real love’. Another word is eoljuga(얼죽아) which is the short expression, but it is very difficult to infer the meaning of word. Eoljuga(얼죽아) is that ‘**eol**reo **j**ugeodo **A**iseuamerikano’ which meaning is ‘Even Though I freeze to death, I will drink ice Americano.’ Also Koreans make short expressions not only in Korean but also in English. For example, there are ‘TMI’ and ‘PMI’. The meaning of ‘TMI’ is ‘Too Much Information’, ‘PMI’ is ‘Please more Information’ And the new words that maximize the expression are often used by attaching ‘Gae(which meaning is a dog)’ in front of adjectives, such as ‘gaejoa (dog-good, very good),’ ‘Gaemasisseo(dog-yummy, very delicious),’ and ‘gaesireo(dog-hate, very hate),’ Sometimes Korean people express the new words by using a sentence. For example, ‘latteneun mariya(Latte is ~)’ is a new expression used in sentences and a comical expression of ‘in my heyday, in my prime’ which is often used by the older generation. As we have seen, some new words have something in common. And we can guess that the Korea Society and thoughts of Koreans through these words.

The new word ‘Single item’ means a good items for people living alone to use, and the ‘Honkono,’ which refers to people who go to a coin karaoke room alone, and the ‘Naholo tribes,’ which means people living alone. These are all newly coined words related to people living alone in a single household. These newly coined words imply that there are currently many people living alone in Korean society. Next, we can see the language usage patterns of young Koreans who use certain languages such as ‘gaejoa (dog-like),’ ‘Gaemasisseo (dog-yummy),’ and ‘gaesireo (dog-hate),’. Not only this, we can also get a glimpse of Koreans' recent thoughts and lifestyles through ‘Nana Land’, which refers to a phenomenon that values the standards they set up without caring about others' views, ‘worabael’, which aims to balance work and life, ‘seurabael’ which means education and life balance, and ‘Seusegwon’, which

means living close to Starbucks.

Newly coined words show the changing Korean society, as well as the recent phenomenon of certain languages of young people, the values they pursue. In this study, I want to examine newly coined words that have made since 2015 by dividing them into areas of culture, employment and consumption, which are related to young people in their 20s and 30s.

3. Korean society viewed through newly coined words

In this chapter, we will take a closer look at the newly coined words in three major categories: 'Alone culture', 'Employment' and 'Consumption'.

3.1 Alone culture related newly coined words

In Korea, the number of people living alone has increased in recent years. According to Statistics Korea, the ratio of single-person households out of all households in Seoul actually increased from 29.5 percent in 2015 to 32 percent in 2018. In other words, one out of three households in Seoul is a one-person household. (*Financial News*, March 7, 2020)

This single unit family also considerable number of increases associated with this newly coined words.

honjok(혼족, single people), honbab(혼밥, people who eat alone), honsul(혼술, people who drink alone) honnol(혼놀, a solitary person) , honhaeng(혼행, a lone traveler) singlesumer(싱글슈머, single + consumer) ilconomi(일코노미, 1+ economy) Homet(홈트, Home + training + people), Home+Ludens(홈루덴스, Home+Ludens), cocoon people(코쿰족, cocoon + people)
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All the new words above refer to people who do something by themselves without having a relationship with others. The number of single-person households in South Korea has increased sharply recently, making it the largest number of households in the country at present, with the size reaching 30 percent. As a result, from the words referring to people living alone, newly coined words referring to their behavior patterns have been made. Let's take a closer look at

them one by one.

First of all, take a closer look at 'honjok'. It means people who live alone. 'Honbab' refers to people who eat alone, 'Honsul' is a person who drinks alone, 'honnol' is a person who plays alone, and 'honhaeng' means 'go on a trip alone'. All words are created in the form of 'hon(alone) + noun'.

Next, as the number of people living alone increased, a word also emerged indicating their economic and consumer propensity. 'Ilconomi' refers to a single-handed economic life. This is a combination of 'one person' and 'economy,' which means economy of one person. 'Singlesumer' is a combination of single and consumer, living as a single household and choosing goods and services according to their lifestyle. They prefer to shop online and buying small amounts, and tend to enjoy convenience and delivery food. Foods for single-person households also appeared.

Food used to be sold in large quantities, but these days there are small, single-person packages, small amounts of food, and home appliances are also popular with mini refrigerators and mini washing machines among them. There is also a table for one person so that restaurants can eat alone, and there is plenty of room for people like cafes to sit alone and do things.

product for a single household



photographic source:<http://www.womandaily.co.kr/news/articleView.html?idxno=46158>



A one-person restaurant



A one-person coffee shop

photographic source: <http://blog.daum.net/leaderkjr/131>

<http://info.hanatour.com/getabout/content?&contentID=1000051696101>



Mini washing machines



Mini refrigerator

photographic source : <http://magazine.shopping.daum.net/shopping/miniwashing>

<http://m.kmib.co.kr/view.asp?arcid=0924080941&code=11151700&sid1=all>

Next, it's a newly coined term referring to people who are staying home alone and doing activities they like. There are 'Cocoonjok' and 'Homerudens'. 'Cocoonjok' means a person who seeks comfort and comfort in a closed space without being around or near others. The word 'Cocoonjok' means cocoon, 'jok' which means people. So 'Cocoonjok' is that who live in such a life by comparing it to wrapping around with a hard shell and being comfortable in it. The Cocoons build their own worlds, such as homes, cars and virtual reality, and solve everything within them. U.S. futurist Faith Popcorn became known as he used the word 'cocoon' to mean 'a space where we break off from an uncertain society and get rid of our desire to be protected.' They are characterized by having a stable source of income and having excellent work capabilities and a firm solution to external stimuli such as stress. And another word is 'Homerudens'. The Homerudens are a combination of 'Home,' which means home and 'Ludens,' which refers to those who enjoy everything in their own living spaces.



Cocoon



Homerudens



photographic source:

<http://www.busan.com/view/busan/view.php?code=200>

80121000839

<https://shindonga.donga.com/3/all/13/1892566/1>

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Cocoonjok and Homerudens

So far we have looked at new words related to alone culture. Korea has always had a strong culture of being together, and the word ‘we’ shows this culture. In Korean, they describe our house, not my house, our mom not my mom, and our wife, not my wife. ‘we’ is also the Korean language of culture. But just as times change, Koreans in modern society are also changing. Recently, Koreans have become more inclined to pursue ‘I’ than ‘we.’ And Koreans are becoming more pronounced in their pursuit of things that individuals can be satisfied and happy. This is also very closely related to the increase in single-person households. With more people living alone for various reasons, the appropriate ‘culture’ develops. Nowadays people don't think of it negatively about having a hobby without other persons while eating alone or having their own time at home alone. In the past, when people thought of negative images such as poor, lonely, and sad about being alone, but they now think of positive images such as ‘good, comfortable.’(sbs news, june 9, 2016)

According to a survey of 3,839 people in the 2030 Millennium Generation conducted by Job Korea and Albamon on the status of the Homerudens in 2019, 72.3 percent of the respondents who participated in the survey said they were ‘Homerudens’ who preferred to play at home, and had more positive images than negative images of the Homerudens. People who think of their image as independent people who play well alone accounted for 69.1 percent, followed by those who liked to relax with 35.8 percent, and the negative images of people who were

timid or lacking in interpersonal relationships and lazy were all very small, with less than 10 percent. This shows that in modern society, the image of people looking at doing things alone is more positive than negative, and now that people living alone are increasing, people are concentrating more on themselves than on other people's perceptions and trying more on what they can like.

3.2 Employment related newly coined words

These are the new words related to employment.

Npo sedae(N포세대, Number po generation), itaeba(이태백), iguba다(이구백),
 chwiga(취가), chwijip(취집,) inggeulliswi pueo(잉글리쉬 푸어, english poor),
 mujeonmueop(무전무업, No money cannot get ajob), peiseupek(페이스펙, face+spec),
 kaenggeorujok(캥거루족, Kangaroo tribes), ppaldaejok(빨대족, straw people),
 yeoljeongpei(열정페이, passion pay), Ikea sedae(이케아 세대, IKEA Generation)

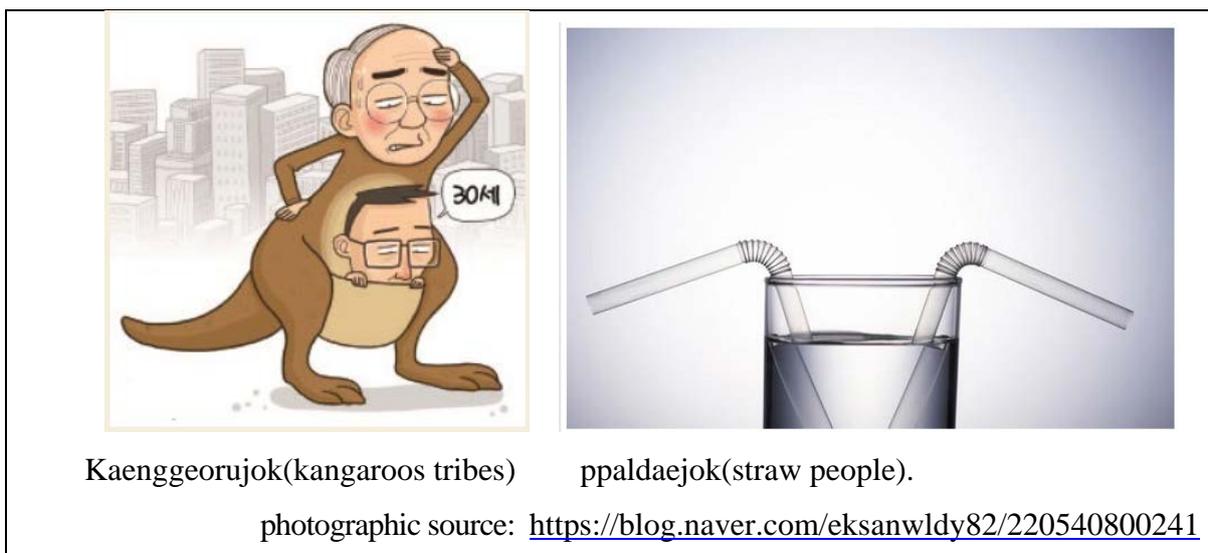
First, let's take a look at the meaning of Npo sedae. The 'Npo sedae' is the renunciation of marriage, dating and childbirth due to social, economic pressure and difficulties in getting a job, 'N' stands for the number, 'po' is first letter of 'pogihada' in Korean and means giving up, and 'Sedae' means generation in Korean. Sam(3)po sedae(generation) refers to people who have given up three things about dating, marriage and childbirth due to difficulties in getting a job. Oh(5) Po-sedae(generation) refers to giving up five things which are dreams and hopes including up on dating, marriage and childbirth. The Chi(7)lpo sedae in addition to the Oppo sedae(generation), refers to giving up dreams and hopes.

Next, 'Yi Tae-baek', which means that most people in their 20s are unemployed and 'Lee Gu-baek' means that 90 percent of them are unemployed. These are a newly coined term meaning that most of them in their 20s are unemployed. 'Chwiga ' means getting married instead of getting a job. Just as the new term 'chwijip' arose when women chose to get married instead of getting a job, this means that men can also meet their capable wives and marry instead of getting a job. This reflects the atmosphere of finding a job difficult enough to give up on getting a job and choose.

‘Inggeulliswi pueo(English Poor)’ refers to having no money by investing in English studies to get a job. The term ‘ mujeonmueop ‘ means that you cannot get a job without money, and it is a self-help expression that refers to situations in which it takes a lot of money to acquire a license for a job or accumulate a language proficiency. ‘peiseupek is a combination of face and spec, which means appearance is also spec¹⁶. As a result, job seekers are undergoing plastic surgery to get a job, as well as modifying their application photos to Photoshop.

The following terms, ‘yeoljeongpei (Passion Pay)’ and ‘Ikea sedae(IKEA Generation),’ are newly coined words referring to those who have not been properly paid salaries. Passion pay is a newly coined term that sarcastically refers to the practice of exploiting young people's labor by giving them very little pay, which falls short of unpaid or minimum pay. The Ikea sedae(ikea generation) refers to Swedish furniture brand Ikea in their 20s and 30s, whose education level and specifications are excellent, but whose employment is unstable and they got improper pay and treatment. Ikea's sophisticated design is cheap, so newlyweds and beginners of society buy it a lot for two to three years. Likewise, Ikea's generation has the ability not to miss out on the previous generation, such as various certificates and language training, but they are often employed for a short period of time at lower wages for companies. As such, the Ikea generation does not have the capacity to prepare for the future except for the cost of purchasing consumer goods, which is needed immediately due to low income and unstable employment.

Next, there are kaenggeorujok(kangaroos tribes) and ppaldaejok(straw people) referring to those who failed to get a job or who can't get out of their parents.



¹⁶ ‘spec’ means ‘ability’ in Korea.

‘Kaenggeorujok(kangaroos tribes)’ like the kangaroos that grow up in their pouch on their mother’s belly, point to a young generation who are not independent and still rely on their parents economically and mentally. According to the Jungangilbo(March 18, 2018), Two out of five office workers in their 20s and 30s are financially or emotionally dependent on their parents, according to a survey of Job search website Saramin. Housing prices were generally considered the biggest obstacle preventing young office workers from gaining financial independence. Kangaroo tribesmen are becoming increasingly common as living costs increase at a much faster rate than wages, especially among young workers. In a similar sense, there are ‘ppaldaejok(straw people)’.

So far, we have looked at new words related to employment. These newly coined words show that in Korean society, young people these days find it difficult to get a job, and even if they get a job, they cannot raise enough money to satisfy their financial needs, such as housing prices and living expenses. In addition, the newly coined words clearly show that it takes a lot of money to get a job and get married, so it is difficult to live without parent’s help and raise children when married and have children. This situation can end up with a low birth rate. In fact, Korea is also one of the top countries with low birth rates.

3.3 Newly coined words related to Consumption culture

Here are some new words related to consumption culture.

ilkonomi(일코노미, 1+economy) singgeulsyumeo(싱글슈머, single+consumer),
solloikonomi(솔로코노미, Solo economy), seobeuseukeuripsyeon keomeoseu(서브스크
립션 커머스, Subscription Commerce) pyeontoejok(편퇴족, Convenience store+off work
+ people) , pyeondojobok(편도족, Convenience store+lunch box+people) albongjok(알봉
족, ball+bag+people) iljeomhohwa sobi(일점호화 소비), pomijok(포미족, For me),
peullasibo sobi(플라시보 소비), onmimaendeu, hwisogachi(휘소가치) tangjinjaem(탕진

잼), hwatgimbiyong(화트김비용, anger cost) sseulsseulbiyong(쓸쓸비용, lonely cost)
meongcheongbiyong(멍청비용, stupid cost)

Ilconomi(1+economy) and singgeulsyumeor(Single+Sumer) are terms for economy of single-person households and single-person consumers, as seen in the 3.1 culture of living alone.

Next, ‘Seobeuseukeuripsyeon keomeoseu(Subscription Commerce)’ consists of Subscription and Commerce and it is a customized service for single-person households who think it is a waste of time to shop for daily necessities.

With the increase in single-person households, the number of people using convenience stores has increased. People who shop at convenience stores on their way home from work are called ‘pyeontoejok’. According to a survey conducted by JobKorea, a job portal, 38.0 percent of the respondents end their tiring day by shopping at convenience stores. This is why convenience stores are the only shopping places where the lights stay on 24 hours a day, and the so-called ‘Honbab’ and ‘Honsul,’ have been recognized as a culture in which convenience store meals are no longer unfamiliar.

The ‘Albongjok’ are a combination of ‘al,’ a unit that counts fruits, and ‘bong,’ a unit that holds processed foods such as cereal, which refers to the consumers who love to use individually packaged food. This also shows the increase of single-person households and their consumption culture.

Next, there are new terms for consumption related to psychological satisfaction. These include the ‘Pomijok(For me), iljeomhohwa sobi(the consumption of one-point luxury goods), pomijok, peullasibo sobi, onmilaedeu, hwisogachi, tangjinjaem, hwatgimbiyong(the cost of anger,) sseulsseulbiyong(lonely cost) meongcheongbiyong(stupid cost)’.

‘Pomijok’ is a newly coined term made of For health, One, Recreation, More Convenient and Expensive. The word refers to groups pursuing health, personalization, leisure, convenience and high-priced consumer activities, who spare no drastic investment in products valued individually. ‘Iljeomhohwa sobi’ is a new word which is similar meaning of pomijok. It’s a ‘one-point good consumption’. Recently, it has been spreading among young people, and one-point luxury means paying lavishly for something that usually saves money or uses only inexpensive items, but gives certain items or psychological satisfaction. They are paying quite a lot for pleasure, for comfort, or for self-compensating. ‘Onmeland’ is a newly coined term in

the same sense. On-demand is a trend for 'for me.' Rather than having a relationship with someone else, he or she should feel happy first. This trend has introduced the term 'on demand.' On Demand derives from the on demand, in which consumer demand determines everything in the production system, which refers to consumption behavior that puts one's happy life and satisfaction first without being noticed by others. We can see that psychological value is more important than price value, especially for young people.

Next, let's take a look at the word 'hwisogachi'. The meaning of 'Hwi' is 'split' in Chinese words, 'so' is 'scarce' combined with 'hwi' and 'so' and values, which may seem like impulsive and impromptu consumption or meaningless consumption to others, but they are meant to have their own reasonable values and meaningful spending. It may seem like random consumption, but in the process of consumption, one's own reasonable consumption and values are melted. For example they spend the money in order to protect abandoned animals. In the same vein, it can be said that it is in the same vein to stage a boycott campaign without buying goods from socially immoral companies. For example they spend the money in order to protect abandoned animals. In the same vein, it can be said that it is in the same vein to stage a boycott campaign without buying goods from socially immoral companies.

Another word is 'Plasibo sobi(consumption)'. In such consumption, the buyer's psychological satisfaction is more important than price or performance. Consumers, which were only based on existing cost-effective products, mainly purchased 'cheap and quality products' based on objective figures such as prices, quality and functions. However, more and more people are willing to spend their money if they can feel psychological satisfaction even if they are more expensive or have less objective quality. Celebrity and character goods, Internet shopping, and claw machine games are also 'Plasibo sobi(consumption)'. According to People's Landscape Today on April 19, 2019, Young people value satisfaction more than reasonable cost. Next, 'tangjinjam' is that expresses the fun of spending. The new term 'tangjinjam' emerged as more people sought fun by spending small sums of money. It is a figurative expression of small wasteful fun. As young people spend money, they find it fun and relieve stress. For example, this is the case with claw machine game. They do not spend a lot of money and spend small amounts of money, but since its 1,000 won per game, even 10 times is 10,000 won, and if they are lucky, they can get a doll for 10,000 won, which is why they enjoy small gambling. They find their own happiness, satisfaction and fun while spending money for themselves. The word is also used frequently among teenagers and 20-somethings as there is a song by the famous K-pop singer BTS Boys.



Photo Source:

<https://m.blog.naver.com/mocienews/221014762052>

claw machine game

From now, we take a look at newly coined terms that refer to spending with negative emotions.

There is a 'hwatgimbiyong(the cost of anger)'. It refers to the price of alcohol spent to relieve stress, and the impromptu consumption that is not planned to refresh the mood. Modern people are under a lot of stress and have their own way of solving them.

If you're angry and throw away a big treat or buy something you've always wanted on impulse, you can call it a 'hwatgimbiyong'. What's different from impulse buying is that I think this reward is okay because I've had this much trouble after spending my money.

Next there is a 'sseulsseulbiyong(lonely cost)'. This refers to the cost of using to soothe a lonely heart or lonely situation. For example, buying something for a change of mood, inviting a friend to eat alone because he/she doesn't want to eat alone, all included in the lonely cost. This consumption is caused by the idea that young people will be better than alone, and the expectation that they will be comforted by relieving loneliness.

Finally, there is the 'meongcheongbiyong(cost of stupidity)'. This money is that would not have been spent if they cared a little bit more or thought about it, and the cost that they paid in vain, which they could have saved enough, is a stupid cost. For example, buying umbrellas at convenience stores is piled up because they do not check the weather forecast before going out.

So far we have looked at new words related to the economy and consumption and can

conclude as follows: First of all, there were many newly coined words related to single-person households, and we were able to see how they were spending, along with changes in marketing and targeting of companies for them. On the contrary, these newly coined words have allowed us to once again identify the increase in single-person households. The newly coined words also revealed the recent tendency of young Korean people to spend money.

First, we can see that Koreans spend their time in self-centered ways without looking at other people's faces according to their own values. In other words, they value themselves and boldly spend money on what he or she feels happy. Second, we can also see emotional spending through new words such as 'hwatgimbiyong, sseulsseulbiyong and tangjinjaem' Modern people are under a lot of stress and consume it as a way to solve it. Regarding their tendency to consume, some people boldly invest large amounts of money, while others seem to have the opposite tendency to spend small amounts of money until they satisfy their satisfaction. It was also possible to confirm once again that there were many single-person households. And it also shows a society, individualism society where the sense of belonging and the opportunity to interact with others are gradually disappearing due to the development of SNS.

Third, we could see that consumption clearly expresses their values. Spending money according to his firm values can also be seen as a feature, such as buying goods made to protect abandoned animals or not buying goods from immoral companies that are not socially ethical. Through these newly coined words, it can be analyzed that young Korean people these days have a distinct tendency to pursue current satisfaction and happiness.

4. Conclusion

So far, we have divided the newly coined words that appeared after 2015 into three categories: culture, employment and consumption, and looked at the meaning of the new words and the background of the creation of the new words. And we took a closer look at what Korean society looks like and what Korean people think through the newly coined words. Newly coined words are a term used especially among young people, and are also the best clues to their thoughts and lifestyles.

First, in recent years, single-person households have caused many changes in society, resulting in a variety of people's thoughts and lifestyles. The Korean sentiment, which has been represented by 'us' so far, can now be seen through this study that it is changing into a society where individuals are central, not us.

Second, we can see that it is very difficult for young people in Korea to get a job, and the fact that many young people with high academic background and various abilities in Korea are not easy to get a job and that it is hard to get that much treatment. We could also look at the high prices of Korea, the difficulty of gaining independence from parents financially, the reality of young people who are not easy to marry, and the background of Korea's lower birth rate. Worst of all, young people will have to have dreams and hopes and try various fields with various experiences, which is that more people give up even these dreams and hopes. This is not just a problem for young people, but a problem to be solved in terms of social structure.

Third, through newly coined words related to consumption culture, many young people in Korea spend money for their own satisfaction and happiness. We could also see consumption as a means of expressing our distinct values. The newly coined words on consumption also revealed economic difficulties in Korean society and difficulties in getting a job, and because of the current situation in Korea, we could indirectly see that young people in Korea seek the current joy and satisfaction rather than the uncertain future.

The newly coined words that have been examined so far have been given a look at changes in Korean society, people's thoughts and various lifestyles, although they have been limited to culture, employment and consumption alone. This situation in Korea may not be limited to Korea. Through these new words, students can learn about Korean culture, the thoughts and lifestyle of Korean people these days. In particular, most of the high-level Korean learners in their 20s and 30s are young people who live in schools with such students. Even more so, they need to be educated on these new words. If they learn the language and learn the background of newly coined words together, cultural education will take place at the same time. I think such education will help them better adjust to their lives in Korea and will be able to get along with the actual Koreans. Therefore, I suggest education on newly coined words that give a glimpse into the social changes, culture, and people's thoughts and lifestyles in Korea.

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ON THE EDGE OF EMPIRES: GEORGIA BETWEEN OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND SAFAVID IRAN IN EARLY MODERN TIMES

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Abstract

In the paper are studied following questions: By what degree Georgian kingdoms and principalities are integrated in Ottoman Empire and Safavid Iran and what are similarities and differences of these Middle Eastern empires towards Georgia.

From the beginning of the 16th c. Georgia became a kind of bone of contention between Ottoman Empire and Safavid Iran. It is stressed that the Amasya peace treaty of 1555 between Ottomans and Iranians formally confirmed Georgia's political disintegration and actually ruled out unification of its kingdoms/principalities. Several aspects of so called "Politics of compromises" between Iran and the eastern Georgia are studied. The process of the integration of the south-eastern part of Georgia in the Ottoman Empire, its causes and effects are analyzed. Peculiarities of the Ottoman policy towards the western Georgian principalities are investigated.

Keywords: *Ottoman Empire, Safavid Iran, Kartli, Kakheti, Imereti, Meskheta*

Introduction

The paper depicts Georgia's interactions with Safavid Iran and Ottoman Empire during the early modern times. The issues for study are as follows: can different parts of Georgia be regarded as colonial possessions of the Safavid state and Ottoman Empire? If so, how strongly was Georgia integrated into the one or the other? By what degree Georgian kingdoms and principalities preserved their independence? What were the reasons behind the peculiarities of the Safavid and Ottoman policy towards Georgia? What part did Georgia play in the Iran-Ottoman contention? In order to answer these questions, it is singled out some key issues: early contacts, the division of Georgia by the spheres of influence, similarities and differences of the Safavid and Ottoman colonial policy towards Georgia, and what caused the continuity and transformation of their policy.

First encounters

At the beginning it must be stressed the general perception of the medieval and early modern times' history in the Georgian historiography – Georgia was the European country and Turkish and Iranian domination isolated it from Europe. First of all, it concerns the Ottoman Empire which closed the way to the Europe for Georgia. In reality, from the late 15th c. Georgia was already disintegrated country divided into small kingdoms and principalities. It must be also added that Georgian-European relations were quite infrequent even before the fall of the Byzantine Empire and to consider Georgia as a European nation isn't completely correct. But at the same time, Georgia, as a Christian country, always had European aspirations and surrounding Islamic world was a huge obstacle for contacts with Europe.

From the second part of the 15th c. once united Georgian kingdom was fragmented into small principalities. In Eastern Georgia, there were the kingdoms of *Kartli* and *Kakheti*, in the South - the principality of *Meskheti* (*Samtskhe-Saatabago*), in the Western Georgia – the kingdom of *Imereti* and the principalities of *Odishi* (*Samegrelo*), *Guria* and *Abkhazeti*. These principalities were not ruled top-down. A constant strife among the regional rulers was accompanied by the regular invasions from the South.

From the last quarter of the 15th c. Ottoman Empire spread its political influence over the whole northern Caucasus causing the opposition of the Mountain peoples against Georgia. This fact played an extremely negative part in the further social-economic and political development of Georgia in the following years.

In the early 16th c., Georgia became a kind of bone of contention between Ottoman Empire and Safavid Iran.¹⁷ The prevalent view in the Georgian historiography is that in order to preserve at least a limited independence, the Georgian princes pursued cautious policies towards the two powers.¹⁸ However, maneuvering was not always possible and the cardinal decisions were made by neighboring Empires rather than the Georgian principalities themselves.

Due to the Iran-Ottoman tensions, beginning from 1510, Georgia became a top issue on Safavid Iran's foreign policy agenda. Safavid Shah Esmā'īl (1501-1524) tried to create an anti-

¹⁷ The Italian narrative sources contain important information concerning the early 16th c. (Caterino Zeno, Giovanni Maria Angioiello, anonymous merchant – see: *A Narrative of Italian Travels in Persia in the 15th and 16th Centuries*, 1873); Georgian translation of these primary sources, see: Mamistvalashvili 1975.

¹⁸ See, for example: Dumbadze (ed.) 1973, 85-89.

Ottoman coalition. However, the coalition was unable to overcome the Ottoman military might.¹⁹

According to D. Blow (2009, 9), ‘Shāh Esmā’īl had begun the process of bringing eastern Georgia under Safavid control by ordering a number of attacks on the region after his defeat in the battle of Chaldiran against Ottomans (1514), with aim of exploiting its human and material resources and creating a compliant buffer state against the Ottomans.’ Primary sources refer to quite a few instances of turning to Iran in order to beat an adversary and put an end to the strife among the Georgian princes. For instance, trying to use the Iranians against the Kingdom of Kartli, in 1518, Atabeg (prince) Qvarqvarē of Meskhēti visited the Shāh and went back to Georgia with the Qezelbāsh²⁰ troops. Prince Vakhushti (1973, 395) stresses, that in order to save his kingdom, David X of Kartli (1505-1525), who was also the King of Kakheti at the time, sent his son to the Iranian ruler with lavish gifts.

In the Georgian historiography it is considered that in 1518, the eastern Georgian kings and the prince of Meskhēti formally became the vassals of the Safavid State. However, Qezelbāshs did not interfere with the internal affairs of the Georgian princes, who in turn, had to pay a certain tribute, which they collected at their own discretion. Immediately at the Shah’s request, they were obliged to support Qezelbāshs in their military campaigns waged in the vicinity of Georgia.

Ottomans, from their part, invaded Georgia in 1536 and 1545. During the second incursion they defeated Georgians in the battle of Sokhoista (in South Georgia). Their domination in the South-Western part of Georgia started from this time.

During the first quarter of the 16th c., regardless of the Iranians’ recurrent military campaigns in the South Caucasus, Iran failed to impose its political control over Georgia. J. L. Bacque-Gramont (1983, 194) emphasizes that it was mainly a diplomatic factor that deterred Esmā’īl from occupying Georgia. Being fully aware of the Ottomans’ prevailing military might at the time, Esmā’īl realized that they would strongly react to the annexation of the eastern Georgia. So, he had to make do with the tribute paid by the Georgians and clamp down on them, if they rebelled.

The policy of the second Safavid shāh Tahmāsb (1524-1576) was totally different from that of his predecessor. Resorting to various means, he actually tried to integrate Eastern Georgia into Iranian state. As a result of his four military campaigns in Georgia in 1540-1554,

¹⁹ See: Gelashvili 1995, 97-98.

²⁰ Common name of Shi’a tribes of Turkic origin, who contributed to the creation of the Safavid state.

the Iranian control strengthened gradually. ‘However,’ as Beradze and Kutsia note (2000, 122), ‘notwithstanding the obvious political and military success of the Safavids, their main objective, i.e. full incorporation of Georgia and her transformation into an ordinary khanate into the Safavid state was not achieved.’ Apart from the trophy, Shāh Tahmāsb requested the wives, sons and daughters of the Georgian nobility.²¹ The military campaigns were targeted at appointing the loyal people as Governors of eastern Georgia and Islamizing them. Thus, ‘Georgian districts were brought under control with local governors being appointed from, and taxes being paid to the centre.’²² Despite of certain autonomy and regardless of the fact that the majority of the population remained Christians, transition from the vassalage to the integration was underway. It is within the context that it should be consider the resettlement of Georgians into Iran for the purpose of revitalization of its agriculture²³ and appointing the Islamized Georgian nobility at high positions at the Safavid Court.²⁴ In difference of the rural population, it did not take long the Georgian nobility to turn into Islam for purely career reasons.²⁵ Although during the reign of Shāh Tahmāsb, the Georgians did not play a particularly significant part in the Iranian politics and military affairs, even before Shāh ‘Abbās came to power, the Caucasian element had a strong presence in Iran. Therefore, we agree with H. Maeda (2001, 165) that “the prototype of the *ghulām* corps (elite guard) of Shāh ‘Abbās had been already prepared”.

Minting a silver coin bearing the Shāh’s name in the Kakhetian town of Zagemi after Shāh Tahmāsb’s military campaigns testifies to Iran’s economic dominance over eastern Georgia. The coins minted at the Zagemi *zarabkhāna*²⁶ widely circulated across South Caucasus.²⁷ The Georgian kings realize the fact that the national currency would not bring sufficient revenue to the Treasury for it would circulate merely inside Georgia. Therefore, appearance of the Iranian-style coins (later called the silver of Tbilisi) had been prompted by

²¹ About Shāh Tahmāsb’s interactions with the Georgian nobility see: Eskandar Monshi 1971/72, I, 84-90; Brosset 1857, 445-530.

²² See, for example: H.R. Roemer 1986, 246-47.

²³ Eskandar Monshi (1971/72, I, 88) reports that as a result of his final military campaign 1554, Tahmāsb resettled 30 000 people from South Caucasus to Iran.

²⁴ This paper does not deal with the service of the Georgians in Iran. However, we should touch upon the issue, namely in what way the Georgian diasporas in Iran influenced the developments in Eastern Georgia.

²⁵ By the Nāder Shāh’s decree (*farman*) as of 1739, along with the other non-Muslims, the Georgians of Iran were exempted from the per capital tax (*jizya*), which testifies to the fact that the Christian Georgians lived in Iran at the time (see: Kutsia 2002, 127).

²⁶ Coin mint factory.

²⁷ As to Kartli, the Tbilisi *zarabkhāna* started issuance of the Iranian-style silver coins in the early 17th c. The earliest such coin minted in Kartli is dated with Hejri 1013 (1604/05). See: Kutelia 1979, 109.

the purely economic interests. D. Kapanadze stresses (1969: 140-1): 'It should be said that the coins depicting the Iran-Georgia relationships preserved in Georgia until the late 18th c.'

The Amasya treaty and its aftermaths

The Amasya peace treaty (962/1555) between Ottoman Empire and Safavid Iran temporarily put an end to the contention for control over the Caucasus. In the Amasya treaty are reflected political and military results of the half century conflict between Safavid Iran and Ottoman Empire. Eskandar Monshi (1969, 20) reports that by the Amasya peace treaty, Iran and the Ottoman Empire divided Georgia as follows: Kartli and Kakheti and part of Meskheta went to Iran, while a bigger part of Meskheta, Imereti, Samegrelo, Abkhazeti and Guria to the Ottomans. Thus, Iran acknowledged the Ottoman Empire's right to western Georgia, while the latter recognized Iran's control over the eastern part of the country. As to Meskheta, the two powers divided it into their spheres of influence. As a result, in Georgia a certain balance of power between the two contenders was achieved.

In fact, the Amasya peace treaty formally confirmed Georgia's political disintegration and actually ruled out unification of its kingdoms/principalities. Iran would not allow Ottomans' controlled western Georgia to interfere with the internal affairs of the eastern regions of the country and vice versa. A great part of the Georgian kings and princes gradually chose the way of coming to terms with the powerful conquerors.

Shāh Tahmāsb made use of the post-treaty situation to strengthen Iranian dominance over Eastern Georgia. Iranian political and social institutions were established and the Islamized princes were enthroned in Kartli and Kakheti. Da'ūd Khān II (1569-1578), was the first of those heralded 150 years of the Iranian dominance over eastern Georgia. For the same reason of tighter integration of eastern Georgia into Iran, Shāh Tahmāsb ordered issuance of the bilingual, Georgian-Persian decrees (*farmāns*) to make the Persian the administration language.²⁸

Even after the Amasya peace treaty, Luarsab, King of Kartli (1527-1556) continued his struggle against the Iranians and after he was killed, was replaced by his son Simon (1557-69, 1578-99), who pursued his father's policy.

David, King Luarsab's second son took a different stance. Driven by the desire to be the

²⁸ See: Tabatadze 1988, 262-263.

king, he betrayed his brother and in 1562, together with some of his loyal nobles visited Shāh. In Iran, David adopted Islam, was given the name of Dā'ud Khān and governorship of Tbilisi and Lower Kartli. Thus, Shāh Tahmāsb's accomplishments in Georgia were significant. As N. Gelashvili (1995, 108) points out: "not only did a representative of the Royal dynasty of Kartli become his ally but a subordinate for that matter."

Also, an official (*amīr*) would occasionally be sent to Kartli and was both the *qutwal* (commander) of the Tbilisi fortress and Dā'ud Khān's *lala* (tutor); the same conducted the state affairs. Relying on this report, some Georgian historians consider that during the rule of Dā'ud Khān, Iranians compiled the first registry of the Tbilisi and Lower Kartli lands.²⁹ It was thereafter that the lands were granted to Dā'ud Khān, the servant of Shāh. Besides, Shāh Tahmāsb sent *minbāsh*, the commander of the Qezelbāsh sentry. Control over the fortress of Tbilisi symbolized Iran's political dominance. Actually, keeping an eye on Dā'ud Khān was a duty of the *minbāsh*.

The frontier established in 1555, lasted less than a quarter-century. The Ottomans were displeased with the Amasya peace treaty terms and wanted to take the entire Caucasus, including the Caspian coast under their control. In 1578, the Ottoman Empire renewed the warfare and faced no resistance neither on the part of Dā'ud Khān nor Alexander, the King of Kakheti.

Entering Georgia in 1579, the Ottomans first confronted the joint Meskhetian-Iranian troops, who they beat. Afterwards, they invaded Kartli and took Tbilisi under control. They declared Tbilisi as a *Pāshalik* and Gori, another major town in Kartli, as a *Sanjāq*.³⁰ The Ottomans stationed a garrison in the fortresses and appointed military governor (*pāsha*) in Tbilisi.

In this situation, Safavids tried to use Georgian princes against Ottomans. It was then that king Simon, nominated 'the brother' of Shāh, and some other Georgians from Iran, entered Kartli together with the Qezelbāsh troops. It should be said that in difference of Dā'ud Khān, Simon was not a Shāh's servant but a 'serf', who recognized Shāh's supremacy and assumed obligation to pay him the tribute. It is worth to note that Simon remained Christian. In the war against the Ottomans, King Simon was backed up by Iranians. Ottomans came out victorious in this war with Iranians and Georgians. According to the 1590 peace treaty, they took the

²⁹ See, for example: Gabashvili 1958, 31, 389.

³⁰ *Pāshalik* and *Sanjāq* – administrative unities in the Ottoman Empire. See, for example: Svanidze 2007, 134-138.

entire South Caucasus under their control. Not only did Iran lose the subordinated countries but favourable economic position in South Caucasus, as well. The Ottoman Turks had tried to settle in the ports of the Black sea. They had restored the strongholds of Poti and Sukhumi and stationed their garrisons there. The successful military campaign allowed Ottomans to block the Arkhangelsk-Volga-Astrakhan transit route by which the Iranians exported their silk to Europe and imported the European goods. The route was also important to Russia since it strengthened its positions abroad, namely the Western European countries keen on the trade with Iran. Understandingly, the 1590 Ottoman-Iran peace roused plenty of concern both in Russia and Europe.

Therefore, German Emperor Rudolph II and Pope Clement VIII initiated formation of an anti-Ottoman coalition. Since Moscow and Madrid remained unresponsive to the initiative, they turned their gaze to Iran and Georgia that welcomed it. Thus, the new Shāh ‘Abbās (1587-1629) was given an opportunity to form the anti-Ottoman coalition in South Caucasus backed up by Western Europe. To this end, he attempted to win over the Georgian kings. In 1595, Kings Simon of Kartli, Alexander of Kakheti and Shāh ‘Abbās agreed on a joint military action against the Ottomans and reported their plan to the Pope, Emperor Rudolph and Felipe II of Spain.³¹ However, the plan fell through.

So, as R. Suny (1994, 49) stresses, ‘as the 17th c. opened, the Ottoman Turks remained the dominant power in Transcaucasia, but the vigorous ruler of the Safavid empire, Shah Abbas was determined to restore Iranian prestige and power in Transcaucasia.’

After the 1590 peace treaty and up until 1604-1605, the Ottomans had a tight grip over all the Georgian kingdoms/principalities, with their garrisons stationed in the main fortresses of Kartli. Unable to come to terms with the humiliating conditions of the treaty, in 1602, Shāh ‘Abbās launched another war against the Ottomans. Renewal of the 1555 year treaty allowing Iran to regain its stance in South Caucasus was at the top of Shāh ‘Abbās’s foreign political agenda, which he eventually achieved to a large extent, save the Georgian principalities that came under Iran’s partial control.

In 1612, the Iran-Ottoman war in which Shāh ‘Abbās took an upper hand was suspended.³² By the time, the anti-Iranian mood gained ground in Kartli and Kakheti and the

³¹ See Gabashvili 1954, 93-96.

³² Gülchara, lady from the Georgian Royal family, was actively involved in the Ottoman-Iranian peace talks. See: Svanidze 1988.

Shāh reacted by tightening the screws on eastern Georgia.³³

As a result of Shāh ‘Abbās’s four military campaigns, Kakheti suffered a huge, actually irreversible damage in terms of casualties or the people resettled in Iran’s Fereydun, Esfāhān, Khorāsān and Māzāndarān provinces.

Apparently Shāh ‘Abbās resettled merchants of Kartli, namely Tbilisi to Iran and similarly to their Armenian counterparts of Julfā, settled them in a suburb of Esfāhān. Armenian historian Arakel Davrizhetsi (1974, 36) relates that the inhabitants of Kartli ‘were taken and settled in the villages overlooking Esfāhān populated with the Armenians.’ German traveler Adam Olearius writes that the Georgian merchants and craftsmen were housed in Hasenābād, a district of Esfāhān: ‘Hasenābād is a district populated with the Gurji or the Georgian expatriate Christians. They are prominent merchants, who, like the Armenian ones, travel broadly for their trade.’³⁴ The Georgian expatriates live in the city, as well. For instance, E. Kaempfer (1977, 204) speaks of 20 000 Georgian residents of Esfāhān in 1680.

On the other hand, probably pursuing the policy of assimilation of the indigenous population and liquidation of the ethnically homogenous regions, Shāh resettled Turkmens in the Kakheti province. According to the Georgian historian N. Berdzenishvili (1943, 302), ‘...The Turkmens resettled in Kakheti were to become the Shāh’s foothold in the Caucasus; while the Kakhetians relocated to Iran were meant to become agricultural workers and the Shāh’s loyal warriors.’

The Shāh seems to have been looking for the ways of cohabitation of the locals and the Muslim Turkmen tribes resettled in the Christian Kakheti province.

There was no uniform policy regarding non-Muslims in the Empire. Subject to the situation and political appropriateness, Shāh ‘Abbās applied different approaches. For instance, according to Eskandar Monshi (1971/72, II, 1441-42), during the military campaign in Kakheti of 1023/1614, Shāh resorted to quite a few punitive operations against the Qezelbāsh warriors, who had appropriated and devastated the Georgians’ houses. After that ‘not a single rogue dared to take away as little as a blade of a Georgian peasant’s grass.’

A number of orthodox churches were turned into mosques. It was the way the Shāh tried to constrain ambitions of the military commanders appropriating the Christians’ property for

³³ Shāh ‘Abbās executed King of Kartli Luarsab II (1606-1615) and Queen Ketevan, mother of Teimuraz, King of Kakheti. Both of Teimuraz’s sons also died in Iran after the torture. Teimuraz was the King of Kakheti in 1606-48 and the King of Kartli in 1625-35. However, not infrequently, he was just a nominal monarch.

³⁴ Quoted: Revishvili 1971, 89; Javakhia 1982, 169.

the churches–turned–mosques escaped demolition. In 1023-4/1614-1616, a huge trophy fell into the hands of the Iranians in the Alaverdi Church, one of the largest in Georgia. Eskandar Monshi (1971/72, II, 42) stresses, that as a countermeasure, Shāh decided to turn it into a fortress and deploy two hundred soldiers to protect it.

The view of the prominent theologian and legal scholar Bāhā’i, regarding cohabitation of the Muslims and Christians, is of particular interest. In his words, the Muslims were not obliged to prevent Christians from eating pork or drinking wine. To the benefit of their faith, the Muslims living among Christians could even pretend to eat pork or drink wine; but it was only feigning acceptable in certain situations. Otherwise, they would bring the good done for the sake of Islam to nothing.³⁵ Bāhā’i lists the cases when the grape juice, honey or vinegar offered by a Georgian would be regarded clean in the religious terms.³⁶

Although Bāhā’i’s views regarding the food and goods manufactured by the Christian Georgians are not dated but there is no doubt that those were motivated by the situation created in Kakheti in the wake of Shāh ‘Abbās’s military campaigns. By R. Abisaab’s (2004, 66) point of view, by introducing the said rules, Shāh ‘Abbās hoped to support social integration in the abandoned regions or the ones where the Christians still formed the majority.

Bāhā’i’s postulates make it clear that he deemed adaptation of the Muslim minority with the Christian majority, including forging the social and economic ties, necessary. However, it proved to be unattainable.

By and by, the Georgians formed the core of the Shāh ‘Abbās’s army since he realized that Iran’s economic or political progress, as well as fortification of its eastern and western borders and, eventually, securing the country’s integrity would only be possible if the central government was at least partly independent from the Qezelbāsh troops and the military were directly accountable to the Monarch and at his disposal.³⁷

Politics of the Ottoman Empire towards the eastern and south Georgia was different. Ottomans preferred total islamisation of population of the South-west (Meskheta) Georgia or non-interference in the religious affairs of some provinces of the Western Georgia, when Iranians tried to convert Georgian elites in the Eastern part of the country without affecting

³⁵ Bahā al-Din, 'Pasukh-i Baha'i ba Shāh 'Abbās [or 'Jawab-i Shaykh Baha'i ba Hakim-i Gilan'], MS, *Fihrist-i Kitabkhana-yi Madrasa-yi Ali-i Sipahsalar*, fol. 1a; quoted: Abisaab 2004, 65

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Kutsia 1963, 67. There is a report that in 1588, Shāh ‘Abbās formed a personal guard of 12 000 Georgian warriors. In 1608, 25 000 warriors were in the Georgian cavalry. See: Lang 1953, 525. All in all, at various times in XVII c. 8000-40000 cavalrymen were enlisted in the Persian army (Lang 1957, 97)

Christian majority of the population. It was during this period that Islam spread to various segments of the rural population. It came first to the southwest region of Georgia, where the Ottomans in 1628 abolished the post of Atabeg of Samtskhe and created the *pashalik* of Akhaltsikhe (*Childir*). Hereditary atabegs, the Jakeli family converted to Islam and remained in power as *pashas*. Later, Islam was embraced by ethno-linguistic minorities in the country, and it was also spread through the arrival of waves of Turkic speaking Muslims. The inventory and taxation of the newly annexed country meant practically the abolition of the existed social-economic system³⁸ and was accompanied with the fierce resistance of the local population. In this situation the best solution was choosing the way of the “gradual assimilation”. As R. Suny (1994, 52) points out, ‘Samtskhe was thus lost to Georgia, and Georgians migrated from the region, until by the end of the century there were hundreds of abandoned villages. The area became ever more Islamized.’

The western part of the southwest Georgia is called Achara. The process of Islamization there was difficult. In the 16th century, according to the Ottoman census of mountainous Achara, the majority of the population was Christians and they paid religious taxes.³⁹ Initially, mostly noblemen were converted to Islam. The process of the total Islamization of the population was completed only by the end of the 18th century.

Meskheta was the main point where the Ottoman Empire attacked Western Georgia. Ottomans fully controlled the west Georgian coastline. As a result, local principalities had no possibility for the independent foreign trade. But I don’t agree with the opinion that Ottomans intended to integrate the Western Georgia in the Empire. The western Georgia, in difference of the South Georgia, was quite poor region and there were no reasons or advantages to establish there the direct rule for the Ottomans.

For western Georgia (and also for eastern) particularly threatening was the practice of seizing Georgian youth and selling them as slaves to Muslim owners, a practice that turned Georgia into a source of military manpower for Islamic powers. This practice inflicted considerable damage on the Georgian population, to the point that by the 16th and 17th centuries Georgians as an ethno-linguistic community were on the verge of extinction. This “disease” acquired a catastrophic character after the Turks became their neighbors. The Turks needed a great number of slaves for their janissaries, patriarchal economy or families (harems). For example, J. Chardin (2018, 133) writes about the principality of Samegrelo, that “today (1670)

³⁸ About the Ottoman taxation system see, for example: The 1574 Great Defter, 2016.

³⁹ See: Shashikadze, 2002, 217.

its population is around 20 thousand and a mere 50 years ago it was equal to 50 thousand. This is a result of the struggles between neighbours and of the selling of young people of both sexes.”

Eastern Georgia and Iran: Politics of ‘compromises’

After Shāh ‘Abbās’s death in 1629, up until the end of the 17th century, Eastern Georgia was fully dominated by Persia. The population of the Kartli paid tribute and, as a gift (*pishkesh*), the Georgian young men and women, horses and wine especially approved, were sent to Iran every year.⁴⁰ A letter of Shāh Soleiman (1666-1694) to the governor of Kartli in which he expresses gratitude for the wine and asks for some more is preserved in Tehran’s Golestān palace archive.⁴¹

There can be no definite assessment of the Georgian-Iranian relations during the reign of Shāh ‘Abbās. On the one hand, his military campaigns delivered a very hard blow to eastern Georgia, first of all Kakheti and on the other, he failed to achieve his original purpose of Georgia’s full integration into the Iranian Empire. Also, Shāh ‘Abbās supported the Islamized Georgians’ promotion in Iran, especially where the armed forces were concerned.

The member of the Georgian Bagrationi royal family Khosrow Mirzā (he was born Iran and played an important role at the court of Shāh) was appointed the governor (*vāli*) of Kartli and ruled the country under the name of Rostom Khān (1632-1658). It must be stressed that at the same time he bore the title of king of Kartli. His pliancy brought Kartli a broad autonomy in difference of Kakheti ruled directly by Persia.

In order to stifle the Kakhetians’ rebellious sentiments, the Shāh evoked the Shāh ‘Abbās I plan of settling the Turkmen nomadic tribes in Kakheti. The Iranians entrenched in most of the fortresses in Kakheti, divided it and appointed Qezelbāshs as rulers, who were ordered to resettle Turkmens to the region.⁴² Approx. 80 000 Turkmen nomads were rapidly resettled in the lowlands of Kakheti.

⁴⁰ See: Berdzenishvili 1967, IV, 252-254.

⁴¹ Golestān palace archive, F. *majmu’eye naseri*, #283. R. Mathee (2005, 43) notes: ‘There can be little doubt that their [Georgians’] natural penchant to drink alcohol infiltrated Iranian society and above all court culture... There were many gholāms among those who drank. The role of the royal harem....., where beginning with Shāh ‘Abbās I’s successor, Safavid rulers grew up surrounded by mostly Georgian women, cannot be ignored either. It is quite likely that the fondness for wine displayed by many rulers originated in this environment.’ ‘At first, Shāh Soltān Hoseyn (1694-1722) agreed with the clergy and banned wine drinking (approx. 6 000 Georgian and Shiraz wine bottles kept in Shāh’s wine cellar were smashed). This act was more symbolic than practical’. (Abisaab 2004, 126). Eventually the eunuchs and princes convinced the Shāh in wholesome properties of wine. (Krusinski 1973,74-5).

⁴² Mohamed t’aheri 1954, 394.

Turkmens were mostly cattle breeders and, understandingly, needed vast pastures. Therefore, the traditional crops in Kakheti, mainly viticulture came under a grave threat. The Georgians of the mountainous regions, whose main subsistence were the cereals and wine made in the lowlands and who utilized the pastures there were threatened, too.

1659 highlights a major uprising in Kakheti. The rebels occupied the strategic fortress of Bakhtrioni and managed to drive out a significant number of Turkmens.

Although the Shāh abandoned his Turkmens resettlement plan, Iran retained a tight grip over Kakheti. Later, in 1677-1703, members of the Bagrationi Royal family were not appointed as the kings of Kakheti, which Iran regarded an occupied territory ruled by a Persian Governor.

During the rule of King Rostom in Kartli, Iran's politics of 'compromises' regarding eastern Georgia, developed by 1625 during the reign of Shāh 'Abbās I, was implemented. By and by, the Georgian nobility realized the advantages of good relationships with Persia. What the compromise policy implied was preservation of Kartli's internal system and the Bagrationi dynasty remained in place on condition of Islamization and adoption of the title of vāli.⁴³

In the Georgian documents, Rostom refers to himself as 'the king of kings and patron',⁴⁴ while in those of the Iranian Shāh, he is called 'my brother Rostam Khān, the vāli of Kartli.'⁴⁵ It means that in the Georgians view, Rostom was the king, who recognized himself as the vassal of Iran. As to the Shāh, he regarded Kartli as an Iranian subjected territory ruled by Rostom, an Iranian vāli or official.

This political 'compromise', which continued nearly till the end of the Safavid rule, implied that the Georgian kings were the vassals, who nearly single-handedly conducted the country's internal affairs. As to the Iranian interest in the compromise policy and close relationship with Georgia, it was prompted by the need to secure safety of the north-western frontier of the Empire.

N. Berdzenishvili (1967, IV, 355) notes that the Shāh lavishly funded Rostom and granted him broad powers so that he could rule Kartli as efficiently as possible. Numerous Iranian troops were also at his disposal.

Soon after his arrival in Kartli, Rostom ordered building the fortresses of Metekhi, Gori and Surami (towns in Kartli) and stationed Iranian troops there. Also, he had the surroundings of the Nariqalā fortress in Tbilisi fortified and transferred to Iranians it.

⁴³ Sak'art'velos istoriis narkvevebi 1973, IV, 312.

⁴⁴ Kart'ul-sparsuli orenovani istoriuli sabut'ebi (XVI-XVIII ss.) 1955, 106.

⁴⁵ Sparsuli istoriuli sabut'ebi 1984, 48 and others.

The military measures were not the only means Rostom took to strengthen the Iranians' grip over Kartli. He was also determined to create pro-Iranian public sentiment through a number of political and administrative actions. First of all, Rostom Khān returned the estates to the pro-Iranian nobility, who had arrived in Kartli from Iran along with him and by doing it, he bolstered the Persians' foothold there.

On the one hand, Rostom had the churches restored, gave them contribution, protected the top Christian clerics but on the other, he remained true to Islam and ordered construction of mosques. In his time, broad construction works were performed in Tbilisi. By setting up the Metekhi fortress, Rostom actually divided the city into two parts: that of the fortress, i.e. the Iranian district and the one inhabited by the Georgians. French traveller Jean Chardin (1811, 133; 2018, 317) marvelled at the palace Rostom had built in Tbilisi.

Besides, the King of Kartli tried to forge close ties with western Georgia. He married the sister of Levan Dadiani, Prince of the Samegrelo principality. It is noteworthy that although the principality of Samegrelo recognized the Ottomans' supremacy, the Shāh paid Prince Dadiani the salary of 1000 tuman, which implied that Iranian ruler regarded him Iran's ally and hoped to use him in a hypothetical confrontation with the Ottomans.

Prince Vakhushti Bagrationi (1973, 23-24), 18th c. Georgian geographer and historian, says that King Rostom changed the Georgian names of a number of public offices into the Persian ones. For instance, master of servants (*msakhurt'ukhuts'esi* in Georgian) was renamed as *qorchibāshi*, housekeeper (*ezosmodzghvari*) – *nazir*, master of slaves (*monat'ukhuts'esi*) – *qullarāqāsi* (commander of the Royal guard), the head architects (*khurot'modzghvari*) – *sarāidār* etc. Although, some of the office duties were changed, overall State machinery in Georgia remained the same.

Also, during the reign of Rostom, some positions characteristic to the Safavid State, such as *vazir* (advisor), *mustoufi* (chief financial clerk) or *monshi* (scribe) were introduced. They all were designed for the supervision over the Royal Court.

The positions of *maliq* and *dārughā*, the city's administration members in Georgia appear in the chronicles in the 1570's and are also connected with the Iranians political presence. *Dārughā* was what is now called the Mayor, while *maliq* managed the merchants' affairs.

One of the results of the policy of compromises was the issue of the bilingual, Georgian-Persian documents. The first Persian documents in Georgia appeared in the 1540's. As early as the reign of King Simon, the Georgian deeds of gift concerning the estate etc. were often

appended by the text in Persian. Quite infrequent at first, they became common as the political dependence strengthened. Understandingly, most of the bilingual documents came out during the rule of King Rostom. Beradze and Kutsia (2000, 126) stress: 'Establishment of the rule of drawing up Georgian-Persian bilingual documents, discontinuation or resumption of their issuance, outward changes, as well as those in the content, phraseological peculiarities, all this was the result and reflected transformation both in the form and the character of political relations between Iran and Georgia.'⁴⁶ The Georgian texts of the bilingual documents were compiled according to the diplomatic pattern and did not differ from the monolingual documents in Georgian. Not infrequently, the Georgian and Persian texts were independent from each other, for the Persian diplomatic template created in the totally different circumstances was inadequate with the situation in Georgia.

The main peculiarity of the bilingual documents is that Iranian terms are used in order to set out the Georgian text in the Persian language. For instance, according to T. Abashidze (1988, 5), the Georgian terms for landownership are translated as *tiul*, *molq*, *soyurghāl*, *vaqf*; Instances of the social terminology applied: *tiuldār*, *āqā*, *mulazim*, *noqar*; taxation terms: *dāstandār*, *tārḥ*, *sārshomārā*, *bahrā* etc.

The bilingual documents were taken out of circulation in the late 18th c., when eastern Georgia actually slipped out of Iran's control.

As it was noted, in the Iranian administrative system, a Georgian king was also 'vāli', a top-ranking provincial official in the Safavid State, whose office was transferred by the right of succession. In the 17th c., out of four Iranian 'vālis', one was of Gorjestān and belonged to the dynasty of the heir-rulers.

According to the Iranian tradition, the vāli of Kartli was granted villages in exchange for his service to the Shāh. Those were not necessarily in Kartli but may have been in northern Iran areas. The Georgian nobles were rewarded in the same manner.

The vāli of Gorjestān was the third top-ranking official but his actual position stood out from the one held by sideline great amirs.

Gorjestān (Kartli), the focal point to the Safavids due to its strategic, political and economic importance not only in eastern Georgia but the entire South Caucasus for that matter. Kartli was the key to the South Caucasus. As K. Kutsia (1999, 82) points out, 'the Safavids' desire to incorporate it into the Empire and make a Georgian King of the Bagrationi dynasty

⁴⁶ About bilingual Georgian-Persian documents see also Kharebava 2017 and Abashidze 1988.

just an ordinary, albeit a high-ranking servant, was quite understandable. The Shāh-sovereign — the king, King of Gorjestān (Kartli)-vāli ‘the servant’ of the Shāh, that was the ideal pattern for the Safavid Shāh’s creating a centralized State.’

Members of the Georgian Royal Family and the nobility were also appointed to the top administrative positions in the Safavid State. The Muslim Royals of the Bagrationi dynasty felt privileged to be Esfahān’s Mayor (*dārughā*) for over 100 years (1618-1722).

Although enthroned in Kartli (1632), Rostom Khān was also regarded Esfahān’s *dārughā* for 40 years and appointed his deputies in the Safavid capital. It was his special privilege recognized by the Shāh of Iran, who approved a candidate nominated by the King of Kartli. The Georgian candidate had to convert to Islam. The Georgians were also the *dārughās* of some other cities, such as Qazvin. In his commentaries to *Tadhkirat al-muluk* (A Manual of state Administration) compiled by an anonymous author in the 1720s, Prof. V. Minorski (1943, 149) emphasized that during the Safavid era, the position of *dārughā* of Esfahān ‘was a special right granted to the Georgian Royals.’

Khosrow Mirzā and his Georgian successors make it clear that the rule broadly accepted in Iran, namely that a person could hold the office of *dārughā* for no more than 2 years did not apply to the Georgians. Jean Chardin (1811, V, 134) points out that ‘Esfahān was to be governed by a native Georgian.’ Not only did the Georgians govern Esfahān, the biggest political and economic center in the Safavid State, they were also actively involved in the Iranian politics.

In 1658, King Rostom died and was buried in Qom. Since Rostom did not have a son, as early as 1653, Vakhtang (his Iranian Islamic name was Shāhnavāz (1658-1675)), representing the collateral line of the Georgian Bagrationi dynasty was selected the heir.

Shāhnavāz carried on Rostom Khān’s policy of compromises. He married his daughter Anuka to Shāh ‘Abbās II (1642-1666). He also tried to reattach the Kingdom of Kakheti by making Archil II, his son, the King. Regardless of adoption of Islam and the name of Shāhnazar Khān (1664-75), the plan worked only for a while and eventually failed.

It was during Shāhnavāz’s reign that French traveller Jean Chardin visited Georgia (1670-71). His impressions of the specific Iran-eastern Georgia (centre-periphery) relationships are interesting indeed. Speaking about Tbilisi, he writes: ‘Tbilisi is one of the most beautiful cities of Persia’ (1811, I, 131; 2018, 313) However, in the same context he notes: ‘the Georgian Prince is not fully subordinated to the Iranian ruler and does not always fulfill his orders as the other Governors of the Empire do’ (1811, I, 135; 2018, 319) Chardin’s

information concerning Islamization of the Georgian nobles is of no less interest: 'it is only on the face of it that most of the Georgian nobles confess Islam. Some of them adopt Islam for the sole reason of promotion at the Court and getting the salary. The others do it in order to deserve the privilege of marrying their daughters to the Shāh or at least make them maids of the Shāh's wives' (1811, I, 129; 2018, 310).

The fact that the Iranian rule in Georgia was limited enough is made evident by their failed attempt at building a mosque in the Tbilisi fortress. Chardin (1811, I, 132; 2018, 315) relates: 'the Persians did their best to build a mosque here but they were unable to bring the matter to the end because of the popular uprising. The city dwellers destroyed the building and violently attacked the builders. The Georgian Princes, who secretly supported the public discontent, pretended to oppose it. It was only for governorship that they gave up the Christian faith and acted against their will, when encouraging the spread of Islam.'

Here is another passage from Chardin's book (1811, I, 133; 2018, 316) testifying to Iran's incomplete control over Christian Georgia: 'There is a cross at the top of each chapel and, also, quite a few bells. Along the other kinds of meat, pork is publicly sold on a daily basis and one sees wine sellers on each and every crossroads. Although disgusted, the Persians can do nothing about it.' Responding to Chardin's proposal to collaborate with a French company, Shāhnavāz said (1811, I, 134; 2018, 317): 'I'll give a free hand and all the possible privileges to anyone arriving in Georgia for trade; my estate spreads up to the Black Sea and as I am held at high esteem in Persia and respected in Turkey as well, the Europeans wishing to go to India via Georgia, would be welcomed.' However, on the very next day, he changed his mind, with the reason explained as follows: 'The Prince must have given a lot of thought to my proposal, namely, to write a letter to the French company about trading in Georgia and using it as a transit rout. He is ready to convince the French about the benefits of commercial activities in the country but as an Iranian vassal, he has to exercise restraint. He is concerned that the Persian ruler may regard his business correspondence with foreigners without his permission a crime.' The fact shows the Georgian monarch's wish to be independent and also the constraints where international relations are concerned (in this case, the profit from foreign trade).

In the period after the reign of Shāhnavāz until the decline of the Safavid State, the policy of compromises, albeit with some changes, carried on. The time was characterized by frequent change of the Kartli monarchs.

J. P. Tournefort (1982, II, 191) French traveller, who visited Georgia and Iran in 1700-1702, describes eastern Georgia as Georgia of Persia, adding that in order to be appointed the

vāli by the Shāh, the Georgian king, who is merely the Governor of the country must be a Muslim. J. P. Tournefort also emphasizes that the Georgian kings and nobility have to guarantee their loyalty to Iran. In his words, the Persian monarch's costs for Georgia are much higher than the benefits. In order to secure the loyalty of the Georgian nobility, who are actual patrons of the country and who might as well take sides with the Turks, the Shāh pays lavish salaries to them.

A person approved as the King of Kartli or Kakheti, was given a high office in the Shāh's Administration. The appointee was left in Iran for a trial period, which, not infrequently lasted for his short life. Meanwhile, the country was ruled by his deputy (*jānishin*). In terms of legitimization, it was an efficient method, for if *jānishin* thought of the betrayal, he would confront not only the Court but the legitimate monarch of Kartli or Kakheti as well.

From the beginning of the 18th c. Safavid state gradually depredated and finally collapsed in 1736. In this situation the Ottomans invaded Kartli and in June 1723, they occupied Tbilisi along with the rest of the country and started introducing their order. As the Ottomans took the country under their control, king of Kartli Vakhtang VI went into exile to Russia, where he died in 1738.

Thus, the Safavids' domination over eastern Georgia came to an end. During fragmentation of the Safavid State, eastern Georgia remained under the Ottomans' control. Stepping up its efforts, Russia eventually reached an agreement with the Ottomans and temporarily 'conceded' eastern Georgia. The climax of Nāder Shāh's (1736-1747) reign put an end to the policy of "compromises" characteristic to the Safavid era, which first and foremost means that the Georgian kings were allowed to preserve their Christian faith and not to pay tribute. Eastern Georgia gradually left Iran's sphere of influence.

As a conclusion, we can single out several crucial points in Iran-eastern Georgia relationships during the Safavid era: the early 16th c. up until 1630s is mainly the period of confrontation, which began by the vassalhood of eastern Georgia and was followed by the Safavids' permanent, albeit only partly successful attempts at its integration into the Empire. Along with the confrontation, both the Georgian kingdoms-principalities and Iran tried to use each other in their own interests (for instance, the Georgian princes in their rivalry and Iran-Ottoman confrontation). The early 17th c. is marked with the Georgian diasporas' increasing influence in Iran. However, the Georgians there were also closely engaged in the developments in their native country. In the 1630s, the Iran-Georgia relationship is marked by the policy of

compromises. Although an Iranian province, Kartli was largely independent in terms of the internal affairs. While both sides were relatively satisfied with the situation, the princes of Kartli strived for more independence, which in some cases, they achieved.

Concerning Georgian-Ottoman relations, Ottomans succeeded to fully integrate in the Empire the south-Western part of Georgia (Meskheti) to Islamize it and to settle their Muslims of Turkish origin. Principalities of the western remained independent but are obliged to recognize Ottoman supremacy (to pay tribute, selling young etc.). At the same time, Ottomans controlled the coastline of the western Georgia.

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**CULTURE AND RESISTANCE MOVEMENTS OF SMALLER NATIONS:
FOCUSING ON THE INITIAL STAGES OF THE BULGARIAN NATIONAL
REVIVAL**

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Abstract

This paper reviews aspects of the relation between culture and resistance of a small nation that suffers oppression by an alien empire where the dominant culture, religion and language is different, but also is threatened by spiritual assimilation through a religious institution of a different ethnic and linguistic background. This is the idiosyncratic situation with Bulgarian national revival which in its initial stages prioritizes cultural and spiritual emancipation rather than political liberation or socio-economic improvements. This phenomenon is due to the specific historical conditions in which the Bulgarians find themselves in the 17th and 18th centuries. The developments come to a head in the 19th century when the ethnic Bulgarian religious institutions are restored after centuries of oppression. The major roles in this process are played by the Awakeners, key historical and literary figures who lead the struggle for cultural liberation.

Keywords: cultural emancipation, ecclesiastical independence, Awakeners, resistance to political and spiritual oppression, national language and education

1. Introduction

This paper reviews the interaction of culture and resistance in the processes of national awakening, national renaissance and national struggle for liberation and independence of the Bulgarian people. These processes have their inception during the 18th century and continue through the 19th century when they reach maturity. Bulgarian national revival was in many ways similar to other national revivals of smaller nations in the regions controlled by empires such as the Ottoman Empire and the Russian Empire, most notably the nations on the Balkan peninsula (Greeks, Serbs, Romanians, etc.) and the nations of the Caucasus region (Georgians, Armenians, etc.). At the same time the revival of the Bulgarians has been influenced by specific

historical, geographical and socio-economic factors that have made it different from other national revivals, which is the case with any other revival of an individual nation. National revivals have been studied extensively by scholars from both inside and outside the concrete nation and sometimes different discourses emerge about the same events, which is normal. National revivals which have led to the creation of stable independent states, i.e. the “successful” ones, usually receive a special treatment in the respective nationalist literature. Here, I will try to outline the specific cultural and intellectual dimensions of the Bulgarian revival as objectively as possible, relying mainly on sources that have looked at it from outside the region and that have been part of the scholarly discourse of reputed academic traditions.

The idiosyncrasy of Bulgarian national revival is emphasized in the following statement from Crampton (2007, 23): “As with all other nationalisms, it was conditioned by historical, social, cultural, political, and international factors whose relative strengths and juxtapositions were unique; in few other nationalist movements, for example, did ecclesiastical affairs play so determining a role, and, conversely, in very few others did social grievances and inequalities play so minor a part.” This state hints at two peculiarities of Bulgarian revival: the central role of cultural and spiritual considerations materialized in the pronounced struggle for an ethnicity-based church which was to continue the Bulgarian church tradition of the First and the Second Bulgarian Empires and the marginal role of social grievances and inequalities as both rich and poor Bulgarians were united in the struggle for realizing their national ideal at the backdrop of the economic and social changes and reforms that were taking place parallelly in the Ottoman Empire.

2. The Cultural Awakening

The first Awakeners, the first significant cultural figures of Bulgarian national revival, were two men of faith and organized religion: a Catholic bishop and an Orthodox monk, who undertook the immense task of becoming the first historians of their people, the Bulgarians. They lived in different times and different circumstances but both of them despised the oppression of the foreign empire imposed on their people who has lost their statehood. They wanted to invoke the glory of the past in order to inspire a new hope of liberation and progress.

The Catholic bishop lived in the 17th century. His name was Patar Bogdan Bakshev (1601 – 1674). He was born in the town of Chiprovtsi and rose to the position of archbishop of Sofia. He was among the people who organized an uprising in the region of Chiprovtsi against

Ottoman rule. In 1667 he wrote an important work called “On the antiquity of the Fatherland, and on things Bulgarian”, a scholarly study of the history of Bulgaria. Thus, he became the first Bulgarian historian and remains one of the major cultural figures of the Bulgarian national revival.

He was educated at the St. Francis Monastery in Ancona (1620 – 1623) and at the Vatican (1623 – 1630). He knew several languages: Bulgarian, Latin, Italian, Greek, Romanian, Turkish. He wrote and translated books. He was a major literary figure of the time. In 1642 he was appointed Archbishop of Sofia. His aspirations included helping the Bulgarian people achieve confessional and cultural liberation from the Ottoman oppression. He also envisaged a revival of the Bulgarian state. He was a real altruist and a true Awakener. He did everything he could to raise the educational and cultural level of his people. He also tried to inform the enlightened world of Europe about the situation on the Balkan peninsula and raise awareness of the plight of the Christian population under Ottoman rule. He wrote his major opus “On the antiquity of the Fatherland, and on things Bulgarian” and published it in Venice. Thus, he disseminated knowledge about Bulgarian history across Europe in times when the glory of medieval Bulgaria was almost forgotten in most places in Europe.

Francis Petri Deddari à Cipro uatis
 Ordinis minorum de Observantia Archiepi
 Sardicensis Sophionensis nuncupati de anti-
 quitate Paterni soli et de rebus Bul-
 garicis ad suos Compatriotas



Præfatio

Credimus rogari à uobis carissimis munitisq; imò compulsi, ut aliquid
 de paterno solo, et de nostrorum antiquorum in eandem fide per-
 seuerantia, ac de sempiterna religionis in nostris partibus aduentu,
 sensu prodideremus, et ut æternæ memoriæ monumentum erga dicitur
 amoris nostri dilectionis pietatis relinquamus. Quare pro fidei opus re-
 quiritis, et honorabilia diuina patrie uirtute exoptatis, quæ et uobis ma-
 ximè ferè seruandum fuerit etiam si sunt, ut inquit pater, paren- (R. p. 1. 1.)
 tes, uel liberi, propinqui, familiares, sed omnia omnium et lan-
 tata patria una complexa est, pro qua quis bonus ueliter mor-
 tem exspectet, si ei sit probatum. Sed quod nos nostram ciuitatem,
 et sequendâ angustiam non ignoramus, sed agere cauere reue-
 lacimus, supra nos uidebitur esse tam arduum conamen, ut
 dicto rati: nihilominus tamen, quod uult ut his uelut petiti, sed ut pro-
 uerbi gratia conuenire opus melius existimatis; prosequi uis
 que à nobis collecta ex antiquis scriptis, et maiorum insti-
 tum traditione, ad uisum communitatis fuerint uobis grata, sires
 asseueratis.

Cura bimus Res proprias, quod optatis, præsertim cum honoris
 sic, quod agendum proponitis, et multis certis causis, profectus hinc;
 si uobis tam etiam, tamq; uidentibus compatriotis quicquam nega-
 re potuimus, qui iuxta scripturam, sapientibus, et uisualibus Rom. 1. 7
 delectamus sumus. Deest omnibus, nec uobis contingat pro in toto
 uobis; paterno solo eorum, uelut libentibus. Verum, quod necessarium
 arbitramur proponere ea, que à principis nascuntur, quibus
 in hisce partibus circa christianam fidem gesta sunt, ad maiorem
 temporum elucidationem, ut deinde ad scopum uestre petitionis
 facilius perueniamus, nam iuxta Beati Augustini dictum, necessarium est August.

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Illustration 1: The first page of the actual manuscript of “On the antiquity of the Fatherland, and on things Bulgarian” in Latin.

After many years, the full text of his manuscript was found in a library in Italy (Ilieva 2018, 93). It contains more than 200 pages and consists of 17 chapters. Even today, it has not only historical and cultural value but also represent a fine example of serious scholarship. It has all the attributes of modern scientific literature.

The second man of such importance for the beginning of the national revival is the Orthodox monk Paisiy Hilendarski (1722 – 1773). He lived in the 18th century, about a hundred years later than Petar Bogdan Bakshev. Father Paisiy finished writing his most important work “Istoria Slavyanobolgarskaya” (“A Slav-Bulgarian History”) in 1762. Soon after that the book started to be copied by monks, priests and other people and became the most important literary work of the Bulgarian national revival. It catered to the Bulgarian people’s aspirations for a political and socio-economic liberation from Ottoman rule. The book itself became a symbol of Bulgaria’s lost glory and of the struggle to restore the greatness of the Bulgarian people both politically and culturally.

It is now confirmed by scholars that Paisiy was born in the town of Bansko in the Pirin region of Bulgaria. The town was known for its traders and producers and was a lively and prosperous place. Paisiy became a monk on Mount Athos. He was a hieromonk and deputy abbot at the Hilendar Monastery, hence his name.

He researched his book for a long time, collecting materials from monasteries across the Balkans. He also visited the Habsburg Empire in order to seek and collect historical materials for his book. He finished the book in 1762 at the Zograf Monastery.

He was extremely dedicated to his work. Like Petar Bogdan Bakshev, he was driven by altruist intentions. He had put the work for the benefit of his people before his personal wellbeing. He was ready to sacrifice a lot in order to achieve his goal: the production of a book of history of his people that would contain as much material as he could find, but also that could be used to raise the consciousness of the ordinary people. This is very clear from the two introductions to the book that he wrote. He addresses his readers directly, asking them not to be ashamed to call themselves Bulgarian because they have a rich historical and cultural heritage which they should be very proud of.

His book was first copied manually in 1765 by a priest whose name was Sofroniy Vrachanski. It inspired him to write his own book which described his own life. Thus, Paisiy started a real literary movement.

Here is what Crampton (2005, 46) has to say about the book: “Written in Old Church Slavonic but with the enlivening addition of some contemporary spoken forms, the book recalled the lost and great days of the mediaeval Bulgarian state and church. The work looked both backwards and forwards because together with his evocation of past greatness Paisii warned of the dangers for the future posed by the Bulgarians’ capitulation to hellenisation and he called upon his contemporary co-nationals to change their attitudes, to stand firm against Greek influences”. The book is not only a call for resistance against the political oppressors, the Ottoman Turks, but also against the spiritual and cultural oppression of the Constantinople Patriarchy which imposed the Greek language and culture upon all Orthodox Christians in the empire. For Bulgarians, the national liberation meant that they should be able to worship in their own language in their own Bulgarian orthodox church, which has a long and powerful tradition of worshipping in Old Church Slavonic, a language that was still comprehensible to Bulgarians in the 18th century and which they studied in their church schools. At the same time the Greek languages was not understood by the ordinary people and church services in Greek remained alien and incomprehensible to them.

Early awakeners like Paisiy made it clear from the very beginning that the struggle for spiritual and ecclesiastical freedom should be put first. A spiritually and culturally liberated people, an enlightened people, will be able to fight for and achieve political unity and liberation much more easily than an ignorant and disunited people. This is how one of the idiosyncrasies of the Bulgarian national revival emerged: the preoccupation with the struggle for their own separate church with their own liturgical language, a Bulgarian national church as a step forward to full political and socio-economic liberation. Of course, the establishment of a separate national church was always associated with a strong national education and enlightenment that will accompany the spiritual and cultural liberation that will be brought about by the ecclesiastical liberation. (Berend 2003, 76).

In Paisiy’s books there are statements which are meant to inspire pride and chase away the inferiority complex towards both the Ottomans and the Greeks and the other Slav peoples. For example: “of all the Slav peoples the most glorious were the Bulgarians; they were the first who called themselves tsars, the first to have a patriarch, the first to adopt the Christian faith, and they it was who conquered the largest amount of territory. Thus, of all the Slav peoples they were the strongest and the most honoured, and the first Slav saints cast their radiance from amongst the Bulgarian people and through the Bulgarian language.” And also: “But, they say,

the Greeks are wiser and more cultured, while the Bulgarians are simple and foolish and have no refined words. That is why, they say, we had better join the Greeks. But . . . There are many peoples wiser and more glorious than the Greeks. Is any Greek foolish enough to abandon his language and his teaching and his people as you abandon yours . . . ? Bulgarian, do not deceive yourself, know your own nation and language and study in your own tongue.” (The translations are from Crampton 2005, 46).

After completing the book, Paisiy started traveling again across the Bulgarian lands in order to spread the contents of his book. The first person who copied the entire book was Sofroniy Vrachanski in 1765 but soon after that dozens of copies appeared. They could be found in churches, monasteries and even at private homes. Gradually the book became a symbol of participation in the movement for cultural and spiritual emancipation. The Bulgarian people were ready for it. Increasingly, it was not the book itself but the general education of the Bulgarian people that prepared them for the later stages of the national revival. The book was a just an important symbol. There is an interesting observation in this regard in Crampton (2005, 48):

“The importance of Paiisi and his fellow awakeners lay not so much in their roles as creators of the national revival as in the fact that they provided post facto explanations for it. By the time Paiisi was widely read, let alone reidentified as the author of the History, the cultural revival was well under way. What prompted Bulgarians to call for more recognition of their cultural identity was not so much a consciousness of the past gained from reading Paiisi or one of the other awakeners, but contact with the world outside the Bulgarian lands, a contact gained through commerce, through education abroad, through the seepage of modern ideas into the Balkans during and after the French Revolution, and through participation in or knowledge of the Serbian and Greek revolts against rule from Constantinople.”

The Bulgarian people was opening up to new ideas and new ways of making business, new ways of production and industry. This was speeding up their social and economic developments and was making their desire of liberation and independence from the slow and backward empire even stronger. Their motivation for cultural and spiritual struggle was rising quickly.

3. The Cultural Emancipation

The Bulgarian population in the Ottoman Empire saw some economic revival which

brought about an even greater interest in education. There was more money for books and public reading-rooms (the traditional Bulgarian cultural institution *chitalishte*). There was more money for scholarships to study abroad at more advanced education centers. For example, “in 1867 the city of Plovdiv was financing five students in Paris, four in Vienna, seven in Russia, two in Britain, and forty in Constantinople” (Crampton 2005, 58).

It is really impressive how Bulgarian people were ready to transform education systems in accordance with modern times without any resistance from conservative circles. As soon as the cell schools that existed in monasteries and villages were recognized as inadequate for the 19th century, all Bulgarian communities started making efforts to establish new modern schools and educate its people both at home and abroad according the latest education standards. The concept of secular education was firmly embraced by all layers of society. Church schools were incorporating modern ideas too. Such a school was started by another awakener, Neofit Bozveli, in 1824 in Svishtov, on the Danube river. Neofit Bozveli was a pupil of Sofroniy Vrachanski.

In 1834 the first lay high school teaching subjects in the contemporary Bulgarian language was established in Gabrovo, in central Bulgaria. The school was set up by a prominent awakener and educator, Vasil Aprilov. His school used the modern Bell-Lancaster system. In the next fifteen years such modern schools were open in practically every town. In 1840 the first school for girls was opened in Pleven and soon schools for girls were being opened everywhere. By 1878, the year of the Liberation, there were more than 2000 functioning schools for Bulgarian children. This progress is even more impressive if you consider that in the 1820s there were hardly any textbooks or manuals. The rate at which new schools were opened and classroom textbooks, manuals and other materials were developed is really impressive.

Along with the elementary and high schools, which were for children, there were many *chitalishta*, a unique Bulgarian institution aimed at raising the educational and cultural level of community members. Here is how one British academic describes the concept of *chitalishta*: “The English translation of this word is usually ‘Reading Rooms’ but it is inadequate. The German ‘Kulturheime’ and the cumbersome English ‘Community Centres’ come nearer to capturing the essence of this ... institution. The *chitalishta* provided books and newspapers as well as places in which to read them, but they were also used to stage plays, to conduct meetings, and to present lectures. In many of them adults were taught the rudiments of reading and writing and in later years they were convenient venues for secret, conspiratorial gatherings.” (Crampton 2005, 62)

Parallely to these developments, the publishing business in the contemporary Bulgarian language thrived: books, magazines, newspapers were published both in big cities and in small villages. The Bulgarian standard language emerged gradually from all the publications. Different literary and scholarly associations were founded in big cities, especially in Constantinople and in Romanian cities. In 1869 the Bulgarian Literary Society was founded in Braila (now in Romania) and soon after it became the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences which still exists now and boast a history of a century and a half.

Artistic literature was also written on a large scale. At first it bore the signs of early experimentation but soon poetry and prose of great literary value emerged. The poetry of Hristo Botev written in the 1970s is world-famous for its high artistic value. The novels and short stories by Ivan Vazov, as well as his poems, reached very high popularity and were also praised for their elegance and beauty of the language. He is now called “the Patriarch of Bulgarian literature”. Bulgarian art broke free from the formalism of the previous centuries. The secular paintings of Zahari Zograf quickly gained recognition.

All this cultural awakening received its sublimation in the struggle for ecclesiastical liberation. It was achieved at several stages. In 1870 the Sultan issued a firman and the new Bulgarian exarchate was finally promulgated in 1872. It was separate from the Constantinople Patriarchy.

4. Conclusion

The Bulgarian National Revival was a long and slow process of cultural, socio-economic and political liberation of the Bulgarian people from the long period of oppressed existence in the Ottoman Empire which conquered the Bulgarian Empire in the 1390s and put the Christian population into submission for five centuries.

The Bulgarian revival parallels the revivals of other nations under the rule of the Ottoman Empire or the Russian Empire in many ways but it also has its peculiarities. Its cultural and linguistic emancipation from the Greek-dominated Constantinople Patriarchy proves to be equally important as its political liberation from the Ottoman government. That is why the first Awakeners are writers and religious figures who are also fighters for cultural and spiritual emancipation rather than armed freedom fighters. The rise of Bulgarian education and consciousness are preconditions for the political independence.

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OVERVIEW ON SEVERAL FILMS ABOUT THE ANTI-JAPANESE INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT DURING THE JAPANESE COLONIAL PERIOD

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I. Introduction

This article is an attempt to overview several films about the anti-Japanese independence movement during the Japanese colonial era. In current Korean cinema, the anti-Japanese movement during the Japanese colonial era is portrayed in various ways. The most important thing in this anti-Japanese movement is, of course, the independence movement. In modern Korean cinema, the main motifs to describe the activities of the anti-Japanese independence army are assassination, spying, and betrayal. The films *Assassination* (2015) and *The Age of Shadows* (2016) have these assassination, spies, and betrayal as their main motifs, as the title of the film indicates. The specific aspects in which these motifs are embodied in each work are betrayal and misconception. And in this movie, the aesthetic theme is the theme of the double. This motif of spying, intimidation, and misconception continues in the movie *The Battleship Island* (2017).

Meanwhile, the films *Anarchist from Colony* (2017) and *DONGJU; The Portrait of A Poet* (2015) are characterized by describing the anti-Japanese independence movement in connection with art, specifically literature. The protagonist of the film *narchist from Colony* has an outstanding literary talent and falls in love with a Japanese woman through literature. The protagonist of the movie *DONGJU; The Portrait of A Poet* is Yun Dongju, a poet who occupies an important position in the history of Korean literature. In this film, in addition to the direct anti-Japanese movement, he opposes Japanese imperialism with his own poem.

II. Themes and motifs of a movie about the independence movement during the Japanese colonial period

1. *Assassination* (2015)

The protagonists of this work are Kang In-Guk, a pro-Japanese figure, and his wife who is trying to hide Yeom Seok-jin and help him escape, and Kang In-guk's two twin daughters. One

of the twin daughters escaped with a nanny, and the other was raised by Kang In-guk. Also, the leaders of the independence army, Kim Gu and Kim Won-bong, appear in this film. Kim Won-bong instructs Yeom Seok-jin to assassinate Kawaguchi, the commander of Japanese troops in the Joseon Dynasty, and the pro-Japanese Kang In-guk. Yeom Seok-jin sends an independent sniper Ahn Ok-yoon, bomb expert Hwang Deok-sam, and a rapid-fire gunner from Shinheung Military School to Gyeongseong to carry out the operation. Ahn Ok-yoon meets Pistol Hawaii at the Mirabo Hotel and pretends to be a married couple avoiding Japanese military checkpoints. In fact, Yeom Seok-jin, who was a spy, gave money to the hitman, Hawaiian pistol, and ordered the three people to be killed.

The main theme of this work is the theme of the spy in the anti-Japanese independence movement, and aesthetically, the theme of the double. In the theme of spy, an important act is betrayal. Information by this spy is a key word a key word that determines the success or failure of Korea's anti-Japanese independence movement. This motif means that the enemy of Korea's anti-Japanese independence army was not only Japanese but also internal enemy spy.

Of course, there are also those who have become enemies within the Japanese army for the successful mission of the Korean Independent Army. Therefore, the assassination of the Japanese leader by the Korean independence army is another kind of spy.

The reason the movie *Assassination* is an outstanding work is that it does not unilaterally praise the activities of the anti-Japanese independence army. This film depicts the actions of pro-Japanese spies and pro-Japanese factions within the independence army relatively realistically. In particular, it depicts the historical tragedy of Korea, in which the pro-Japanese spies were not eliminated after independence and the spies during the Japanese colonial rule occupied a key post after independence. The representative figure of this historical tragedy is Yeom Seok-jin. He worked as an independent army during the Japanese colonial era, then turned away and worked as a secret agent for Japan. The prosecution's attempt to punish him as a pro-Japanese actor also fails. He is eventually killed by Ahn Ok-yoon and his past comrades, but the film clearly points out that the side effects of failing to liquidate the Japanese imperialism after liberation continue to this day. This is the reality that Korea is currently experiencing, and the audience can see that historical justice has not yet been fully realized in Korea.

2. *The Age of Shadows* (2016)

Lee Jeong-chul, the protagonist of the movie *The Age of Shadows*, is a Japanese police officer dedicated to arresting the Korean independence army during the Japanese colonial era. He was a national traitor who once joined the independence movement but betrayed them. He meets Kim Woo-jin, one of the leaders of the Euiyeoldan, to find out what is behind the Euiyeoldan's leader. The Japanese police do not believe in Lee Jung-chul and learn that he betrayed him and arrest him and Kim Woo-jin.

In this work, the protagonist Lee Jeong-chul betrayed the Korean independence army at first and became the lead of the Japanese police, and later, on the contrary, betrayed the Japanese police and helped the independence army. In other words, on the one hand, he is a secret agent by the Japanese police, on the other hand, he is a spy by the Korean Independence Army. In other words, he is a person who is located in the so-called "border" that cannot belong to either one or the other.

In this work, the subject of double is still valid. The leaders of the independence army, Kim Woo-jin and Jung Chae-san, were the characters that could be achieved when the protagonist Lee Jeong-chul started the independence movement. In other words, the main characters around him are those who could have been depending on what choice he made in life.

The spy and betrayal are not only for the protagonist Lee Jeong-chul. There was also a spy inside the independence army, secreting important information to the Japanese police. In other words, there was an internal enemy in the independence army. This work also speaks of the fact that it was the internal enemy, that is, the Korean spy for Japan, that was a decisive obstacle to the activities of the Korean independence army in the struggle against Japanese imperialism. Of course, the protagonist eventually betrays the Japanese police by helping the independence army's activities.

One thing that is notable in this film aesthetically is the scene of a banquet at the end of the film. At this party, Higashi, the general manager of the Japanese police stationed in Chosun, was murdered. At this time, the content of the shooting shot and the atmosphere of the music do not match. It seems to have been influenced by the cross-editing of the opera and murder in the movie *The Godfather*.

3. *Anarchist from Colony* (2017)

In this film, it is literature that connects the protagonist Park Yeol and Japanese lover Fumiko Kaneko. This is because Kaneko, who read Park Yeol's poem, wanted to meet him. In this work, Park Yeol's lover, Fumiko Kaneko, is not simply a woman who loves Park Yeol, but she appears as a partner who shares literature with Park Yeol and the anti-Japanese resistance movement. In other words, the anti-Japanese movement of Park Yeol, the main character of this film, is characterized by unfolding through life and art.

It is also a work that faithfully differs from the formula of the commercial film narrative in the film *Anarchist from Colony*. The protagonist, Park Yeol, is portrayed more heroically than the protagonist in other films about the anti-Japanese independence movement. Wherever he exists, he is the center and the hero. He is the head of his own organization, and he acts heroically without being struck by prison. He even showed that he did not lose his dignified posture in front of Japanese prosecutor Datemas, and the prosecutor was rather atrophy.

The subject of spy and betrayal affairs remains in this work. This is because the group organized by the protagonist Park Yeol aims to punish Koreans who are loyal to Japan and betray their country. However, the heroic behavior of the protagonist Park Yeol is relatively more prominent in this film. If the symbol that played an important role in the film *The Age of Shadows* and *Assassination* mentioned above is a photograph as a historical record or a photograph as a key to solving a case, the important item in the film *Anarchist from Colony* is a letter sent between the main character and his lover. These letters themselves become a literary work. Whereas their love begins with poetry, the development of love is a prose letter. Love that started romantically continued without weakening in the face of real hardships.

Another notable theme of this work is the emperor's demystification. Even in modern Japan, references to the taboo status of the emperor are straightforward in this film. Protagonist Park Yeol emphasizes in front of the prosecutor and in the court that the emperor is also just an ordinary human. This is because the emperor's demystification is what shakes the legitimacy of Japanese colonial rule.

4. *DONGJU; The Portrait of A Poet* (2015)

There are two main characters in the movie *DONGJU; The Portrait of A Poet*. The protagonists are Yun Dong-ju, a poet who occupies an important position in the modern Korean

literature history, and Song Mong-gyu, who, unlike Yun Dong-ju, was deeply immersed in communism and focused on moving ideas into action. Both of them had outstanding literary talents, but it was Yun Dong-ju who eventually blossomed his literary talents. Both of them study in Japan and participate in the independence movement in different ways.

What sets this film apart from other films about the anti-Japanese independence movement is that it talks about a young talent that has not blossomed due to the historical environment of Japanese colonization. Due to Japanese colonial rule, Joseon lost many things and had to suffer numerous tragic events, but the biggest loss that is not seen in reality is that many young talents were not exhibited due to Japanese colonial rule and disappeared. Yun Dong-ju and Song Mong-gyu were born young people with outstanding talents, literary and academically ahead of their time, but the historical background of Japanese colonial rule did not allow them to freely exercise their dreams.

It is also important that this film talks about the Inhuman in vivo experiment conducted by Japan. Dong-ju and Mong-gyu, imprisoned on charges of rebellion, are given an unknown injection before they die. After three injections, the two people who showed physical abnormalities eventually die. This film depicts one of the most inhuman and cruel acts that Japan had committed against Koreans and other Asian nations, through the two main characters.

5. *The Battleship Island* (2017)

This film has a spatial background on an island called the Battleship Island. In other words, this work depicts the tragedy of the Japanese colonial period through the reduced space of an island. To use Eisenstein's terminology, this work begins with an individual description and reaches a universal theme.

In this movie, it turns out that the person who was recognized as a leader among the Koreans was actually a secret agent for Japan. Therefore, one of the main motifs of this film is spying and betrayal. In addition, this work depicts the anti-Japanese independence movement through an act of escape from an island to land, utilizing the spatial characteristics of an island. In other words, the escape from the island of the Battleship Island is also an escape from Japanese colonial rule. In addition, the performance, that is, the motif of art, is inserted into this work with the appearance of Lee Gang-ok, the head of the Bando hotel Bandmaster in Gyeongseong city, as the protagonist. This film is promoting the performance as a way of survival under the anti-Japanese movement or Japanese colonial rule.

In addition, this film visually emphasizes the tragic life of Koreans during the Japanese colonial period by depicting the scenes of Koreans working in coal mines, that is, mainly underground, on the Battleship Island. In other words, the place where Koreans spend most of their time in this movie is underground, not on the ground. These spatial characteristics visually tell how much suffering Koreans suffered under Japanese colonial rule.

III. Conclusion

So far, I have analyzed the Korean films *Assassination*, *The Age of Shadows*, *Anarchist from Colony*, *DONGJU*; *The Portrait of A Poet*, and *The Battleship Island* in an overview based on the anti-Japanese independence movement. As mentioned above, the common themes of these works are spying and betrayal. This means that the obstacle to the anti-Japanese independence movement was not only Japan, an external enemy, but also an internal adversary.

In order to enrich the thematic and content aspects of films, the subject of art can be found in some works, and in particular, it can be seen that literature was the important art that made it possible to endure the Japanese colonial period. Among the works discussed in this paper, except for the film *The Battleship Island*, which has a relatively strong patriotic tendency, all four of the other works describe the reality of the anti-Japanese independence movement relatively realistically. This is because, unlike movies about the existing anti-Japanese independence movement, these works are relatively faithful to the Korean spies who participated in the annihilation of the independence movement.

Movies based on the anti-Japanese independence movement currently occupy a more important position in the history of Korean cinema. Therefore, more in-depth research is required on the works of this subject.

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**POETS AND NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT:
YI YUK SA AND ILIA CHAVCHAVADZE**

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Abstract

Many countries around the world have been subjected to imperial aggression and have lost their independence for years or decades in of recent history. Korean peninsula was colonized by Imperial Japan in yearly 20th century for over three decades, while Georgia was forcefully incorporated into Tsarist Russia in the end of ninetieth century.

Intellectuals and poets played an important role in reviving national identity and desire for freedom in both countries. This paper introduces prominent Korean writer and poet Yi Yuk Sa, known as resistance poet in Korea, and tries to draw parallels with a distinguished Georgian writer and poet Ilia Chavchavadze.

Interestingly, both poets, despite having noble ancestry, become important independence activists with an appeal to ordinary people. In their works they both choose metaphor as the main tool of expression and do so with beautiful poetry that ignites the hearts of many people.

Beloved by their fellow countrymen, Ilia and Yi leave a long lasting reflection in the hearts of Georgian and Korean people.

Keywords: Yi Yuk Sa, Ilia Chavchavadze, Independence movement

Georgia and Korea have had their independence taken away by dominant neighboring countries in their recent histories. While in case of Georgia, it was the Tsarist Russia, Korea was colonized by the Imperial Japan.

Through different tools and policies colonial powers tried to assimilate their subjects into their realm, trying to weaken national identity of the people. Although Benedict Anderson argues that a nation is “an imagined community”, and that a nation is a social construct, imagined by the people who perceive themselves as part of the nation (Anderson 1983). For nations with histories spanning millennia such as Korea and Georgia, Anthony Smith’s

concepts seem more applicable. Smith (1999) argues that a nation is not just a construct, but a specific population sharing a historic territory, historical experience and memories, culture, economy and legal rights and duties. He emphasizes that cultural and historical link between individuals within nation plays an important role. In this context the work of intellectuals that is available for wider public has the power to nourish the nationalistic sentiment.

During the hard times when colonial powers try to assimilate their subjects through specific policies that change their lifestyle and social structures, it is up to intellectuals, writers and poets to reach the people and ignite national solidarity by reminding them of their roots, shared history and culture. Through their work they try rebuild the national identity and revive historical memories.

National poetry has played an important role among many nations struggling for independence from dominant powers (Aberbach 2003). The world history has seen many nations struggle for independence and although political and socio-psychological circumstance are different, the role of nationalistic poets in reviving nationalistic sentiment among suppressed population was not only through their poetry or works, but also their passion and engagement in independence movements.

This paper introduces the life a Korean poet, Yi Won Rok (known as Yi Yuk Sa), a symbol of anti-Japanese resistance on the Korean peninsula, and tries to draw parallels with a Georgian poet, Iliia Chavchavadze, who played a very important role in the revival of Georgia's nationalism amid Russian dominance.

Two poets were born decades apart. Yi Yuk Sa was born Yi Won Rok in 1904 in Andong, Kyeongsang province of Korea. Being a descendant of a prominent Confucian scholar-philosopher of the Choseon Dynasty, Yi Hwang, Yi was born into a family with long tradition of scholarship. It was only one year later that Japan-Korea Protectorate Treaty was signed, paving the way for Japan-Korea Annexation Treaty of 1910.

Yi spent his childhood in Andong and moved to Daegu in 1920 with his family, where he studied at a private high school. In, 1923 Yi left for Japan and attended university, but returned to Korea after only one year. Although, there is no consensus regarding the information as to which university did Yi attend, or whether he was enrolled in some kind of preparatory course (Kim 2012). His Japanese experience and his stay in Japan has played a crucial role for Yi when it comes to comprehending the problems of his nation (Kim 2004).

Upon returning to Korea in 1924, Yi, along with his brothers, joined Uiyoldan, an independence movement organization founded in 1919 as a response to Japanese repression of

Korean Independence movement. Soon, under Uildan mission he went to Beijing, from where he coordinated Uildan's operations in Korea. In 1926 he entered the Beijing Academy to pursue commercial studies, but when visiting Korea was arrested in relation to Daegu Bank bombing organized by Uildan. Yi was sentenced to 3 years, which he served fully until 1929 and after being released exiled to China. It is commonly agreed among many scholars that later on it was the prisoner number 264 (pronounced Yi Yuk Sa in Korean) from his first imprisonment that he chose as his pen name.

Back in China, Yi entered Beijing University's department of sociology and continued to participate in independence movement activities against Japanese in Manchuria and China (Park 2016). After returning to Korea in 1933, Yi started to publish poems, work on literary reviews, editorials, and translations. It was since this time that Yi chose a different approach to his independence activism. Instead of militaristic struggle, he chose his words and his work as the main weapon for the fight against the Japanese imperialism. Yi started to write and published poems with subtle nationalistic messages as to avoid censorship.

Up until the end of the Japanese rule Yi Yuk Sa's is thought to have fought for the preservation of national consciousness and has been referred to as the poet of the resistance (Park 2016). His work was based on nationalistic ideas and his rebellion against the Japanese imperialism was consistent and strongly willed.

Throughout his short lifetime, Yi was prisoned over 17 times, Yi passed away in 1944 while in exile in China.

Ilia Chavchavadze was born in 1837 to a noble Georgian family in Kvareli, Kakheti region of Georgia, which at the time was part of the Russian empire since 1801. He was a third son to a family with famous ancestors and paternal line with military background. Although his elementary education was by deacon of the village, being a child of educated and patriotic parents Ilia was introduced to classical literature, history and poetry since early childhood. He received his secondary education after moving to Tbilisi, where he attended Academy for Nobility and went on to study Law at St. Petersburg University in Russia from 1857 to 1861.

Ilia Chavchavadze started to write from a young age, but his prominent works with nationalistic and nation-building motives were created after his student years in Russia. One of such works, "Letters of a Traveler", is a masterpiece that narrates the importance of nation-building. It "represents a radical change in the role of language, and especially folk language, in the imagining of such larger social totalities as "nations" and "peoples" (Manning 2004).

While in Georgia, Ilia became very active politically as well. 1863 he started publishing

“Sakartvelos Moambe” journal, which despite the heavy censorship, became a beacon for the national independence movement (*Biographical Dictionary, National Parliamentary Library of Georgia*). His work was not limited to creation of literary works and political activism, he was also involved with the education of youth programs and played a crucial role in establishing Georgian national schools and education sciences.

Chavchavadze became known as a prominent writer, poet, publicist, editor, and cultural reformer. Writing at a time when a Georgian print culture and intelligentsia were emerging from the manuscript culture and court sociability of the nobility, he straddled both spheres as noble and writer of poetic manuscripts and printed prose for the ordinary people.

Ilia Chavchavadze was assassinated by unknown parties in 1907 along with his wife. Known to Georgians simply as "Ilia," Ch'avch'avadze was made a Georgian Orthodox saint in the last years of Soviet power, and to this day he remains the central authoritative figure for Georgian nationalists (Manning 2004).

Continents apart, two poets had somewhat similar social backgrounds. Chavchavadze was a son to a famous noble family of Georgia, while Yi was a descendant of Korean noble family with long scholarly tradition. Both families were known to be with strong patriotic sentiment and zest for education. This patriotic upbringing and access to scholarship played an important role in forming the personalities of two poets.

A second commonality in the lives of two poets is that both became actively engaged in the independence movement after studying abroad experiences. Yi joined Uildan organization upon returning to Korea from Japan, and Chavchavadze wrote his masterpiece “The travelers letters”, which could be considered as a turning point in Chavchavadze’s work, after graduating from a Russian university. Both poets became prominent figures in their respective societies through their literary work and political or social activities after their experiences in colonizing countries.

Both, Yi and Chavchavadze played important roles in inspiring their people and igniting resistance by addressing the ordinary people, despite being from the upper classes of the society. According to Manning (2012), Chavchavadze’s writing style bridged the gap between high Georgian and the new Georgian, more accessible for the masses. Yi wrote essays and poems that touched the hearts of ordinary people and became a beloved resistance poet of all Koreans.

When exploring their literary works it becomes apparent that both authors use metaphorical, rather than metonymic expressions. Analysis of Ilia Chavchavadze’s works has shown that his works are based on unification of objects and events based on metaphoric

principles. Metaphors unite objects and events that are not directly correlated and the author assigns the connections based on analogy. The expression of metaphorical principle in Iliā Chavchavadze's works among others combine, on the one hand, artistic, and on the other- didactic, political and philosophical functions. (Lomidze, 2019).

For Yi, metaphors are an important tool of expression as well. Similar trend of expressing complex ideas through metaphor can be observed in his poems, his famous nationally beloved poem, "Green Grapes" is an illustration for such trend in his work.

The month of July at my home
Is the season when ripen green grapes.

The village legend mellows in clusters,
And the far dreamy sky enters each bead.

As the blue sea bares her bosom to the sky,
A boat with a white sail will come adrift.

And my longed-for guest will finally arrive
With his weary limbs, all draped in green.

Feasting on the grapes to welcome him,
I shall gladly let my both hands get wet.

Prepare on our table, my dear boy,
White ramie kerchiefs on a silver tray.

As metaphors, unlike metonyms require synthesis rather than analysis we need to remember that perception of metaphors is related to common experiences of a specific group of people or nations. For example, in the word green grape, "green" in Korean language "Cheong" color is used, which is more of a blue color rather than green. This color symbolizes peace, harmony and happiness. This and similar association would not necessarily be apparent

to readers in other parts of the world, however by the virtue of shared national experience Korean people have very strong connection to the following poem and perceive its metaphors as outlined below.

In this poem Yi uses metaphors in order to express the longing for freedom of his country. We can see in the first part of the poem he talks about green grape ripening season, legend and far dreamy sky – these can be metaphors for the current state of mind –anticipation. He continues on to draw the current space as a place from where the dream is far away through the metaphors of blue sea, a boat with the white sail.

In the second part of the poem Yi he describes the freedom that is to come as a longed-for guest that will finally arrive. He shows his belief in what is coming by explicitly saying that he is ready to welcome the guest and would gladly get his hands wet, prepare the table white kerchiefs.

Yi's poems are famous to Korean readers as very vivid and colorful and are generally easily associated with the independence struggle of that period. Both, Yi's and Chavchavadze's works use the metaphor as the main tool of expression as this makes the poems "encoded" for the audiences that can synthesize these metaphors and understand far more than what the literal text means.

There are many areas to be explored and many parallels can be drawn between Korean and Georgian writers and poets of the colonial struggle. This paper was a first attempt to start this discussion and compare two national authors of Georgia and Korea. Further research is warranted in order to evaluate closeness of our nations' historical experiences and cultures.

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**INTELLECTUALS AS AGENTS OF SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION:
BASED ON EARLY MODERN LITERARY WORKS FROM KOREA AND
BULGARIA**

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Abstract

Yi Kwang-su is credited with his significant contribution to the formation of the modern Korean literature. Aleko Konstantinov's role in the history of Bulgarian literature is similar. Both authors are representatives of countries that at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century were exposed to the intense influence of foreign powers and were put in a position of having "to catch up with the others" by introducing radical changes to their societies. The reforms were predominantly aimed at improving the material conditions in the country but they had profound implications on the immaterial culture – education, ethics, traditions, religion and identity.

Both Yi Kwang-su and Aleko Konstantinov, in their works, reflect on the effect of the social changes on the individuals, on the consequences of the conflict between the old and the new trends in the society and on the ways to cope with the dynamic developments. Even though, the general themes are similar, each author approaches them differently. The merits of analyzing these approaches comparatively include reaching a more thorough understanding of the processes of modernization of the society and their influence on the national literature, gaining new insights into each author's treatment of the problems, personal philosophy and thought, discerning methods and conditions that are unique to the particular author or national literature, etc.

Applying the method of comparative analysis to works that have already been widely researched provides different perspective that can enrich our understanding of the underlying currents in both world and national literatures.

Keywords: Korean Modernity, Bulgarian Modernity, Intellectuals, Social Transformation

The modes of life brought into being by modernity have swept us away from all traditional types of social order, in quite unprecedented fashion. In both their extensionality and their intentionality the transformations involved in modernity are more profound than most sorts of change characteristic of prior periods. On the extensional plane they have served to establish forms of social interconnection which span the globe; in intentional terms they have come to alter some of the most intimate and personal features of our day-to-day existence.

(Giddens 1990, 4)

In the era of intensive global communication, with international and intercultural contacts and influences becoming unavoidable part of everyday life, adhering to familiar modes of existence becomes increasingly difficult. Contemporary societies are constantly impacted by factors originating long distances across the globe and forced to adjust to new realities. The dynamic changes challenge the modern individual to continually reevaluate his/her way of being, abandon established, familiar things and accommodate new ones. In various academic fields, the socially imposed need for openness, exploration and transformation has prompted interest into the study of the contents and processes of social and individual change on the one hand, and the nature of identity on the other. Along with that, efforts to expand the scope of the discussion to incorporate societies and cultures outside the Eurocentric Western domain have been intensifying.

In line with the above-mentioned tendencies, the current study analyses the problems of the processes brought about by modernity in the societies of Korea and Bulgaria, as they are introduced and interpreted in seminal works of the two countries' national literatures.

1. Korean and Bulgarian Modernities

"Modernity" refers to modes of social life or organisation which emerged in Europe from about the seventeenth century onwards and which subsequently became more or less worldwide in their influence" (Giddens 1990, 1). This definition suggests that any exploration into the period and the phenomena of modernity cannot bypass discussing the West, namely Western Europe and subsequently other earlier modernized territories, like North America.

Comparing literary interpretations of the modernization processes in Korea and Bulgaria is in reality a comparison of the ways in which Western influences on Korean and Bulgarian societies are reflected in literary works. Even though, this study in its essence, focusses on national literatures that are not widely known in global context, it cannot avoid debating the historically objective fact of Western Europe's cultural, technological and political influence on the bigger part of the world. As David Scott (2005, 24) points out "...the "decentering" of Europe – ought not to be confused (as I think it very often is) with programmatically ignoring Europe, as though by doing so one would have resolved the problem of Eurocentrism."

Bulgaria is geographically nearer to Western Europe than Korea, but at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, civilizationally it was quite remote from the European centers of modernization due to the five-century-long occupation of the country by the Ottoman Empire. Even before the liberation in 1878, many elements of modernity, like material goods, press and elements of Western education started penetrating the country's isolation. After the liberation, the Great Powers at the Berlin Congress (13th June – 13th July 1878) decided to divide Bulgaria into several parts, fearing the "the appearance of a too powerful Russian ally in the Balkans" (Koseva, Zhelyazkova and Hajdinjak 2011, 85) While building the newly liberated nation, the country had to strive for its unification, which ultimately was only achieved partially. At a similar period in history, Korea was also negatively influenced by foreign powers and was struggling to keep its independence, which was ultimately lost to Japan. The country had to undergo the contradictory process of modernizing itself while being colonized. Structuring the nation and the national identity in the midst of foreign oppression brought additional turmoil to the society. Different elements of modernization were flooding Korea through the occupiers and through direct contacts with the West. The chaotic

At approximately the same time, Korea and Bulgaria found themselves swept by the forces of modernization which affected deeply their societies and people. Both countries were in a troubled position dealing with threats to their national security while striving to establish themselves as modern nations with all the attributes of the modern nation-state – well defined territory, history, language, institutions, etc. The two countries were in a situation of having to "catch up" with both their neighbors and the Western countries, from where the influences were coming predominantly. The processes of discontinuing long-established traditions and ways of life and adopting their modern substitutes were met with both enthusiasm and resistance. On the one hand, the modernization brought numerous improvements into the life

of people, but on the other hand, the unavoidable parting with tradition became a cause for insecurity and concern. The Korean poet Choi Namseon in his poem “From the Sea to the Boy” (1908) describes the modernization as an unstoppable incoming wave that talks threateningly to a little boy, who is often interpreted to symbolize the Korean people. The disturbing confusion and anxiety caused by modernity are well described by Marshal Berman (1988, 15):

THERE IS a mode of vital experience-experience of space and time, of the self and others, of life's possibilities and perils - that is shared by men and women all over the world today. I will call this body of experience "modernity." To be modern is to find ourselves in an environment that promises us adventure, power, joy, growth, transformation of ourselves and the world - and, at the same time, that threatens to destroy everything we have, everything we know, everything we are. Modern environments and experiences cut across all boundaries of geography and ethnicity, of class and nationality, of religion and ideology: in this sense, modernity can be said to unite all mankind. But it is a paradoxical unity, a unity of disunity: it pours us all into a maelstrom of perpetual disintegration and renewal, of struggle and contradiction, of ambiguity and anguish. To be modern is to be part of a universe in which, as Marx said, "all that is solid melts into air".

While modernity and modern literature have been extensively investigated in both Korea and Bulgaria in the contexts of national history, literary history and in relation to the foreign (Western) influences that triggered the modern transformation, a study comparing how the parallel processes of modernization are reflected and creatively interpreted in the literature of both countries has not been done. The study of the period of modernity offers abundant sources for identifying the social processes of radical transformation and their effect on individuals and all areas of life. It also provides insights into the role of the intellectuals in crucial for the society time, while also illuminating the different ways of creative interpretation of the ongoing processes and underscoring the social role of literature. The social function of literature for interpreting the events in the society, inspiring, guiding and educating readers is one of the main problems in the focus of this study.

The comparative analysis of literary works from different parts of the world that treat similar phenomena stemming from the same cause (originating in a third remote region) can shed light on problems that had not been identified so far and can enrich our understanding of

the underlying currents in both world and national literatures.

2. Yi Kwangsu's *Mujeong* and Aleko Konstantnov's *Bai Ganyo: Incredible Tales of a Modern Bulgarian*

Mujeong is often touted as the first modern novel in Korea. It was published in 1917 and from the very beginning of the appearance of its first few chapters in the *Maeil Shinbo* daily newspaper, it became a national sensation. The novel enjoyed great popularity among the public and its author Yi Kwangsu gained the status of a celebrity. The success of the novel can be attributed to Yi Kwangsu's literary talent and his ability to tell the story in a way that keeps provoking the interest of the readers waiting eagerly for the publication of the novel's next chapter, but it can also be explained with the fact that the work treats problems that were in the center of people's lives and attention. The story is built around the main character Yi Hyeongsik⁴⁷ and his two love interests – Yeongchae and Seonhyeong. Yeongchae is the daughter of Hyeongsik's benefactor who raised him and provided him with good education. It was Yeongchae's father's desire, for Hyeongsik and Yeongchae to get married. Yeongchae's father goes to prison unfairly accused of something he did not do. Yeongchae tries to fulfil her duty as a pious daughter to save her father and becomes a *kisaeng* in order to make money to secure his release. Unfortunately, he dies before she can help him. Seonhyeong, on the other hand, comes from a well-off family. Her father is an elder at a Christian church. The family lives in a big Western style house. Seonhyeong has received Western education and is preparing to go to continue her studies in the United States. Critics often interpret the two female characters as representative of the traditional order and the modern social reality. Much of the story is driven by the conflict of the old and the new values, worldviews, modes of behavior, etc. The conflicts are resolved usually by the new prevailing over the old with the narrator sometimes directly explaining to the reader the reasons for that. At the end, Hyeongsik marries Seonhyeong, while Yeongchae undergoes a radical transformation of identity from someone strictly abiding by the traditional Confucian norms to a modern woman with pronounced individuality and in charge of her own life. The extensive concluding remarks of the novel are filled with enthusiasm about the future of Korea which is in the hands of such wonderful educated modern young people like the characters of *Mujeong*.

⁴⁷ All quotations from *Mujeong* are from Ann Sun-hi Lee's English translation of the novel (Lee 2005), but the transcription of the Korean names is changed to the Revised Romanization standard.

At first glance, Aleko Konstantinov's *Bai Ganyo: Incredible Tales of a Modern Bulgarian* is very different from *Mujeong*. The work consists of numerous anecdotes about the travels and social activities of Bai Ganyo, a shrewd, selfish and petty travelling merchant, selling rose oil. Many of the anecdotes describe his journeys to major cities in Western Europe where he sells his rose oil. Ignorant, rude and completely oblivious to the peculiarities of foreign cultures, wherever he goes, he manages to create embarrassing situations, while proudly boasting for being Bulgarian. To Bai Ganyo the traditional Bulgarian customs, behavior and worldview are the only correct and reasonable ones. That is why he often mocks everything that is different. Bai Ganyo is also stingy and uses every opportunity to gain profit at the expense of others. While highly embarrassing, the situations that Bai Ganyo creates are also humorous and entertaining. The stories are interesting to read. Bai Ganyo is a formidable character. His shrewdness, impertinence and ability to always find a way to use others for his own good make him a memorable anecdotal character. He uses colorful language – a mixture of dialect, standard language and loan words from Turkish, Romanian, Russian, etc. In many ways he is representative of the stereotype of a man from the Orient (without this being overtly stipulated in the literary work), referencing the heritage of the five-century long occupation of Bulgaria by the Ottoman empire⁴⁸. Nowadays, the character Bai Ganyo has left Aleko Konstantinov's anecdotes and lives outside of them. There are countless stories by anonymous authors featuring Bai Ganyo. The character has become a symbol of the Bulgarian feeling inadequate in foreign environment. This phenomenon can be interpreted as a national complex or self-criticism grown to extreme. There are psychological, ethnographic, philosophical studies on the subject but so far there has not been one that could gain wide acceptance in explaining why Bulgarians enjoy perpetuating a negative image of themselves. The narrator of each anecdote is a different character in the story (a homodiegetic narrator (Genette 1980, 54) who happened to meet Bai Ganyo during his travels and witnessed the events told in the anecdote. The narrating characters are sitting together telling each other funny stories about Bai Ganyo. They are identified by names but no other information is given about them. They

⁴⁸ In 19th century, the influx of Western ideas, emboldened some of the subjects of the Ottoman empire in the occupied territories. Writing, trying to define the civilizational differences between Westerners and Turks appeared. An anonymous author in Greece, for example, defended the thesis that; "At the heart of the Turkish character was its incapacity of being civilized." (Exertzoglou 2007, 13), while another, "Scarlatos Vyzantios, on the other hand, sketched them sympathetically for the very reason that he found them untainted by western civilization. Europeans, he claimed, were not in a position to understand the true nature of the Turk, which escaped them entirely" (Exertzoglou 2007, 14).

do not differ much in voice and mode of telling the story. All of them are amused, and at the same time, embarrassed by Bai Ganyo. They narrate with an air of superiority over their compatriot. It is implied that all of them know much better how to behave when interacting with foreigners in a foreign environment. It is possible that the narrative style of the work is what saves it from easily being judged as offensive to the national character. Still, since the appearance of the literary work, Aleko Konstantinov has been criticized for presenting and even instilling an overly negative aspects of the national identity. These critical voices, though, are drowned in the immense popularity that the stories of Bai Ganyo have had since their creation until now.

Very different in form and contents, the two literary works from Korea and Bulgaria are similar in treating positively the elements of modern society, while criticizing and refuting the traditional order. This is not just an underlying tendency in the narrative but a dominating theme in each work. Discussing author's intention amounts to a taboo in contemporary literary criticism. Solely based on the texts, it would be reckless to assert that Yi Kwangsu and Aleko Konstantinov use the platform of popular literature to educate people and to influence them to take the side of modernity in the conflict between old and new. However, there are accounts by the authors themselves and by their contemporaries that both of them did have the intention to write literature for the literature's sake but were rather well aware of the social impact of their texts⁴⁹. Even if the authors themselves were somehow not conscious of their own influence but rather wrote their works out of sheer inspiration, the fact that *Mujeong* and *Bai Ganyo: Incredible Tales of a Modern Bulgarian* have had a strong effect on generations of readers still remains.

Creating popular literature is in itself a form of social power and a means to “govern” people. In his analytical summary of Foucault's concept of “governmentality”, Inda (2005, 1) states that “...the term “government” generally refers to the conduct of conduct – that is to all those more or less calculated and systematic ways of thinking and acting that aim to shape, regulate, or manage the comportment of others, whether these be workers in a factory, inmates in a prison, wards in a mental hospital, the inhabitants of a territory, or the members of a

⁴⁹ Yi Kwangsu accounts that he never intended to become a writer of literary works, but rather a journalist (Jeong 2007, 6). He turned to literature because he discovered the power of the text “that contains emotion” to reach readers.

The famous Bulgarian writer and religious leader, a contemporary of Aleko Konstantinov, Petar Danov criticized him that even though he had the good intention to educate the readers by creating the character of Bai Ganyo, “he ultimately did more harm than good” (Petar Danov, n.d.).

population. Understood in this way, “government” designates not just the activities of the state and its institutions but more broadly any rational effort to influence or guide the conduct of human beings through acting upon their hopes, desires, circumstance, or environment.” In a similar consideration Scott (2005, 43) is searching for “those transformations effected by modern power, the consequence of which is that the old, premodern possibilities are not only no longer conceptually approachable except in the languages of the modern, but are now no longer available as practical historical options.” Modernity takes root in the society through various agents that exercise the power of transformation and literature is one of them. Therefore, *Mujeong* and *Bai Ganyo: Incredible Tales of a Modern Bulgarian* are not only innovative engaging works of literature but also act as social agents of modernity by presenting the reader with covert logical, aesthetic and emotional arguments for the need to accept the changes brought about by the modern forces.

The above-mentioned underlying arguments for modernity are interwoven in the form and the contents of the works in question. As indicated above, *Mujeong* was published in series in the *Maeil Shinbo* daily newspaper. The newspaper itself is a product of modernity, allowing news from all over the world to be delivered fast to the readers. The space of the newspaper is filled with information on the latest occurrences and the newest things in the society. As it reports predominantly on facts, it indirectly gives more credibility on the fiction published on its pages and makes it easier for the reader to connect it with real life. The reader has no control over the speed with which he/she can cover the whole story as it comes regularly in pieces, with each one containing different events, much like life itself.

Bai Ganyo: Incredible Tales of a Modern Bulgarian was originally published in parts in different issues of the *Misul* literary magazine. The magazine was published by the *Misul* literary circle, which members had the goal of creating modern Bulgarian literature and literary criticism by following the most recent literary developments in Western Europe. The space of the magazine was by definition devoted to the promotion of modern aesthetics, literary and philosophical thought and it only contributed to the themes and ideas of the work.

Many observations have been made on the language of *Mujeong*. One of Yi Kwangsu’s biggest contributions to modern Korean literature and the Korean language is the use of modern vernacular style. The way characters address each other also reflects the changing social practices at the time, as men addressing women respectfully, avoiding making discrimination in speech based on social class, etc. “New ideologies of gender rewrite social practices of language.” (Lee 2005, 65).

As *Bai Ganyo: Incredible Tales of a Modern Bulgarian* was written only six years after the liberation of Bulgaria from the Ottoman empire's dominion but by that time the literary language was already established because of the centuries-old Bulgarian writing tradition and the numerous works of literature – poems and prose, as well as journalist writing that appeared since the middle of nineteenth century. Aleko Konstantinov contribution in terms of language specifics is the rich and colorful expressiveness of Bai Ganyo's speech. The mixture of words from different languages make references to his travels, the abundant Turkish vocabulary reminds of the old times and the new modern vocabulary signifies the changes in the society.

A closer look at the narrative structure of both literary works, especially with emphasis on character development and setting, can provide more insights into the specific ways in which they treat the elements of modernity and promote modern ideas.

The female characters in *Mujeong* reference the traditional order and the new social organization which at the time of the publishing of the novel was in the process of spreading and taking roots in Korea. Seonhyeong's character does not undergo much change throughout the novel but Yeongchae goes through a complete change of identity. With the help of Pyeonguk, who is another female character, "a new woman" with modern outlook on life and pronounced feminist, Yeongchae manages to understand how outdated and even detrimental her views on women, relationships and family are. Her ideas of filial piety, chastity and a woman's inferiority to men lead her to become *kisaeng* and almost push her to take her own life, after she was sexually violated. Pyeonguk helps her see herself as a free human being, unbound by the old Confucian ideas and traditional norms. Based on the feminist ideas, expressed covertly and overtly by Yi Kwangsu in *Mujeong*, Song (1997, 260) even defines the literary work as a "novel, meant for educating women" and Lee (1992) calls it a "feminist text" and "Bildungsroman". Yeonchae meets Pyeonguk on a train on her way to Pyongyang where she was going to throw herself into the Taedong river. Pyeonguk helps Yeongchae wash her eyes which had some coal dust in dust that got there when she was looking out the window. The act of washing is interpreted as washing off the old self and making the condition for being reborn, a reference to the Christian ritual of baptizing, which also has the meaning of someone being reborn. Not knowing where Yeongchae is after she has been raped, for a while Hyeongsik thinks that she is dead. These events signify Yeongchae's old identity's symbolic death, and her coming to life again as a modern woman (Han 2009, 95-97).

Hyeongsik's character also undergoes significant transformation. At the beginning of the novel, Hyeongsik is presented as a rather innocent and unsophisticated young English

teacher. After being asked to tutor Seonhyeong, he has the opportunity for the first time in his life to enter a Western-style house and come in touch with people who have received Western education and have adopted to a great extent the modern way of life. Hyeongsik is fascinated by the experience. He also comes to like Seonhyeong. Throughout the novel he is contradicted by his duty, stemming from Confucian morals, to marry Yeongchae and by his desire to pursue a relationship with Seonhyeong. He is often presented as a good-hearted but confused, naïve and indecisive young man. After trying his best, to take care of Yeongchae, he also realizes that it is not necessary to follow the traditional ways and be bound by the Confucian understanding of duty, and together with Seonhyeong sets out on his way to the United States to get better education.

Mujeong ends with all the young modern-minded characters meeting accidentally on a train and getting off to help flood victims on the way. In these young people, the narrator sees the bright future of Korea.

The radical transformation that some of the characters undergo in the novel *Mujeong* is closely dependent on the setting where the changes occur. In a related study (Atanasova 2016, 397-416), I have shown the connections between places pertaining to modernity and transformations in the characters' identity. Modern places in *Mujeong* function as *heterotopia* (Foucault 1986, 22-27) in relation to places, perceived as sites of tradition. The major changes in Hyeongsik and Yeongchae's identities occur in Elder Kim's modern house and on the train. These are the places that the author has described in most detail. In fact, descriptions of other places are almost absent in the novel. The events that move the story forward also occur in these two locations. Compared to other episodes, occurring in other places, the action in Elder Kim's house and especially on the train is characterized with far greater dynamism. The conflicts and the unresolved entanglements in the story, all get solved on the train.

Moving through (conquering) the territory with great speed, being in itself a secluded space, isolated from all the known world, with no analogue in the traditional society, the train is endowed with almost supernatural qualities. The identity transformation itself can be analyzed using Van Gennep's study of the rites of passage (Gennep 1977). The rite has three stages – separation, transformation and incorporation. A person goes through a ritual (wedding, graduation, etc.) with a certain identity, separating itself from the everyday tasks to participate in the ceremony and emerges from it having acquired a new identity and being qualified to act with a new role in the society. Changes in the characters' identities in *Mujeong* undergo similar processes with the heterotopia serving as places of separation for the transformation stage.

Employing peculiar techniques for character development and using the places of modernity as sites of personal growth and conflict resolution, making them seem like a fantastic realms with endless possibilities, instills positive perceptions and inspires the readers about the possibilities brought about by modernity.

While Yi Kwangsu's characters undergo positive transformation and open themselves to the opportunities of the new social order, Aleko Konstantinov's Bai Ganyo remains stuck in his old ways and proves to be incapable of comprehending modern reality. Bai Ganyo travels to Austria, Germany, Belgium, Switzerland, Czech, Hungary, etc. He visits some of the biggest cities in Europe, centers of world civilization and yet he remains blind to all he witnesses, his only concern being how to show off and prove that he is better than everyone else. He completely disregards all aspects of otherness and dismisses everything pertaining to spirituality and culture. Bai Ganyo is shown to be centered entirely on his bodily needs, being concerned mainly about food and physical comfort.

In relation to Bulgaria, as a place, Bai Ganyo's travel destinations serve as *heterotopias* as they have the capability to mirror and invert the perception of the qualities (and therefore the qualities themselves) of other places. Bai Ganyo's character, though, never goes through transformation (as the narrator characters in the stories have done) as he never undergoes the stage of separation in the symbolic rite of passage. The second, liminal stage is where the transition occurs. It is characterized by dynamic changes, instability, uncertain order, etc. Bai Ganyo is unwilling to leave the safety of his convictions and that is why his behavior in the modern world is awkward and embarrassing. The comic effect of the stories comes from the fact that the character himself does not comprehend the real situation and instead of being ashamed, he is proud of himself.

Contrary to Yi Kwangsu, Aleko Konstantinov promotes modernity as a new social organization by showing the effect of rejecting the modern order. While Yi Kwangsu inspires his reader about the new possibilities, Aleko Konstaninov rather scares them with the possibility of being perceived as resembling Bai Ganyo.

The reason for these two different approaches in interpreting, showing and promoting modernity can be found in the extraliterary environment, that is in the social, political and historical circumstances of each country.

When *Mujeong* was published, Korea was already under Japanese occupation. The past and the tradition were where national identity seemed to be contained. By creating situations where separating with the traditional is accompanied by sadness and feeling of inevitability, Yi

Gwangsu treats tradition with respect, while showing a new brighter way towards the future. In 1884, when, *Bai Ganyo: the Incredible Tales of a Modern Bulgarian* appeared in Bulgaria, on the other hand, the country was just emerging from 500 years of oppression, isolation and forceful imposition of a foreign culture. Moving forward meant leaving the past behind and looking for new possibilities elsewhere. Europe was perceived to be culturally much closer to Bulgaria especially because of its Christian heritage and the shared history before Bulgaria became part of the Ottoman empire.

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