

Chapter 4

MOBILITY



Map 4.1. Key locations in the wider East Asian region where evangelizing activities involving Koreans were documented in Europe's seventeenth century. Map created by the author from the Open Historical Map Project (openhistoricalmap.org).

FOLLOWING THE JAPANESE invasions, contemporary documentation records the movement of both Korean women and men beyond the borders of the Joseon kingdom. The fifty-three-year-old wife of Kawasakiya Suke'emon no Jō, born in Korea, came to Japan in 1599 as a nine- or ten-year-old. Eleven years later she was in Nagasaki where she was sold as part of the slave trade to Macao. It was there that she became a Christian. Five years later, she returned to Nagasaki where she remained at the period in which she documented her experiences for the ward register of the local Japanese authorities.¹ Another Korean-born individual, the Portuguese-speaking “Gaspar of Korea,” baptized at Nagasaki, was sold at thirteen and later sold again in Manila to a Portuguese trader.² Antonio, purchased at Nagasaki, travelled with the Florentine merchant Francesco Carletti, to Goa and eventually to Rome, carrying with him for at least part of the journey two copper images of a crucified Christ and an Ecce Homo.³ These individuals formed part of a largely untraceable diaspora of Koreans, only some of whom were evangelized. This chapter explores how gender shaped evangelized Koreans’ mobility, primarily in the Asian region, as Christians. What opportunities did their faith afford them to move in the region? How was this agency shaped, as it was narrated in the Christian archive, by assumptions and realities of their differently gendered bodies, and their capacity for knowledge, for communication, and for attracting violence? As Christianity came to be progressively repressed in Japan under successive leaders, how did it shape the prospects of evangelized Korean women and men to live their beliefs? Christian authors, as analysed in [Chapter 2](#), had documented the different ways Korean women and men had been involved in evangelizing among their social networks in Japan. This chapter explores how the Christian archive adopted or adapted these into mission strategies as evangelized Koreans moved in the region.

¹ Yanai Kenji 箭内健次, ed., “Nagasaki Hiradomachi ninbetsuchō.” 長崎平戸町人別帳 [The Kan’ei 19 Register of Hirado-machi, Nagasaki], 90: 生國高麗之もの、慶長四年肥後八代ニ参、同拾六年ニ長崎ニ参、則(マカオ)天川へ被賣渡きりしたんニ罷成、元和二年ニ帰宅仕、外浦町ニ参、竹中采女様御代ニ同町ニ而ころひ、一向宗ニ罷成、大光寺ヲ頼申候。 See also Nakamura Tadashi 中村質, “Jinshin teiyū yamato ran no hiryonin no kiseki: Nagasaki zaijū-sha no baai.” 壬辰丁酉倭亂の被虜人の軌跡-長崎在住者の場合 [The trajectory of Korean captives in the Imjin War: Focusing on Nagasaki settlers], 179.

² June 19, 1597. The case is outlined by Sousa, *The Portuguese Slave Trade*, 128, who cites Archivo General de la Nación, Inquisición, vol. 237, fols. 458v–459.

³ Carletti, *Ragionamenti*, 324. See Schrader, Stephanie, and Jessie Park, “Gukgyeongeul neomeo, saeroun gyeonggyereul geurimyeo rubenseu hanbong ibeun namjaui maengnakjeong gochal.” 국경을 넘어, 새로운 경계를 그리며 루벤스 한복 입은 남자의 맥락적 고찰 [Crossing borders, drawing boundaries contextualizing Rubens’s man in Korean costume] and Weststein and Gesterkamp, “A New Identity for Rubens’s ‘Korean Man.’”

Men, Mobility, and Missions to Joseon

Within a decade of the withdrawal of Japanese troops from Joseon in 1598, diplomatic communications between their respective leaders had been reinstated.⁴ These exchanges brought elite and educated men to Japan on behalf of the Joseon king and suggested to Jesuit writers a new opportunity for interaction with the people of this kingdom and others beyond. In March 1606, for example, the Portuguese Jesuit João Rodrigues Giram observed to the General of the Order, Claudio Acquaviva, “when an ambassador of the king of Korea came this year to Japan he was accompanied by a monk, a great scholar of the sects of China which are almost the same as those of Japan.”⁵ Buddhist monks had provided an important communication network through the East Asian region as well as produced converts to Christianity, such as the Korean Gayo. Giram reported how his colleagues had sought to use intellectual pathways to open a conduit to wider communication, sending the monk participating in the diplomatic mission a critical analysis of local religions. Giram claimed that the “Korean scholar was amazed by what he read and, very much praising the style and eloquence, and even more so the depth of thought, replied that he never thought that in Japan was a person who knew so much of the sects.”⁶ Moreover, according to Giram, he concurred with the Society’s conclusions, “sending this reply in writing to the Brother, which was shown to many others, a great service in bringing down the monks and uncovering their tricks.”⁷ These intellectual manoeuvres offered optimism that demonstrations of learning and careful argumentation presented to educated Korean men could create for the Jesuits a path to further Christian conversions in Joseon and perhaps beyond.

At the same time, Giram’s report suggested a more substantial pathway to Joseon, at least numerically.⁸ This was the repatriation of Koreans, supported by Joseon

⁴ See Toby, *State and Diplomacy*; Kang, *Diplomacy and Ideology*; Lee, “Cultural Expressions of Tokugawa Japan and Chosŏn Korea”; Tashiro, “Japanese–Korean Relations During the Tokugawa Period.”

⁵ Nagasaki, March 10, 1606, ARSI, JapSin 55, fol. 278r: “hum embaxador del Rey da Corea, trouxe em sua Companhia hum bonzo grande letrado nas seitas da China que são quasi as mesmas que as de Japam.”

⁶ ARSI, JapSin 55, fol. 278r: “Ficouo Corea letrado parmado do que leo e louuando muyto o estillo e eloquentia e muyto mays a profundeza das cousas, respondeo *que* elle nunca cuidara que em japam ouuesse pessoa *que* tanto alcancasse do amego das Seitas.”

⁷ ARSI, JapSin 55, fol. 278r: “mandando ao Irmao esta riposta por escrito, aqual mostrada a outrosi muitos servio grandement pera sicarem abatidas as cousas dos bonzos e descubertos seusingenos.”

⁸ The numbers are debated, but may have been less than ten thousand individuals, see Sousa, *The Portuguese Slave Trade*, 94. On the volume of repatriations, see Son Seungcheol 孫承喆 / 손승철, “17segi yasojongmune daehan Joseonui insikgwa daeeung.” 17세기 耶蘇宗門에 대한 朝鮮의 인식과 대응 [Joseon’s awareness and response to the Yaso sect in the seventeenth century].

diplomatic missions that encouraged those from the kingdom to return home. Among those returning were, suggested Jesuit authors, evangelized Christians.⁹ Whether evangelized women were in a position to return home in the same numbers as their menfolk, however, is doubtful. Kim Moon-Ja has examined the different opportunities and contexts in which Korean women and men could participate in repatriation endeavours.¹⁰ Gender ideologies shaped women's opportunities to return to their homelands, which were limited by both practical and conceptual challenges, including the sexual and reproductive employment of their bodies since arriving in Japan.¹¹ The neo-Confucian moral codes that underpinned Joseon society placed a high value on women's chastity, and contemporary texts celebrated women who chose death rather than surviving sexual violation.¹² Repatriating women who had been captured in the

⁹ On repatriation experiences, see Choi Gwan 최관, *Ilbonwa imjinwaeran* 일본과 임진왜란 [Japan and the Imjin War], 103–28; Min, Deak-Kee 민덕기, “Imjinwaeran naphchidoen joseoninui gwihiwangwa jallyuroui gil.” 임진왜란에 납치된 조선인의 귀환과 잔류로의 길 [The Korean captives during the Imjin War: Repatriation to Korea and settlement in Japan]; Yonetani Hitoshi 米谷均, “Senshinryakugo ni okeru hiriyonin no hongoku sōkan ni tsuite.” 鮮侵略後における被虜人の本国送還について [Repatriation of POWS after the Invasion of Korea], in *jinshin sensō: jūrokuseiki nitchōchū no kokusai sensō* 壬辰戦争: 16世紀日・朝・中の国際戦争, in *jinshin sensō: international war of Japan–Korea–China in the sixteenth century*, ed. Chung, Doo Hee 鄭杜熙 / 정두희, and Gyeong-Soon Lee 李璟璹 / 이경순, 103–28. My focus here is upon the claims of Christian authors regarding Koreans who were said to be carrying Catholicism to the Joseon kingdom. The reality of whether this occurred has been debated. Son Seungcheol observes an absence of discussion of Catholicism in Joseon records before 1638, see “17segi yasojongmune daehan Joseonui insikgwa daeeung.” 17세기 耶蘇宗門에 대한 朝鮮의 인식과 대응 [Joseon's awareness and response to the Yaso sect in the seventeenth century], 864–65. Pierre-Emmanuel Roux argues, however, that the diplomatic channel opened between Joseon and Japan at this time provided awareness of Christianity, indeed that “the Catholic issue became a significant vehicle in the enhancement of diplomatic relations between Korea and Japan in the aftermath of the Imjin War” in “The Prohibited Sect of Yaso,” 119–21, here 120.

¹⁰ Kim Moon-Ja 金文子 / 김문자, “Bunroku keichō no eki ni okeru Chōsen hiriyonin no kikan tokuni josei no baai.” 文禄・慶長の役における朝鮮被虜人の帰還とくに女性の場合 [The return of Korean captives in the Imjin war: With a focus on women]. In *Onna no shakaishi: 17-20-seiki “ie” to jendā o kangaeru* 女の社会史: 17-20世紀: 「家」とジェンダーを考える [A social history of women from the seventeenth to twentieth century: Focusing on home and gender], edited by Ōguchi, Yūjirō 大口勇次郎, 212–21.

¹¹ No Sung Hwan, for example, documents Korean-born women who remained in Japan as concubines of the local lord. No Sung Hwan 魯成煥 / 노성환, “Ilbon sikoku jiyeogui imnanporoe gwanhan ilgochal gagawa, dokusima, gochi jiyeogeul jungsimeuro.” 일본 시코쿠 지역의 임란포로에 관한 일고찰 가가와, 도쿠시마, 고치 지역을 중심으로 [A study of the Korean captives during the Japanese invasion of Korea in Shikoku, Japan], 203–5, 212–13.

¹² Park, Joo 박주, “Dongguk sinsok samgang haengsildo’ yeollyeo yeodoui bunseok.” 東國新續三綱行實圖·烈女圖의 分析 [A study of *Dongguk Sinsok Samgang Haengsildo's* virtuous women]; Pettid, “Devoted Wives and Chaste Maidens,”; Lee, Sook-in 이숙인, “The Imjin War and the Official Discourse of Chastity”; Lee, Sook-in 이숙인, “Joseonjunggi sahoeui yeoseonginsik: jeonggeol gaenyeomeul jungsimeuro.” 조선중기 사회의 여성인식: 정절 개념을 중심으로 [The understanding of women in the middle Joseon period: A focus on the conception of chastity].

invasions to Joseon therefore presented considerable problems beyond the matter of their faith alone.

By contrast, some evangelized men were perceived to present opportunities for mission work. Giram described how “an honourable Christian Korean by birth, who with many others went from Japan to Korea in the company of an ambassador who had come from Korea to Japan” secured a copy of the catechism from a *Kirishitan*, “written in the Chinese language and characters.”¹³ After copying it, he said “that with this he could preach the law of the Christians in Korea, since for now he could not take a Father, as much as he wished to.”¹⁴ As had Jesuit authors upon the arrival of captive Koreans in Japan, these examples once again emphasized the importance of texts, Chinese characters, and male intellectual pathways as a conduit to Christian conversion in the region. Through such means, western knowledge broadly may have made some impact in Joseon at this time. Writing in Europe’s late eighteenth century, the Joseon scholar An Cheong-bok, who was no friend to Catholicism, reflected that western scholarship was known in the Joseon kingdom from the period after the invasions.

There is neither a high official nor an eminent scholar who did not read them. These books are considered in the same way as the writings of classical thinkers, Daoism and Buddhism, and they are kept as ornaments of libraries.¹⁵

During this period, the leadership of Joseon also gained a growing awareness of Christianity more particularly from the communications of their reinstated diplomatic partners in Japan, for Japanese letters regularly provided warnings of the dangers of what was termed “the sect of Yaso.”¹⁶ Pierre-Emmanuel Roux has argued that Japanese diplomatic strategy employed Christianity as a common foreign foe against which both it and the Joseon kingdom could unite.¹⁷ Knowledge of Christianity therefore entered Joseon at this time within two very different, and oppositional, frameworks.

In the second decade of Europe’s seventeenth century, Francesco Boldrino took up the mantle as a vocal and insistent advocate within the Society for a dedicated mission to a series of regional territories that had not as yet been contacted directly by the Jesuits, including the Joseon kingdom. Boldrino knew the evangelized Korean community from his time in Japan and perhaps also in his new position at the College of São Paulo in Macao, near what may have been a Korean enclave there.¹⁸ In 1612,

13 Nagasaki, March 10, 1606, ARSI, JapSin 55, fol. 246r: “em que umha hum Christão honrado Corea de naçam, o qual com muitos outros se tornava de Japão pera a Coreia em companhia de hum embaixador que dadita Coreia viera a este Japam,” “da China escrito em lingoa e caracteres chinas.”

14 ARSI, JapSin 55, fol. 246r: “dizendo que come ella auia de pregarna Coreia a ley dos Christãos, ja que por agora não podia levar hum Padre que desejou muito de levar.”

15 Cited in Roux, “The Catholic Experience of Chosŏn Envoys in Beijing,” 29: 西洋書，自宣廟末年，已來于東。名卿碩儒，無人不見。視之如諸子道佛之屬，以備書室之。

16 Roux, “The Prohibited Sect of Yaso,” 123–24.

17 Roux, “The Prohibited Sect of Yaso,” 123–24.

18 Sousa, *The Portuguese Slave Trade*, 128. On the College and its relation to the Society’s Japanese and Chinese missions, see Tang, *Setting Off From Macau*, 31–33, 96–97.

he presented a moral argument to the General of the Order, Acquaviva, that since the Gospel was not known there, it was “necessary and a matter of scruple to go and sow the Gospel.”¹⁹ In December 1614, Boldrino again addressed the General from Macao, reminding him in a postscript addition: “Last year I proposed to Your Paternity to make some new missions again to Korea [...] into which news of the Christian faith has not yet penetrated.”²⁰ He deftly alluded to the failures of epistolary communication as a reason to renew his request: “I am proposing the same again now, in case last year’s letter did not arrive,” insisting upon his devotion to do “everything possible to open up knowledge to these people.”²¹ By the end of 1617, it was to a new General, Muzio Vitelleschi, that Boldrino, now again in Japan, made his pitch, recapitulating his previous communications with Vitelleschi’s predecessor: “I wrote these last years to our Father Claudio Acquaviva that it would be of great service to God to open new missions, such as to Korea.”²² He voiced fears that lack of funds might preclude what could be done “if there were zeal and fervour.” Sophisticated in his rhetorical address to his recipient, Boldrino escalated his appeal to an even higher temporal authority: “the Pope ought to help with what is needed since the Gospel has never been sown in these abovementioned places.”²³

By contrast, Giacomo Antonio Giannone, a former colleague of Boldrino at the College of São Paulo, pitched his argument in 1616 to Francesco Pavone, an enthusiastic supporter of the Society’s global mission work who was responsible for the development of robust training at the Jesuit College in Naples. Giannone noted the recent successes for the Society in Cochinchina under the leadership of Francesco Buzomi.²⁴ Like his compatriots, he identified the lack of funds as a key stumbling block; but he also suggested that cultural and racial similarities between the populations of Korea, the Ryukyu islands and mainland Japan warranted their prioritization, as they were “all white people and of good understanding, like the Japanese.”²⁵ Another compatriot, Francesco Eugenio, wrote in December 1617 from Nagasaki, to the General, reprising many of the arguments that had built the case for a dedicated Korean mission in the Jesuit archive over what was now an almost fifty-year period:

¹⁹ Macao, December 30, 1612, ARSI, JapSin 34, fol. 133v: “l’euangelio ne ha notitia nessuna di quelle [...] se e necessario e materia de scrupulo ne andarla a seminare l’euangelio.”

²⁰ Macao, December 26, 1614, ARSI, JapSin 34, fol. 138v: “l’anno passato propose a VP che se potriano fare alcune missioni di nouo alla Corea [...] as quais partes in sino hora non penetra la notitia della fede christiania.”

²¹ ARSI, JapSin 34, fol. 138v: “il medesimo torno a proporre adesso se peruentura la lettera del anno passato, non arrivo,” “tutto il possibile per aprire il cosciento a questi genti.”

²² Japan, November 9, 1617, ARSI, JapSin 34, fol. 144v: “lescritti l’anni passati al nostro padre Claudio Acquaviva che seria di grande seruitio di dio aprire alcune missioni noue come alla Corea.”

²³ ARSI, JapSin 34, fol. 144v: “se havesse fervor e zelo e il papa deu socorrere con il necessario pois che in queste parti sossadette gia mai fu seminato levangelio.”

²⁴ Macao, January 24, 1616, ARSI, JapSin 35, fol. 203r.

²⁵ ARSI, JapSin 35, fol. 203r: “toda gente bianca, e di bello intendimento, come sono li giaponi.”

Your Paternity will know that Korea is a kingdom close to Japan, so much so that sailing with good wind it is reached in two days. It is a much larger kingdom than Japan, subject to only one king. The people are of very good understanding and disposition to understand our holy Law, as we find here with the Korean Christians (of whom there are very many in Japan among those who were captured in the war these past years). [...] Therefore, if you make a mission to Korea, the fruit will be great. And now in this province, there is no shortage of Fathers, of whom masses have been driven out of Japan, and from China, unemployed in Macao, and while the devil seeks to lock the door in some parts, it would not be bad to go uncover other paths. From Japan, as I say, it seems you could get there by boat going to trade, as they usually do. In the future it seems they will go even more, because this year they have sent an embassy from Korea to renew friendship with the lord of Japan.²⁶

Eugenio, like others before him, wanted to be tasked with the mission himself: "If the Lord brings me to Macao, I will propose this to the Father Visitor and also offer myself for the work."²⁷ The Society, however, had other plans for Eugenio and his Korean mission faded from view after he left Japan at the end of 1617.

Evangelized Korean men, as well as Society men, were critical to a mission planned for the Joseon kingdom in 1612. João Rodrigues Giram later recounted the involvement of the Korean Vicente as a *dōjuku* working with Giovanni Battista Zola at that time: "The superiors, desiring to open the doors in the kingdom of Korea to the Holy Gospel, decided to send him there with a priest. It was not possible, however much they did, to open it up via Japan."²⁸ By the 1610s, the punishment of Christians had taken on a more urgent rhythm. A letter from the Provincial, Francisco Pacheco, to the General, Vitelleschi, in November 1625, endorsed by eight colleagues, tried to make clear to their Roman recipients the challenges that they currently faced simply in maintaining their activities in the hostile environment of Japan alone without those "around Japan,

26 Nagasaki, December 12, 1617, ARSI, JapSin 17, fol. 112: "V.P. saprà, che il Cōrai é un regno uicino al Giappone, tanto che nauigando com bom uento vi giungono en doi giorni é regno molto maggiore del Giappone, soggetto ad'un Ré solamente. la gente é di molto buono intendimento, e disposizione per intendere le cose della nostra S. legge, come qui sperimentiamo nelli Cōraiin Cristiani (de quali ui sono moltissimi nel Giappone, di quelli che furono cattiuati nella guerra de gli anni passati). [...] Per il che si se facere alcuna mission al Corai, per che saria grande il frutto. e adesso a questa provincia non mancano Padri, de quali mole scacciati del Giappone, e dalla cina stanno disoccupati in Macao e gia che il demonio procura rerrare la porta in diuersi parti, non saria male andar discoporendo altri camini. Dal Giappone, come dico, pare che si ui potrà entrare, con alcuna occasione d'imbarcatione che la ua a mercanteggiare, como di ordinario uanno, e per l'auuenire pare, che u'anderanno piu, per ché questo anno hanno del Corai mandato un'imbasciatore per rinovare l'amicitia con il signore del Giappone."

27 ARSI, JapSin 17, fol. 112: "Se Il Signore me leuar a Macao, proporrei questo al P. Visitatore et anche m'offerrei a ciò."

28 Macao, March 24, 1627, ARSI, JapSin 61, fol. 122v: "Desjando os superiores de abrir porta no Reino da Coreia ao sagrado evangelion, o determinarão pera ir lá *come hum padre*. Não foi possiuel, *por* mais que se fez, *abrilla por* uia de japão."

Ryūkyū, Korea and Ezo, missions that Your Paternity so highly recommends.”²⁹ The small number of Jesuits who remained in Japan to operationalize new missionary endeavours was reduced further when in 1626 even more members of the Society were put to death, including both Pacheco and Vicente.³⁰ Pedro Morejón, writing from Macao in 1627, lamented that all these efforts to reach Joseon had thus far been in vain, and that “people of great ability and intelligence, gentle, docile and of natural beauty,” should remain “so closed to all commerce with foreigners that no matter how many steps have been take to enter, it has not been possible.”³¹ The claimed docility and good natured disposition of the Koreans towards Christianity that made the Joseon kingdom such an attractive target for future mission activities shaped not only Jesuit accounts; in 1659, the Franciscan Antonio de Santa Maria similarly identified these as reason to mount a dedicated Franciscan mission for Koreans.³²

Whilst the Society’s men in the region negotiated their own capacity to commit a dedicated mission, the reports to be found in the Jesuit archive explicitly foregrounded the possible role of Korean men as prized mediators of Christian missionary activities to the Joseon kingdom. Morejón reflected in 1627 on an earlier time when the Society men had considered a direct mission to Joseon and “the Fathers made great efforts to go to Korea, taking our Vicente and another for guides and interpreters, but [...] it was impossible.”³³ Another Korean man who seemed to offer such a possibility was Tomás upon whose activities Jesuit authors were keeping a close eye. Mateo de Couros wrote to the General in October 1618 of the man “whom we brought up and supported for many years in our house.” “He is of noble birth, and having received news of him, his father, last year when the King of Korea sent an embassy to the King of Japan, asked the ambassadors to find the means to bring his son back with them.”³⁴ However, Tomás was, by then, in Manila. Further, Tomás was perceived by more than

29 Nagasaki, November 16, 1625, ARSI, JapSin 34, fol. 161r: “Tenos ao redor de Japão Lioquoio Corai e Yezo missões que V.P. tanto encomienda.”

30 Ruiz-de-Medina, *The Catholic Church in Korea*, 127.

31 Macao, March 31, 1627, BRAH, MS Jesuitas 9/2666, fol. 462r: “gente de grande capacidade y ingenio, blados, dociles, y de lindos naturales, mas tan cerrados a todo comercio de estrangeiros que por mas diligencias que se an echo para entrar en el no ha sido possible.”

32 March 6, 1659, Van den Wyngaert, ed., *Sinica Franciscana*, 2:453: “Aspiraban a pasarse al reino de la Corea por tener noticia cuan buen natural tienen los Coreanos y cuan dociles paracen para ser instruidos en la santa ley de Dios, nuestro Señor.”

33 BRAH, MS Jesuitas 9/2666, fol. 463v: “hizieron los padres grandes diligencias por passar a la Corea o Corai llevando a nuestro Vicente y otro por guias e interpretes, pero [...] fue imposible.”

34 Nagasaki, October 8, 1618, ARSI, JapSin 35, fol. 89r: “que nos per muitos annos criamos, e sustentamos em nossa casa,” “He este de nobre genação, e per ter de lho notiça o pay soçedando mandar o anno passado a quelle Roi huma embaxada ao de Japam, pedio aos embaxadores que procurassem deleuar consigo a seu filho.”

the Jesuits as a potential conduit to a new mission site in Joseon. Reported Couros, “the Dominicans persuaded him into signing an oath that he would take to Korea no religious of another order but their own.”³⁵

By that time, a series of men from other religious orders had made their way to Japan, Dominicans, Franciscans, and Augustinians among them, presumably delighted by the prospect of increased communication from Japan to Joseon as a result of the new diplomatic relations and associated repatriations. Tomás’s story, in which, for Couros at least, Tomás appeared rather a passive pawn of the Dominicans, was presented in very different dimensions in near-contemporary Dominican sources, such as the history produced by Diego Aduarte. The friar had long been involved in missionary work in the Philippines, but this had never been the extent of his ambitions for the Dominicans in the region. Now, here was “a young man, the son of noble parents, who from the despondent state of slave, came to reach the height of divine knowledge and in baptism was called Thomas.”³⁶ “In Manila, like others, he attended Christian activities, and in particular, he knew the religious of Santo Domingo, perhaps through the confraternity of the Holy Rosary, to which many natives and slaves came.”³⁷ In the recovery of the Joseon kingdom in the years after the invasions, Aduarte recounted, “Thomas’s father grew so high that he became Secretary to the King, which is to say the best position, and the second person in the government and command,” from which position he was able to contact his son in Manila by letter.³⁸ In Aduarte’s account, it was the Korean who took the initiative to consider a mission to Joseon:

Thomas showed these letters to the Fathers of Santo Domingo, as well as the interior of his soul, that although he desired his country, his father, and his wealth, he esteemed much more than all this taking some Religious, to sustain him in his lands, where all were pagans, to preserve him in the holy faith, which he had received.³⁹

35 ARSI, JapSin 35, fol. 89r: “Vindo isto a notícia dos Religiosos de S. Domingo, fazendo lhe mimos opersudião que lhes desse hum assinado come iuramento de não leuar a Coria Religiosos de outra ordem sernão da sua.”

36 Aduarte, *Historia de la provincia del Santo Rosario*, 1:471: “vn mancebo, hijo de Padres nobles, que con ocasion del abatido estado e esclavo, vino à alcançar al alreça del conocimiento Divino, y en el Baptismo se llamò Thomas.”

37 Aduarte, *Historia de la provincia del Santo Rosario*, 1:471: “en Manila acudia como otros à los exercicios de Christiano, y en particular tuvo conocimiento con los Religiosos de São Domingo, quicà por la Confadria del Santo Rosario, à que acuden muchos naturales, y esclavos.”

38 Aduarte, *Historia de la provincia del Santo Rosario*, 1:471: “el Padre de Thomas creció tanto, que llegó à ser Secretario del Rey, que es dezir su major Privado, y la segunda persona en el govieno, y mando.”

39 Aduarte, *Historia de la provincia del Santo Rosario*, 1:471: “Mostrò Thomas estas cartas à los Padres de Santo Domingo, y juntamente lo interior de su alma, que si bien desseava su patria, su Padre, y sus riqueças, estimava mucho mas, que todo esto à su tierra, toda de Infieles, sin llevar algunos Religiosos, que le sustentassen, y conservassen en la Santa Fè, que avia recibido.”

Tomás was narrated as the active organizer of the Dominicans' endeavours related to Korea: "he came to offer to take Religious to his land and keep them in it with the protection of his Father, and protection of the King, which could easily be expected."⁴⁰

The Jesuit Couros expressed frustration about Tomás's activities, because of the "promise that he had made to the Dominicans," when "he always suggested to us that he intended to take others of his nation."⁴¹ Couros cast doubt on the Dominicans' chances of reaching Joseon: "humanly speaking, it is impossible for foreigners to enter the country." To avoid the usual checks on foreigners entering Joseon, Tomás and his Dominican accomplices had devised a secret route to reach Joseon directly, but these plans came to the attention of the authorities in Nagasaki. The divisions between Christian mission communities were revealed in Couros's conclusion to these events: "as their superior Fray Francisco de Morales has always shown little affection for our Society, imagining that his intentions were frustrated by us, he sent me a heartfelt tirade."⁴² Couros may have explicitly highlighted the Dominican Superior's fears of Society interference in their mission affairs, but his own report also suggested that these divisions were worthy of note to his superiors.

Whatever evangelized Koreans repatriating to their homeland were able to achieve locally, Jesuit writers were not able to document confidently any evidence of the beginnings of a new missionary endeavour. However, the regular return of Koreans to Joseon over these years kept open hopes in the Jesuit archives of a welcoming groundswell among the Joseon population for their message. Writing from Macao, in 1624, the Portuguese Jesuit João Rodrigues Tçuzu, whose diplomatic and linguistic roles for the Society were encapsulated in the epithet Tçuzu (from the Japanese *tsūji*, communicator/translator), presented a series of claims that were hard to verify in their details but reflected the live prospect that Society men countenanced for a Joseon mission. He suggested that "many thousands of Koreans made Christians in Japan, from which many have returned home keeping their Christian faith."⁴³ Further, Tçuzu described a "kingdom of Korea of which religious of the Society have already taken possession through two or three missions, going there from Japan."⁴⁴ Certainly, the Jesuit

⁴⁰ Aduarte, *Historia de la provincia del Santo Rosario*, 1:471: "vino à ofrecer se à llevar Religiosos à su tierra, y conservarlos en ella com el amparo de su Padre, y proteccion des Rey, que ofrecia, y se podia facilmente esperar, pues siento èl tan aficionado à la fè, lo avia de alcançar de su padre, y su Padre del Rey."

⁴¹ Nagasaki, October 8, 1618, ARSI, JapSin 35, fol. 89r: "Tambem o Thomas possa promeces que tinha foies aos Religios de S. Domingo sempre nos emcobrio que pretendia levandos e assi elle com outros de sua nação."

⁴² ARSI, JapSin 35, fol. 89r: "como so seu superior chamado Frei Francisco de Morales sempre se mechou pouco afeiçoado a Companhia imaginando que por nossa via sairão frustrados seus intentos, me momandou hum tirado muy sentido."

⁴³ Macao, 1624, BRAH, MS Jes Leg. 21, fols. 317–323v, here 323v: "de muyto milhares de Corais feitos christãos em Japam donde muytos latornaram perseveram christãos."

⁴⁴ BRAH, MS Jes Leg. 21, fol. 323v: "o Reyno de Coraj, deque Ja tem tomado posse com duas o tres missioes quae os Religiosos da Companhia que la passaram de Japam."

archive contains proposals for various plans of this kind over this period. It was the turn of the Italian Giacomo Antonio Giannone to write to the General Vitelleschi in March 1628, whose call to launch a dedicated mission to Joseon was pointedly framed in the context of the activities of other orders in the region.

These past years I wrote to Your Paternity to charge the Father Visitor of these parts to try to open it to a mission for the kingdom of Korea. Now I remind Y.P. of it again, because I hear it said that the Friars are seeking it, and that they may have already entered, according to what I was told the other day.⁴⁵

He, like Eugenio, explicitly noted his attempts to make his arguments with varied authority figures in the Society, not only in Rome but also in the region:

In what I am now writing to the Father Visitor I strongly recommend it, since many of our people are idle in the College of Macao, for this door to Japan is now so closed that it seems the Lord wants the door into that kingdom to be opened from Korea, where there are many Christians who have returned from Japan to their own kingdom.⁴⁶

Giannone's proposal that, as the door to Japan appeared to be closing, another in Joseon might be opening was echoed in the later writings of Gaspar de Amaral. In April 1642, he wrote from Macao with a similar idea to establish a hub in Joseon from which a mission to Japan might in time be relaunched.⁴⁷

There were evidently persistent hopes expressed in the Jesuit archive and beyond it that the return of Koreans to their homeland had implanted Christianity there, ready to be activated by missionizing men if, and when, they could reach it themselves. Rumours about a Christian Joseon from Nagasaki in the mid-1660s were reported by a captain who had returned from the Japanese port to Binondoc in the Philippines. His views were recorded by a Dominican religious to the Provincial of the Philippines, Juan de los Angeles, that "in the kingdom of Korea there is a very beautiful church and many Christians, with European Fathers, who cannot be other than those from the Society."⁴⁸ Japanese authorities also appeared to fear that evangelized Koreans might seek to return to Japan to instigate mission work. When the Joseon scholar Yi Chi-Hang recorded his

⁴⁵ March 14, 1628, ARSI, JapSin 37, fol. 272r: "Os annos passados escriui à V.P. *que encommendasse ao Padre Visitador destas partes que procurasse de abrir à missão do Reino da Coreia; agora de nouo o torni a lembrar à V.P; porque ousou dizer que os Frates procura isto, e erao que já entrarão nelle, segundo outro dia e contarão.*"

⁴⁶ ARSI, JapSin 37, fol. 272r: "na que escreuo agora ao Padre Visitador o *encommendo* muito, já *que* muitos dos nossos estão ociosis na quelle Collegio de Macao, sisposto que esta porta de Japão aò presente esta tão fachoda, e parece que o *Senhor* quiere *que* se abra à porta à quelle Reino da Coreia, onder ha muitos Christãos que desde Japão se tornarão pera o seu Reino."

⁴⁷ Macao, April 29, 1642, ARSI, JapSin 161-II, fol. 265; Akune, "New Evidence and Perspective of the Pedro Marques Missionary Group," in *Interactions Between Rivals*, ed. Curvelo and Cattaneo, 419–47.

⁴⁸ Cartta o Relación Sumaría de la sucedido en China y Xapon hasta henero de de 1666, Binondoc, May 13, 1666, BNE, MS 18553/5, fol. 6v: "e nel Reino de la corea ay vna muy linda Iglesia y muchos Christianos, con *Padres* Europeos, que no puedan ser otros que de la Compañia."

interrogation after being shipwrecked off the coast of Japan during 1636, the questions drawn up by the Governor of Matsumae included: "Are any of you Christians and do you preach this religion?"⁴⁹ The prospect of a flourishing Christian community in Korea, however uncertain the reality, continued to galvanise hopes and fears in the region through the period.

Europe's seventeenth century opened to offer Jesuit writers new hope of conversion possibilities with the return of Koreans to their homeland. Their communications continued to cast the Joseon population as an opportunity awaiting the Society, individual men successively emphasizing the urgency with which the Society's leadership ought to commit resources to such a mission. Each had his own vision of how best it could be conducted and increasingly, they diversified their requests through the Society's hierarchy. But more explicit still was the persuasive exploitation of concerns about the actions of other Christian orders looking to Joseon. If it was not to be the Society's own men who could mount a mission to Joseon, they looked to the Korean men they had trained in Japan to return ahead of the Fathers. The best advance mediators of the Christian message, in Jesuit writers' eyes, were educated men who ideally held elite status that could be activated in Joseon. Korean women, absent from this discussion among the Society's men, appeared to be perceived to have no forms of status either in Japan or in their homelands that could be valuable to such endeavours. Evangelized Korean women did not form a noteworthy part of the vision articulated in the archive of the Jesuits' mission strategies for Joseon society.

Exile as Gendered Opportunity

The Jesuit archive attested to the ways that evangelized Korean men such as Tomás not only moved across the region within Christian texts but also physically. Korean men were documented as mobile in the region, including as they conducted Christian pastoral and mission activities. In 1644, Pedro Marques wrote from Macao to the General about another Korean man also known as Tomás who had long been serving a *Kirishitan* community based in Cambodia.⁵⁰ Marques explained how Tomás aimed to travel to Japan where he could support the work of the Jesuit fathers who were operating under the severe risk of punishment imposed by Japan's authorities. Tomás departed in the company of a Polish Jesuit, Albert Metinski, first to Manila, and then on to Macao, and eventually to Japan via an island within the district of Satsuma. However, the group were arrested by the Japanese authorities, tortured, and eventually executed.

While only men could be documented as deploying the Society's institutional hierarchy to move about the region, exile could enable forms of mobility that transferred both Korean women and men and Christian teachings to new locales. The

⁴⁹ Gale, trans., "A Shipwreck (Korean) in 1636 A.D.," 16.

⁵⁰ Macao, October 7, 1644, ARSI, JapSin 29-II, fols. 268ff. See also Ruiz-de-Medina, *The Catholic Church in Korea*, 328–31; Sousa, *The Portuguese Slave Trade*, 169.

Society had long operated under perilous conditions in Japan since Hideyoshi's 1587 edict, although a small number of Jesuit men had been permitted to attend the Christian community in Nagasaki. However, under Tokugawa Ieyasu, restrictions on the remaining Christian population were tightened, in Edo in 1612 and more broadly in 1614 across Japan. As the activities of Christians shifted increasingly underground, the Jesuit archive began to be populated by the stories of women and men who were identified and investigated for their Christian faith. Under these changing circumstances, Jesuit writers reported, for example, the altered position of the Korean Julia at Ieyasu's court. She had been under increasing pressure to abjure her faith, including, the Jesuits reported, from Ieyasu himself. From Mexico, Sebastián Vizcaíno reported how "the good lady, as she was so devoted to God and firm in her faith, had the good fortune of being thrown out of the palace [...] rather than give up her faith and do the will of the emperor, despite the many promises they made to her."⁵¹ By 1613, her refusal saw her expelled from the court, and exiled successively to an island named Ōshima, later to Nijijima and then to Kōzushima.

A persistent concern for Christian writers was women's bodily vulnerability as they moved both within and beyond the faith community, a factor that was not referenced in the biographies of men sent into exile. Korean women's bodies and their sexuality were never simply a matter for women to manage in these accounts but entailed men as well. Protecting Julia's sexual honour in the face of considerable vulnerability during her exile clearly preoccupied those in her wider support network. After receiving Ieyasu's order of banishment, Couros notes that "the Christians secured the governor's consent that a serving girl they provided accompany her."⁵² No excerpts from Julia's letters or speeches appeared to suggest that Julia herself was concerned by vulnerability to sexual assault. What her transcribed letters instead foregrounded was her ongoing, determined attempts to continue communication with her Christian support network. Two letters from Julia appear to have been transcribed and translated into the Jesuit archives. Both relate to the period of 1612–13 when she was banished to islands among the Izu-shichitō archipelago. Mateo de Couros conveyed to Acquaviva an extract from a letter that he claimed Julia had written to Morejón as she prepared to leave for Ōshima. Here she celebrated her banishment as an opportunity to demonstrate her fervour yet further, asked specifically: "console me with your letters, because sometimes there is an opportunity for a courier to the island I am going."⁵³ It may have been a result of her continued access to Christian communication that, after a month on Ōshima, she was banished to another island five leagues further away, Nijijima. Only two weeks later,

⁵¹ Mexico, 1614, BNE, MS 3046, fol. 110v: "la buena señora como tan seruia de dios y firme en la fee tubo por bien de ser ejientada y hechada de el Palacio [...] que dejar la fee in hazer la voluntad de lemprador, por muchas promessas que le hizeron."

⁵² Nagasaki, January 12, 1613, ARSI, JapSin 57, fol. 244v: "Porem os Christãos acabaram com o Governador que consentisse acompanhala huma moça de seruiço que elles lhe deram."

⁵³ ARSI, JapSin 57, fol. 245r: "tambem me console com suas cartas, pois a miude ha oportunidade de portador pera a Ilha aonde vou."

Julia was sent further away to a more deserted islet, Kōzushima. Even while Couros celebrated how the more isolated she was, the more enhanced was her “communication with God our Lord,” it was something he could report because it “may be seen from a letter she sent, when she had the chance, to the Father at Suruga,” asking him for reading material, and “begging him to inform her also of the state of the Church and the Society, and whether the persecution was continuing.”⁵⁴ The second transcribed letter, to Morejón, was written from Kōzushima, in which Julia documented the existence of a more extensive correspondence than that which now is known: “Around the sixth moon I wrote you a letter. Did you receive it?” “In another earlier letter I also asked that a person might be sent to me”.⁵⁵

I received your letter with great joy, and I will respectfully answer you in a couple of lines. All day long I am anxious thinking that the conditions might have worsened for you. Christmas is coming soon, and I am especially fearful for the situation of the Fathers in those parts [...] Please, convey my respectful regards to all the Fathers.⁵⁶

This correspondence appeared to function as a form of spiritual solace as well as engagement. To Morejón, Julia offered her prayers as part of a spiritual exchange, couched in the language of humility: “Although I am a sinful woman, I always pray for the state of the Church and its prosperity. I respectfully beg that you all pray God for me as well.”⁵⁷ Exile offered women new opportunities and activities. It was as a result of her exile that Julia’s own writings became part of the Jesuit archive, attesting to her continued engagement and fervour to advance the Christian community, and that of the Society.

Exile also offered Julia new forms of spiritual agency, freeing her to proselytize her faith in alternative ways to those provided by her residency at Ieyasu’s household, and she appeared able to continue to foster her Christian networks. On Niijima, Julia found herself in the company of several other women banished from Ieyasu’s residence. This became an opportunity for her to continue catechizing activities. She spent time teaching the Christian faith to two other exiled women, whose apparent embrace of the faith was reflected in new names which she bestowed upon them, María and Magdalena.

54 ARSJ, JapSin 57, fol. 245v: “se da a comunicação com Deos N.S. como bem se colhe de huma carta que offerecendose boa occasiam escreueo dali ao padre de Surunga,” “rogandolhe juntamente que a auisasse do estado da Christandade e da Companhia, e se hia por diante a perseguiçam.”

55 APECESJ, Abt. 43, Nr. 53, fol. 22r; English translation of Morejón’s transcription in Ruiz-de-Medina, *The Catholic Church in Korea*, 244. See also translation in Spanish and Japanese reconstruction in Ruiz-de-Medina, “History and Fiction of Ota Julia,” 540, 543.

56 APECESJ, Abt. 43, Nr. 53, fol. 22r; English translation of Morejón’s transcription in Ruiz-de-Medina, *The Catholic Church in Korea*, 244. See also translation in Spanish and Japanese reconstruction in Ruiz-de-Medina, “History and Fiction of Ota Julia,” 540, 543.

57 APECESJ, Abt. 43, Nr. 53, fol. 22r; English translation of Morejón’s transcription in Ruiz-de-Medina, *The Catholic Church in Korea*, 244. See also translation in Spanish and Japanese reconstruction in Ruiz-de-Medina, “History and Fiction of Ota Julia,” 540, 543.

Describing her exile to Niijima, Giram likewise flagged Julia's particular role in liaising with these other exiled women there:

Julia had a particular friendship with two of these, and little by little she talked with them about our holy faith, to which, by the reasons she gave them and the good example of her life, they became attracted so that they wished to receive it and begged immediately for baptism. But as Julia did not know the form of baptism, she could not do so; she gave them Christian names, calling one Magdalena and the other María. And with this the two proceeded as Christians, praying and commending themselves to God.⁵⁸

When Julia returned to the mainland, she performed her faith in new ways. In Nagasaki, the Dominican José de San Jacinto singled out Julia in 1620 among the women "teaching doctrine and singing litanies with girls," and reported that she was homeless, moving "from one house to another" within a Christian network.⁵⁹ Julia's forms of banishment appeared to present new kinds of mobility to her that were both physical, as she transmitted Christian teachings in new locales, and epistolary, as she was admitted into the Jesuit archive as a mediated author through the transcription of her letters.

Other evangelized Koreans were expelled from the islands of Japan altogether. Both women and men formed part of other Christian communities in the region as a result. The Jesuit *dōjuku* Gayo, for example, went into exile to Manila with the prominent *Kirishitan* Takayama Ukon, in 1614. However, as Jesuit authors recounted it, Gayo determined to express his spiritual agency by returning the following year to Nagasaki where he continued his proselytizing work, despite the increased risks of his actions.⁶⁰ Gayo's relative freedom of movement across the region contrasts with the experience of Pak Marina who also took her faith to Manila in 1614. She was one of fourteen women who formed a community there, allocated one of the Society's houses beyond the walls of San Miguel, where, the Jesuit Francisco Colín recounted in the 1650s, the women "were enclosed."⁶¹ Colín described the praiseworthy activities of the women, "busied with prayer most of the day and night, never leaving their enclosure except to go to the church, which is attached to their house, to hear mass and receive the holy sacraments."⁶² As Colín described it, these women's spiritual agency corresponded with

58 January 10, 1620, Alcalá de Henares, Archivo Jesuitas, C-286, fol. 465r: "Com duas destas tomou Julia particular amizade, e pouco e pouco lhes foi praticando as cousas de nossa *santa* fee, à qual assi polas rezões *que* Julia lhes daua, como por seu bom exemplo de vida, se affeiçãoão de modo que a desejarão receber, a pedirão instantemente as baptizasses. Porem como Julia não sabia a forma do Baptismo, não pode isto ter effeito; pos lhes nomes de *christão* chamando a huma Magdalena e a outra Maria. E com isto procedião as duas como christãs, rezevão e se encomendavão a Deos."

59 [Nagasaki] March 25, 1620, San Jacinto, "Relación breve," 26-27: "andavan enseñando la doctrina y cantando letanías con las niñas; [...] de una casa en otra."

60 João Rodrigues Giram to Muzio Vitelleschi, Macao, March 15, 1626, ARSI, JapSin 61, fol. 17r-v.

61 Colín, *Labor evangélica*, 3:502: "donde se encerró Iulia con treze compañeras."

62 Colín, *Labor evangélica*, 3:502: "ocupadas la mayor parte del día, y noche en oración, sin salir de aquel su recogimiento, sino solamente para la Iglesia, que está pegada con su casa, a oír Missa, y recibir los Santos Sacramentos." See also Ward, *Women Religious Leaders*, chap. 3 and 4.

Joseon via China: Knowledge Exchanges Between Learned Men

In the Jesuit archive, China now came to the fore as a new gateway to Joseon, to which determining the political relationship between the Joseon king and the Chinese emperor was significant. Jesuit authors observed how Joseon envoys regularly attended the Ming and later Qing courts, providing a potential pathway to communication with the Joseon kingdom for the Society. Tçuzu, writing from Macao in February 1633, described how he had been able to intercept the Joseon envoys as they passed through Dengzhou (now Penglai)

67 Giram, ARSI, JapSin 61, fol. 122v and Morejón, Macao, March 31, 1627, BRAH, MS Jesuitas 9/2666. fols. 461v ff.

in Shandong province, using the opportunity to share with them a series of religious and scientific texts:

The ambassadors from the King of Korea to the King [sic] of China came there, whom I befriended, and through them I sent to the King of Korea the books of our law in Chinese, and others on our sciences in the same, and a large mappamundi made by Father Mateo Ricci printed in Chinese letters which they use, and other things.⁶⁸

Tçuzu was confident about the reception of his gifts in Joseon, claiming that the king

was very happy to have this news of our law and about the world that they did not have, and to see the account that the King of China made of our Fathers, I received his reply, a very good gift of various things.⁶⁹

The Provincial Francisco Furtado articulated this mission strategy more fully:

As what men read in books spreads farther than what is said by mouth, and books preach for us, in our absence and even after our death, this will be a lasting means not only for the conversion of this kingdom but also for the surrounding kingdoms that understand and study through Chinese books.⁷⁰

For a number of Jesuits, it would be the writings rather than the spoken words of missionary men that they felt would forge the pathway into the Joseon kingdom.⁷¹ Yet Joseon sources indicate how important also were connections between men and physical sites that showcased Christian and European material culture. In addition to texts in Chinese script, diplomatic travel, especially to Beijing, exposed Joseon

68 Macao, February 5, 1633, ARSI, JapSin 18–I, fol. 122v: “os embaixadores do Rey de Corai, pera o Rey da China com os quaes tomir amizade, e por elles mandei ao Rey da Coreia os livros de nossa ley em China, e outras nossas sciencias no mesmo, e hum mapa munco grande do Padre Mathus Rixio impresso em letras sinicas, que la corere e outras cousas.” See the report on the encounter from the Joseon envoy, Jeong Du-won, and his interpreter, in Lim, “Rodrigues the Gift-Giver.” Jeong’s report notably omitted reference to the books on Christianity (p. 153).

69 ARSI, JapSin 18–I, fol. 122v: “com que muito folgou por tem noticias de nossa ley, e do mundo que la não tinha, e vez a conta que o Rey da China fal dos nossos Padres teue sua reposta, e me mandou, hum presente muito bom de varias cousas.”

70 ARSI, JapSin 187, fol. 17r: “porque como o que os home que lam nos livros se dilata mais as longe do o que se fala se boca; e os livros são sique pregão por nos em nossa auzencia; e ainda de pois da morte, sera esta hum meyo eterno, não so polla converssaão de queste Reino, mas ainda de todos os mai que reinos circunuisinãos que entendem e estudão pellos liuros sinicos.”

71 On knowledge of Western thought in the late Joseon period, see Choi Seok Woo 崔奭祐, “Joseonhuigui seohaksasang.” 朝鮮後期の西學思想 [Western thought in the late Joseon Dynasty]. Study of the western influences on the *Sirhak* 實學 (Practical Knowledge) movement at this period and beyond is extensive. It is important to note that *Sirhak* was not a contemporary term used by these scholars but a twentieth-century identification of this scholarly community, as noted by Cawley, “Dis-assembling Traditions,” 297n2. On the impact of Ricci’s catechism for Late Joseon Catholic writers, see Cawley, “Deconstructing Hegemony”; Chung, “Introducing Christian Spirituality to Joseon Korea.”

In the mid-1630s, a potentially significant opportunity to take the mission into Joseon with the support of its political leaders emerged. After the second of two conflicts between the Manchu and Joseon, their respective leaders, Hong Taiji and King Injo, entered into a new political relationship in which Injo's two sons, Crown Prince Sohyeon and his brother Bongrim (later King Hyojong), were sent to Qing territory, spending eight years in Shenyang and then almost two more in Beijing. The princes were accompanied by their wives, Princess Gang (later known as Ming hoe-bin) and Lady Jang (later Queen Inseon), families, and an entourage of several hundred.⁷⁶ Princess Gang

⁷⁶ Sun-Hee Yoon, "Repertoires of Power," 103, citing Qing Taizong, *Wen huangdi shilu*, 34: 17–18; Kim, Nam-Yun 김남운, "Sohyeonsejabin Gangssiui simyanggwan saenghwal." 소현세자빈 강씨의 심양관 생활 [A study of the life of Princess Gang], suggests an entourage of around 500 people (p. 153).

managed affairs of the residence and acted as hostess during Sohyeon's absences.⁷⁷ In these households, a large cohort of individuals from the Joseon court, women and men of both elite and lesser status, had the potential to encounter Jesuit teachings. Jesuit reports recognized the opportunity that the presence of members of Korea's royal family in Shenyang represented for the spread of Christianity. However, key Jesuit texts of this period focus upon the men who were the most influential members of the party, the two princes. When he recorded his experiences of meeting the pair in Beijing, the German Jesuit, Johann Adam von Schall, referred to Sohyeon as "king," although he was the son of the then king Injo, and indeed, never became king himself.

Schall had strong personal interests in astronomy and the sciences, so it was not perhaps surprising that his reports indicated that he considered western sciences, especially mathematics and astronomy, as conduits to engage the princes with Christianity. In Beijing, Schall gave Sohyeon a range of texts that presented western knowledge, alongside religious texts and images. In these events, as recounted by Schall, the Korean princes were a highly appreciative audience of Jesuit knowledge, bursting into tears at the conclusion of their encounter.⁷⁸ Sohyeon's note of thanks, as it was recorded by Schall at least, registered the Crown Prince's appreciation of the "majesty of the holy image" that Schall had given him.⁷⁹ He was complimentary of Christianity, describing it as "a doctrine most suitable for improving the mind and cultivating the virtues."⁸⁰ Approaching it as akin to scientific knowledge, he promised to communicate it with "lettered men" upon his return to Joseon.⁸¹ His missive celebrated the global brotherhood that was possible between like-minded men:

77 Kim, Nam-Yun 김남윤, "Joseonyeoini gyeokkeun hollan, iyeoksari, hwanhyangui hyeonsilgwagyeong - Sohyeonsejabin Gangssireul jungsimeuro." 조선여인이 겪은 혼란, 이역살이, 환향의 현실과 기억 - 소현세자빈 강씨를 중심으로 [The realities and memories of Joseon women's experience in the Manchurian invasion, living in an alien country, and homecoming]; Kim, Nam-Yun 김남윤, "Sohyeonsejabin Gangssiui simyanggwang saenghwal." 소현세자빈 강씨의 심양관 생활 [A study of the life of Princess Gang], especially from p. 158 on her duties as a hostess. Yang Sung Kuk 양성국 and Kim Bong-Hyun 김봉현, "Sohyeonsejabin Gangssi (Sohyeonsejabin Gangssi)ui saengwa gieopgaeongsin." 소현세자빈 강씨 (昭顯世子嬪姜氏)의 생애와 기업가정신 [The life and entrepreneurship of Lady Gang, wife of Prince Sohyeonseja]; Shim Hyun-Chul 심현철, "Minhoebinui gyeongyeongsilcheone daehan gochal." 민회빈의 경영실천에 대한 고찰 [A consideration of the management practice of the Crown Princess Minhoebin].

78 Korean scholars have questioned Schall's interpretation of Sohyeon's response in his behaviour and his writings. Schall, *Historica Relatio*, 139–42. See also discussion in Choi Seok Woo 崔奭祐, "Joseonhuigiui seohaksasang." 朝鮮後期の 西學思想 [Western thought in the late Joseon Dynasty], 195–96; Hwang Jeong-Uck 황정옥, "Sohyeonsejawa adam syal." 소현세자와 아담 샬 [Prince Sohyeon and Adam Schall von Bell].

79 Schall, *Historica Relatio*, 140: "Sacrae Imaginis tanta est Majestas."

80 Schall, *Historica Relatio*, 140: "doctrinam ad expoliendum animum & virtutibus excolendum aptissimam."

81 Schall, *Historica Relatio*, 140: "communicabo literarum studiosis."

you and I who come not only from different kingdoms, but even countries so far distant as separated by the whole ocean, we come together in different parts on another's soil and love each other as if we were joined by blood. I am obliged to confess that the minds of men are united by their studies, whatever the immense distances that separate them.⁸²

Sohyeon's letter, as presented in Schall's work, appeared enthusiastic about sharing Jesuit information with Joseon scholars.⁸³ Women did not appear a designated target group for this knowledge dissemination in either the eyes of the Jesuit author or the Crown Prince as described in this text.⁸⁴ Yet, when Sohyeon and his entourage returned permanently to Joseon, Schall could count only one Christian among the party, a eunuch.⁸⁵ However, we cannot rule out that contacts and at the very least conversations communicated Christian teachings to courtly Joseon women during the long period that the Joseon royal retinue were resident in proximity to China-based missionaries. This represented one of the few occasions that a substantial cohort of well-connected Korean women could have served as a potential conduit for faith information transfer.

Conclusions

Expressing and living their faith made some Korean women and men mobile in the region, although not usually in ways that were under their own control. However, exile could represent new opportunities to evangelize. The Christian archives documented how Julia had continued to present Christian teachings among women during her exile although authors expressed concerns for her bodily vulnerability in these environments. As such, it is not surprising that some writers celebrated the security created by convent walls for other Christian women in exile. Women's bodies seemed to encumber Christian men with responsibilities, as much as they did women themselves, or perhaps even more so.

In many ways, Korean women's movement around the region, particularly in organized transfers such as the return of some to their homeland, represented a lost

⁸² Schall, *Historica Relatio*, 140: "ambo nos non solum ex diversis regnis oriundi, sed regnis etiam tam longè dissitis totòque Oceano, diversis in alieno solo convenientes, quasi sanguinis fædere juncti amamus invicem, non satis capio, quâ occultâ nature vi eveniat. Cogor fateri hominum animos studijs conjungi, quantumvis terries longissimè disjungantur."

⁸³ Wong analyses Sohyeon's letter in the context of royal letter-writing practices in "Jesuits, Korean Catholics, and the State," 76–85.

⁸⁴ However, Yang Sung Kuk and Kim Bong-Hyun, and Shim Hyun-Chul, all suggest that both the Crown Prince and Princess Gang benefited from the exchange of Western learning with Schall; Yang Sung Kuk 양성국 and Kim Bong-Hyun 김봉현, "Sohyeonsejabin Gangssi (Sohyeonsejabin Gangssi) ui saengwa gieopgajeongsin." 소현세자빈 강씨 (昭顯世子嬪姜氏)의 생애와 기업가정신 [The life and entrepreneurship of Lady Gang, wife of Prince Sohyeonseja], 126, 141; Shim Hyun-Chul 심현철, "Minhoebinui gyeongyeongsilcheone daehan gochal." 민회빈의 경영실천에 대한 고찰 [A consideration of the management practice of the Crown Princess Minhoebin], 57–58.

⁸⁵ Yamaguchi Seiji 山口正之, "Shōken seishi to tōjakubō." 昭顯世子と湯若望 [Crown Prince Sohyeon and Adam Schall], 107; Ruiz-de-Medina, *The Catholic Church in Korea*, 138–39.

opportunity for evangelizing. Christian authors did not explicitly consider how they could employ the fervour that their own texts had claimed to witness in evangelized Korean women as part of their mission strategy for the Joseon kingdom. Christian interpretation of the region's formal political and social structures identified leadership and intellectual networks that were operated by men as the most productive conduits for Christian dissemination. These did indeed activate pathways of western learning and Catholic teachings into Joseon, as contemporary Joseon sources demonstrate, and these may have reached a small group of women there through scholarly networks and families.⁸⁶ There was, however, no developed approach mapping on to what Christian authors had reported seeing functioning among women in Korean communities in Japan or similar to the locally operating "Biblewomen" now judged so crucial to the development of Christian communities in Korea at later periods.⁸⁷ Ultimately, ideologies of gender embedded in the Christian archives made the relationship between mobility and agency for evangelized Korean women the reverse of that perceived for their male counterparts.

86 Park, "Catholicism and Women."

87 Chang, "Hidden but Real"; Clark, "Mothers, Daughters, Biblewomen, and Sisters"; Baker, ed., *Critical Readings on Christianity in Korea*, vol. 2, pt. 4 and vol. 3.

